

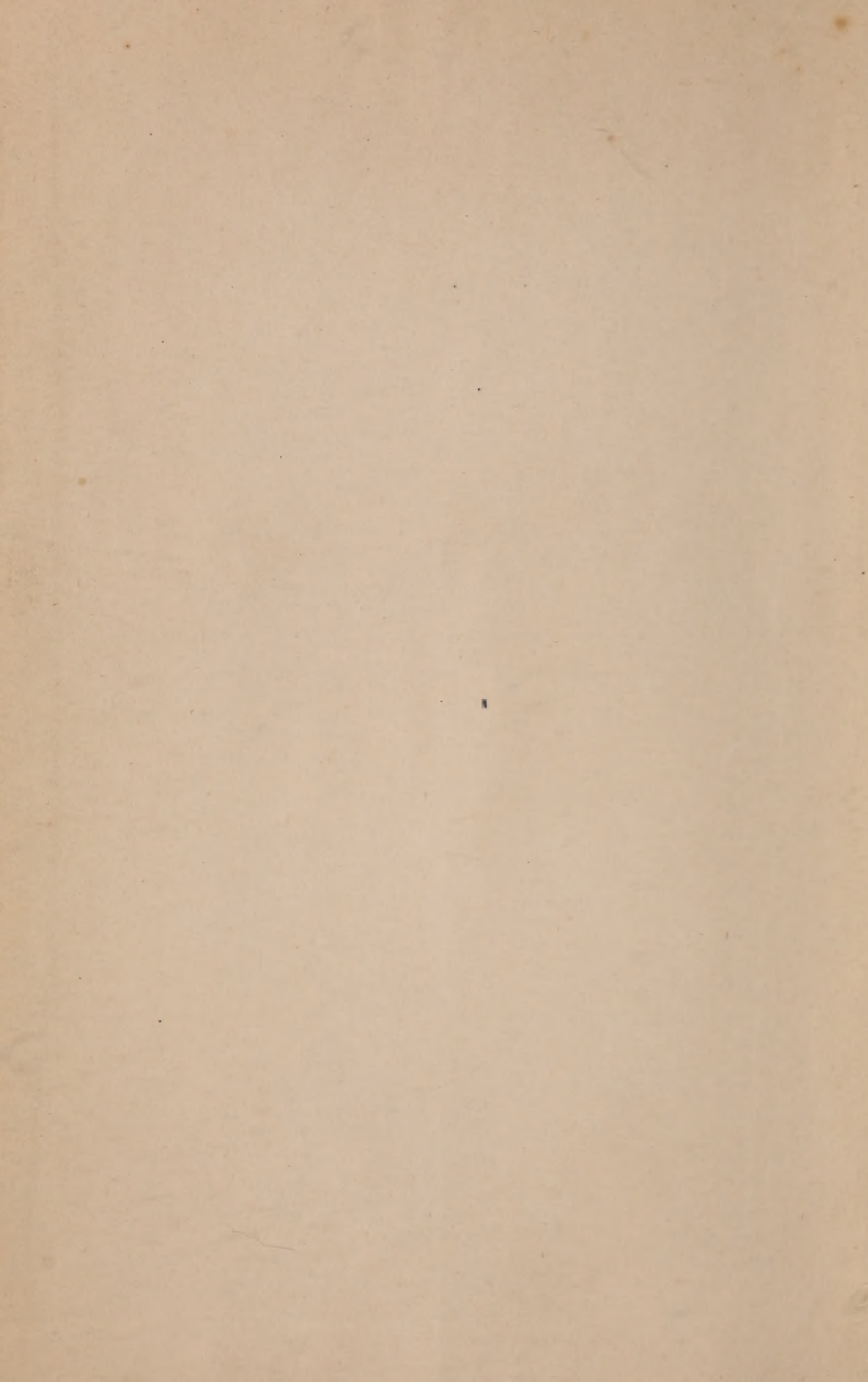
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HISTORY

OF THE

CHURCH OF IRELAND,

FROM

*THE REVOLUTION TO THE UNION OF THE
CHURCHES OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND,
JANUARY 1, 1801;*

WITH A

CATALOGUE OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS,
CONTINUED TO NOVEMBER, 1840;

AND A NOTICE OF

THE ALTERATIONS MADE IN THE HIERARCHY BY
THE ACT OF 3 AND 4 WILLIAM IV.,
CHAP. 37.

BY

✓
THE RIGHT REV^d RICHARD MANT, D.D.,
LORD BISHOP OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

LONDON:

JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND.

M.DCCC.XL.

HISTORY

CHURCH OF IRELAND

THE RECORDS OF THE

CHURCH OF IRELAND

1841

CATALOGUE OF THE ARCHBISHOP AND BISHOPS

OF IRELAND

LONDON:

HARRISON AND CO., PRINTERS,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

THE ALTERNATIVE STATE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF

THE ACT OF 1841 AND 1842

CHAP. 11.

BY

THE RIGHT HON. RICHARD ALLEN, D.D.

AND DEPUTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF

1841

JOHN W. PARKER, WEST STRAND

1841

TO THE
CLERGY AND LAY MEMBERS
OF
CHRIST'S CATHOLICK AND APOSTOLICK CHURCH,
AS UNDER HIS PROVIDENCE BY LAW ESTABLISHED,
IN THE DIOCESE OF DOWN AND CONNOR,
THIS VOLUME IS INSCRIBED BY THE AUTHOR,
FOR
A THANKFUL MEMORIAL OF MUCH PERSONAL KINDNESS,
EXPERIENCED FROM THEM
DURING A CONNECTION OF MORE THAN SEVENTEEN YEARS;
ESPECIALLY OF THE
CHRISTIAN ZEAL WHICH HAS PROMPTED THEM TO CO-OPERATE
FOR PROMOTING GOD'S WORD AND ORDINANCES,
AS BY OTHER RELIGIOUS UNDERTAKINGS,
SO SIGNALLY BY ERECTING IN THE UNITED DIOCESE,
IN THE YEARS OF OUR LORD
M.DCCC.XXXIX. AND M.DCCC.XL.,
SIXTEEN PLACES OF PUBLICK WORSHIP,
ACCORDING TO THE RITES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND,
FOR THE HONOUR OF ALMIGHTY GOD, AND THE
EDIFICATION OF HIS PEOPLE.

“REMEMBER THEM, O MY GOD, CONCERNING THIS; AND WIPE NOT OUT
THE GOOD DEEDS THAT THEY HAVE DONE FOR THE HOUSE OF MY
GOD AND FOR THE OFFICES THEREOF!”—NEHEM. xiii. 14.



P R E F A C E.

IN the first Chapter, second Section, of the present volume, it is related, that with the exception of one prelate, Sheridan, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, there was, after the abdication of King James II., a general acquiescence in the change of dynasty amongst the members of the Irish hierarchy. No other instance had fallen under my notice: and that no other existed I inferred from the silence of Mr. Harris, who particularly records the case of the non-juring Bishop Sheridan.

Since, however, the printing of this volume, I have received Mr. Thorpe's "Catalogue of Books and Manuscripts, illustrating the History of Ireland:" and in it are contained three highly interesting and important letters, as described in the Catalogue, relative to Thomas Otway, bishop of Ossory, of whom Mr. Harris says nothing, with respect to his allegiance to the new sovereigns. From these letters, however, it appears, as noted in the Catalogue, that the bishop, from what he deemed a loyal principle, had studiously avoided the praying for King William and Queen Mary in the Church service; and that, on complaint being made, he had called his clergy together, and left to every man's conscience to do therein as he thought fit. This being represented to the king, he ordered the bishop's suspension, by a letter, one of the three above-mentioned, dated from the camp at Carrick, July 21, 1690. It is addressed to the bishop: and in it Sir Robert Southwell, Secretary of State, writes, "His

Majesty's command is, that your lordship be suspended till further order. I know not the terms, being here in a camp, that are used in things of this nature: but I acquaint your lordship of his Majesty's present resentment, and can say no more till I hear from your lordship herein."

The letter was intrusted to Col. Coote to deliver, when his lordship placed the blame on the dean and chapter. By the colonel's letter, dated Kilkenny, July 29, it appears that "the dean was in England, and the sub-dean not in town. His lordship owned he had stated the above fact of leaving his clergy to their consciences, but was heartily disposed to give directions to his clergy to pray for the king and queen. The colonel, therefore, returned to Southwell the letter ordering the suspension."

The third letter is the bishop's reply to Sir Robert Southwell, dated Kilkenny, August 2; in which, to prove that he was not a trimmer, he gives his reasons for not appearing at Court, and for the allegations lately made against him: that "He was bound by the laws of God and man to be loyal and obedient to his natural and lawful prince, and that no earthly power of pope or people can dethrone him." He had "not read any satisfactory vindication for the late revolution: sets forth the persecutions he had suffered under Oliver; that he was then in his 74th year; that he should willingly and cheerfully suffer for that, which he in his conscience could not act, in satisfaction to the law; but should leave peaceably and quietly, whensoever the government should appoint him."

In a letter, of a date somewhat later than the foregoing, namely, August 7, 1760, addressed to Sir Robert

Southwell, Dopping, bishop of Meath, adverts to Bishop Otway's conduct, and speaks much in his favour. "He that continues stedfast to the late king, from whom he received so many disobligations, and so slender a protection, will be much more so to his Majesty, when his judgment is convinced."

And in another letter, addressed to Sir Robert Southwell, at the camp before Limerick, August 23, 1690, the Bishop of Meath says, that "He had deferred writing, in hopes of an answer from the Bishop of Ossory, but had received none." And he observes, "If he should be so unfortunate as not to overcome the errors of his judgment, yet he cannot be suspended but in a legal way, lest you run into the same error, that the late king was guilty of in his dealings with the Bishop of London. You know what outcries that suspension made: and the clamours will be more in this case, if it be done by a person who came to recover us from arbitrary proceedings."

What was the result of this correspondence I am not enabled to state. But Mr. Harris, who is totally silent on the subject, relates, that Bishop Otway died in his episcopal house at Kilkenny, and was buried in the cathedral near the west door, as he had appointed by his will, an humble marble stone being placed over him with this inscription: "*Hic jacet Thomas Otway, Ossoriensis Episcopus, qui obiit 6to Martii, 1692-3, Ætatis suæ 77.*" Mr. Harris attributes to him many other excellent qualities, besides his being "a prelate of unshaken loyalty to his prince."

With reference to one of the letters just cited of the Bishop of Meath, I would take the opportunity of men-

tioning, that in a former letter of July 24, 1690, to Sir Robert Southwell, he had advised the appointment of "a general fast every Friday during the wars, to be ordered by his Majesty's proclamation and letters to the primate and Bishop of Meath." The Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, as related in the former volume of this history, had been driven from Ireland, and were proscribed by King James's Act of Attainder: and the archbishoprick of Cashel was vacant. Thus, next to the primate, the Bishop of Meath was of the highest station in the church, the primate also being almost disabled by age and infirmities. His succeeding letter of August 7, acknowledges that he had "received the letters and proclamation for the fast-days, desired in the preceding letter of July 24."

The foregoing information is derived from Mr. Thorpe's Catalogue. But, together with a general fast-day, an occasional form of prayer was also appointed. For, by the kindness of the Rev. Thomas Lathbury, author of the *History of Episcopacy in England*, I am enabled to state, that among a collection of occasional forms, from the reign of King James I. to Queen Anne, he has found one, which was printed in Dublin during the reign of King William III. and Queen Mary. It was published in 1690, whilst the struggle between him and King James was in progress; and the title of it is as follows: "A Form of Prayer to be used on Friday the 15th of August, and on every Friday during his Majesty's Expedition in the Kingdom of Ireland; being the Fast-days appointed by the King and Queen for supplicating Almighty God for the Pardon of our Sins; and for imploring his blessing on their Forces by Sea and Land. By their Majesties' Special Command. Dublin: Printed by Edward Jones, at

the King's Hospital, in Oxman-Town, for the King and Queen's Most Excellent Majesties. 1690." The form contains a prayer alluding to the Protestant population in those places in which King James still retained his hold, with this title: "A Prayer for the rest of our Brethren that are not yet delivered." The synchronism between the Bishop of Meath's letters and the ordering of the form is remarkable. On the 24th of July he advised the appointment of a general fast; on the 7th of August he acknowledged the receipt of the proclamation; and the form of prayer was appointed to be used for the first time on Friday the 15th of August.

I subjoin a few words on another subject. In Chapter II., Section I., of this volume, notice is taken of the preferment of Bishop King from the bishoprick of Derry to the archbishoprick of Dublin: and it is stated on the authority of a letter, written after the interval of about a year, that such preferment had not been desired by him. The letters-patent were dated March 11, 1703. Mr. Thorpe's Catalogue contains a letter of Bishop King, dated five days earlier, namely, on the 6th of March, wherein he complimented the Duke of Ormonde on his Grace's appointment to the lord lieutenancy, and informed his Grace of his Majesty's pleasure to appoint him to the archbishoprick of Dublin, which he begged to lay before his Grace: "which appointment, though not so much to his advantage in some respects, yet it will enable him to attend his Grace in the government."

PETITION OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS REFERRED TO IN CHAP. II.
 SECT. III., WITH A FAC-SIMILE OF THEIR AUTOGRAPH
 SIGNATURES.

To His Grace James Duke of Ormond Lord Lievetenant Generall
 and Generall Governour of Ireland.

The Humble Petition of the Archbishops and Bishops in
 behalfe of themselves and the Rest of the Clergy of the
 Church of Ireland

May it please your Grace

We the Archbishops and Bishops of the Church of Ireland have Received an Address from our Brethren the Clergy, who are Come to Dublin in Obedience to her Majesties Writt of Summons; in which they Insist on the Church's Right to have a full Convocation with every Parliament, and have earnestly Intreated us to Apply to your Grace to obtaine this our Just and undoubted Right, and to make the meeting (to which many of them have Come from the Remotest parts of this Kingdome) Effectuall to the promoting the good of the Church We Cannot but Approve of their Request, and humbly beseech your Grace, that you would be pleased to Lay before her Majestie this our unanimous Petition and Claims, and to move her Majestie to Issue the Provincial Writts to the severall Archbishops; which According to Custome have Constantly Accompanied the Præmonentes Clause in the Parliamentary Writts; The Bishops and Clergy of this Kingdom being Ambitious to owe the Restitution of their Rights Solely to her Majesty by your Grace's Mediations And we press the more Earnestly for them at this time because we are fully Perswaded, that there will be a very good Agreement and Unanimity amongst us all, And also an United Zeale for the Glory of God and her Majesties Service.

The autographs subscribed are twenty-one, being those of all the archbishops and bishops of the time, with the sole exception of Archbishop Palliser, of Cashel. The

Joⁿ O'Hory
Charles Derry

Wm Confeet & Co's Navisus Armada.
Pat: Waterford & W. Dublin

Wm Killala
Wm Dromond

John Tuam
Rich: Meach
Will Kildare
Killmore

St. Geo: Clogher
Tho: Limerick

Thoj Killaloe
John Rapho
John Down & Connor

S. Elphin

Dive Corke & Rolle
Charles Cloyn.
Bartholme Leighlin

cause of the exception does not appear. It may be convenient for the reader to be apprised of the family names of the subscribers, and they are these :

NARCISSUS MARSH, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate.
WILLIAM KING, Archbishop of Dublin and Bishop of Glendaloch.
JOHN VESEY, Archbishop of Tuam and Bishop of Kilfenoragh.
RICHARD TENNISON, Bishop of Meath and Clonmacnois.
WILLIAM MORETON, Bishop of Kildare.
EDWARD WETENHALL, Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.
SIMON DIGBY, Bishop of Elphin.
BARTHOLOMEW VIGORS, Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin.
WILLIAM FITZGERALD, Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh.
NATHANIEL FOY, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
WILLIAM LLOYD, Bishop of Killala and Achonry.
TOBIAS PULLEN, Bishop of Dromore.
ST. GEORGE ASHE, Bishop of Clogher.
THOMAS SMYTH, Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe.
THOMAS LINDSAY, Bishop of Killaloe.
JOHN POOLEY, Bishop of Raphoe.
EDWARD WALKINGTON, Bishop of Down and Connor.
DIVE DOWNS, Bishop of Cork and Ross.
CHARLES CROW, Bishop of Cloyne.
JOHN HARTSTONG, Bishop of Ossory.
CHARLES HICKMAN, Bishop of Derry.

The accompanying Map, reduced from the four-sheet Map of Ireland, published by the Rev. Dr. Beaufort, in 1792, represents the ecclesiastical division of the kingdom into provinces and dioceses, together with the bishops' sees, as illustrative of the History of the CHURCH OF IRELAND. The parochial divisions, and the sites of churches, would have led to confusion on so small a scale: and the civil divisions have been judged unnecessary, since they may be found on the common Maps.

The unions of the dioceses, with their respective dates, were as follows :

PROVINCE OF ARMAGH.

Meath and Clonmacnois	. . . . .	1563
Down and Connor	. . . . .	1441
Kilmore and Ardagh	. . . . .	1603—1633
		1660—1691
		1693—1742

PROVINCE OF DUBLIN.

Dublin and Glendaloch	. . . . .	1214
Ferns and Leighlin	. . . . .	1600

PROVINCE OF CASHEL.

Cashel and Emly	. . . . .	1568
Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe	. . . . .	1663
Waterford and Lismore	. . . . .	1363
Cork and Cloyne	. . . . .	1431
Cork, Cloyne, and Ross	. . . . .	1618
Cork and Ross	. . . . .	1638
Cork, Cloyne, and Ross	. . . . .	1660
Cork and Ross	. . . . .	1678
Killaloe and Kilfenoragh	. . . . .	1752

PROVINCE OF TUAM.

Tuam and Kilfenoragh	. . . . .	1660—1742
Tuam and Ardagh	. . . . .	1742
Clonfert and Kilmacduagh	. . . . .	1602
Clonfert, Kilmacduagh, and Kilfenoragh	1742—1752
Killala and Achonry	1623

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Showing the Ecclesiastical Division into
PROVINCES AND DIOCESES;
 WITH THE EPISCOPAL SEES.

IRELAND,
 Showing the Ecclesiastical Division into
PROVINCES AND DIOCESES;
 WITH THE EPISCOPAL SEES.
*From the Rev.^d D^r Beauforts Map
 published in 1792*

The map displays the following provinces and dioceses:

- PROVINCE OF ULSTER:** Dioceses of Raphoe, Londonderry, Connor, Dromore, Downpatrick, and Dromore.
- PROVINCE OF LEINSTER:** Dioceses of Drogheda, Meath, Kildare, and Dublin.
- PROVINCE OF MUNSTER:** Dioceses of Cloyne, Waterford, and Lismore.
- PROVINCE OF CONNUGHT:** Dioceses of Glenties, Fermanagh, and Downpatrick.

Major cities and towns shown include Dublin, Limerick, Cork, Galway, and Belfast. The map also depicts the River Shannon, the River Liffey, and the River Suir. A scale of English miles is provided at the bottom right, ranging from 0 to 60.

A horizontal scale bar labeled "Scale of English Miles" at the top. The scale is marked with numbers 0, 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, and 60. There are tick marks at each of these numbers. The bar is divided into segments by these tick marks.

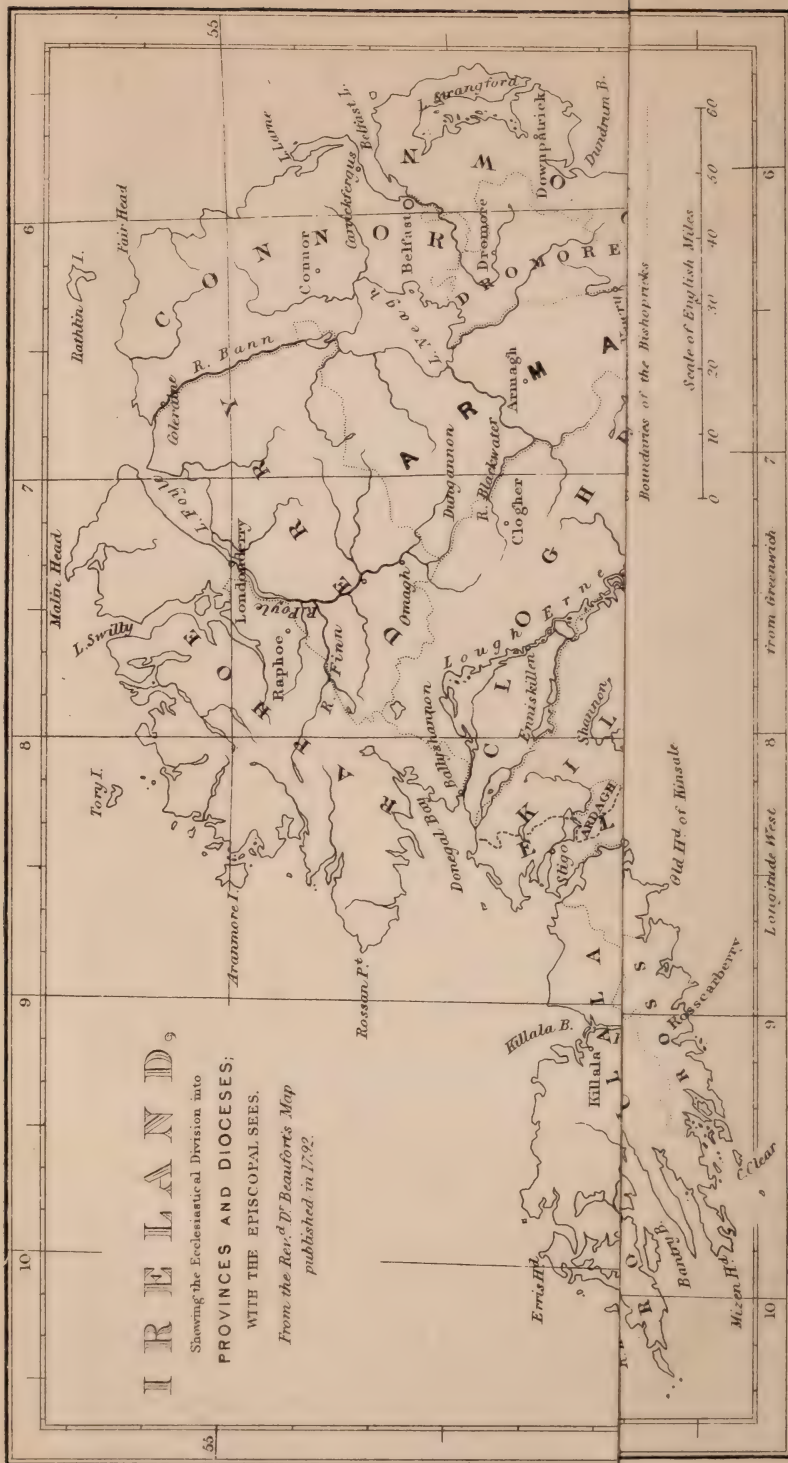
Longitude West 8 from Greenwich

Louise & John M. Webb & S. Sund

IRELAND,

Showing the Ecclesiastical Division into
PROVINCES AND DIOCESES;
WITH THE EPISCOPAL SEES.

From the Rev.^d W. Beaufort's Map
published in 1792.



THE CHURCH OF IRELAND.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF
KING WILLIAM THE THIRD AND QUEEN
MARY 1690—1702.
MICHAEL BOYLE, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH
AND PRIMATE 1702.

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Proposed continuation of the History. King James's refusal to fill the vacant Irish Bishopricks. Ineffectual intercession of English Bishops. Vacancies supplied by King William. Presbyterian petitions. Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Cashel: his MS. Diary. Other Episcopal appointments. Derry designed for George Walker: his promotion intercepted by his death. King, Bishop of Derry: his diocesan exertions: his "Inventions of Men," &c. Comparative state of Churchmen and Dissenters. Popery in the North. Church Service in Irish. Foy, Bishop of Waterford.

THE abdication of King James the Second, involving as it did, the abolition of "Popish tyranny and arbitrary power" in Ireland as in England, and the reinstatement of the Church in the secure possession of her apostolical polity and her primitive Catholick faith, forms a palpable epoch in the Church's history. As such I have taken it, with the purpose of its being my resting-place or my goal, according as

Proposed continuation of the History.

publick approbation should be granted or refused to my undertaking. Induced by the reception which has been given to the former portion of my narrative, I now proceed with the last ten years of the seventeenth, and the whole of the eighteenth century, inviting the reader's attention to the continued history of the Church of Ireland, until, by her union with that of England, in 1800, she ceased to exist as a separate National Church.

King James's refusal to fill the Irish sees.

Amongst the fruits of the hostility to the Church of Ireland which King James had manifested, he had prescribed to himself one measure in particular, and, so far as occasion had served, he had carried it into effect, the result of which must have been ultimately destructive, as it was actually most pernicious, to the Church. I allude to his deliberate and determined refusal to place bishops in the vacant sees: whence, for the present, a loss arose of the due pastoral superintendence over the Christian flock; and whence, in the end, a breaking-up of the constitution and frame-work of the Church must have ensued. Accordingly, when on the 3rd of October, 1688, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and eight of the English bishops, being all those who were then in London, waited on the king, to "beg his permission that they might suggest to his Majesty such advices as they thought proper at that season, and conducing to his service;" the seventh article was, "that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to fill the vacant bishopricks, and other ecclesiastical promotions within his gift, both in England and Ireland, with men of learning and piety." The king thanked the bishops for their advice, and promised that he would comply with it. Upon some of the articles he gradually made cor-

Intercession of the English bishops.

responding concessions. But for filling the vacant sees, no steps appear to have been taken: so that in a personal interview, to which he was called by the king on the 16th of October, Archbishop Sancroft profited by the occasion for reverting to the grievance, pressing it upon his Majesty's notice, and reminding him of the former remonstrance. "The archbishop," observes Dr. D'Oyly, in his life of that venerable primate, "told him, that he had lately received a letter without a name, complaining of the bad state of the Church in Ireland; particularly of four bishopricks having been long vacant there, the filling of which had formed the seventh head of advice offered to his Majesty by the bishops."

Communication
with Archbishop
Sancroft.

No disposition however to supply the defect was shown by the infatuated king, during the few days of his continuance in England, or afterwards when he had taken up his abode, and exercised a temporary dominion, in Ireland. Matters therefore remained in the same condition as to the foregoing subject of complaint, until the royal authority was established in the latter kingdom in the persons of King William the Third and Queen Mary.

King's persever-
ance.

But upon their accession to the throne, amongst the other ecclesiastical provisions rendered necessary by late occurrences, the state of the Church of Ireland received, as it required, the early attention of the new government, particularly with respect to its hierarchy, left incomplete by the lawless determination of King James not to fill the vacant bishopricks, and to its clergy in general, who had fled from their cures for security. The sentiments of the English bishops were accordingly called for on the occasion, as related by Bishop Patrick, in the *Brief Account of his Life*, p. 159.

Attention shown
by William and
Mary to the Irish
hierarchy.

Consultation
about the ap-
pointment of
Irish bishops.
1690.

"I went up to London," he says, "against the meeting of the Parliament, (1690,) and on the 12th of December was desired to come to the Bishop of London's lodgings, in Whitehall, where a letter from the king was opened, directed to six bishops, and the Deans of Canterbury and St. Paul's, and Dr. Tenison, to consult the best way of settling the Church of Ireland, and promoting piety there, and particularly to consider what persons were fit to be made bishops there. We resolved upon one thing immediately, which was to desire his Majesty to send home the clergy of Ireland, who were here, to their respective cures, if they lay in such places as were under his Majesty's protection. On the 15th, we met again, and agreed upon such persons as we thought fit to recommend to his Majesty for bishops in Ireland. Several other times we met, but I do not remember what was further done."

Design of the
Presbyterians
against Episco-
pacy ;

Meanwhile the Presbyterians of the north of Ireland would fain have profited by the opportunity, for establishing their own peculiarities of discipline and worship, instead of the liturgy and episcopacy of the Church. "I do remember," says one of the Irish prelates, in a letter dated Dublin, January 3, 1711, who is quoted, but not named, by the historian of *Presbyterian Loyalty*, "that July, 1690, or thereabouts, I heard of some design of Dissenters to the disadvantage of the Church of Ireland: upon it I went to the secretary's office, and there I understood that two petitions had been presented to the king; in the first there was a project to abolish episcopacy in the north of Ireland, according to the model of Scotland. The reasons for this were, that that country was entirely Scotch, at least of the

their petitions;
to the king,

Presbyterian persuasion: that they had the whole charge or care of the souls of that part, and that they were the great instruments of setting up and supporting his Majesty's interest in that country. This account I had of that petition, but I could never get a copy of it; of the second petition I have a copy, the substance of which, I remember, sets out the purity of their worship, and their many services; the great weight upon them for the neglected cures. And for their support in the discharge of their duties they desired, in order to encourage their worship and discipline, till there could be a legal establishment of both, that the little profit of the deserted livings of that country might be collected by them. This, they said, would increase prayer for his Majesty, and highly advance and strengthen the Protestant interest and religion."

This statement has been controverted by the historian of the *Loyalty of Presbyterians*, as to the question of there having been one or two petitions; as to the precise description of the three individuals who presented one or both; and as to the mode of present relief prayed for by the Presbyterian ministers, to whom, be it incidentally remarked, the sum of twelve hundred pounds a year had been already granted by the king. But the great and essential article is admitted by the form thus attributed to the petition, "That, as by your princely care, relief is sent to that languishing poor country, which, by the blessing of God, hath already and will further produce happy effects; so your Majesty will appear as a nursing-father, for encouraging the purity of the Gospel in worship and discipline, till there be a legal establishment of both."

differently related.

With those who are aware of the sense, annexed

Purport of the Presbyterian petition.

by such religionists as the petitioners to the expressions, "the purity of the Gospel in worship and discipline," it will be manifest that the object of the petition was an anti-liturgical worship, and an anti-episcopal ecclesiastical polity; and the intimation of "a legal establishment of both these" was, in fact, "a project to abolish episcopacy in the north of Ireland, according to the model of Scotland."

But, notwithstanding this, it pleased God that "the Apostle's fellowship" should still be maintained in Ireland, and accordingly measures were promptly taken for supplying the vacant bishopricks, which, for the purposes of disabling the Church of Ireland, and of supporting the Popish hierarchy in that kingdom, had been left unoccupied by King James II., as well as those which had more recently become vacant.

Supply of vacant
bishopricks.

Archbishoprick
of Cashel.

Of the former class, the archbishoprick of Cashel, the first in dignity, which had been destitute of a pastor since the death of Archbishop Price in 1684, was filled by the elevation of Narcissus Marsh from the see of Leighlin and Ferns, in February, 1691, the king's design of translating him having been notified on the 28th of the preceding December, immediately after the meeting of the English bishops, as related by Bishop Patrick.

Narcissus Marsh.

Archbishop Marsh was descended paternally from an ancient Saxon family in Kent, and maternally from the Coleburns of Dorsetshire. He was a native of Hannington, in Wiltshire, and had been educated at Oxford, first in Magdalen Hall, where he was admitted in July, 1645, and afterwards in Exeter College, of which he was elected a probationer fellow in June, 1658. Having been chaplain to the Bishop of Exeter, and afterwards to the Earl

of Clarendon, he was, in May, 1673, appointed principal of St. Alban's Hall, whence, in about five years afterwards, he was transferred to Ireland. By Dr. Twells, the biographer of the celebrated orientalist, Dr. Edward Pocock, he is commemorated as an intimate friend of that learned author, and as one who was "himself eminently learned, and a great encourager of learning in others."

A MS. Diary, preserved in the library, subsequently founded in the city of Dublin by this distinguished prelate, records several particulars in his earlier life; such as his appointment by the Duke of Ormonde, first to the provostship of Trinity College, in 1679, and then, in 1682, to the bishoprick of Leighlin and Ferns; his quiet continuance in his bishoprick, until King James came to the throne, "repairing churches, planting curates where wanting, and doing what good he could;" his persecution in a little time by the Irish Papists; his withdrawal to Dublin for security; his escape from a party of soldiers who beset his house in search of him at midnight; the severe and open menacing afterwards directed against him; his consequent inability to return to his house in the country; his refuge for some time in the provost's lodgings, until the goods being disposed of, and the place deserted by the family, he was not able to continue there any longer; finally, his "not having money to maintain himself in the city," and his consequent flight to England and straight to London, in March, 1689; where, he says, "I was kindly received by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, and others; but especially by the Bishop of St. Asaph, who bestowed on me the parish of Gretford, for my support under that calamity;

MS. Diary of
Archbishop
Marsh.

His persecutions,

and escape.

and by the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Burnet, who earnestly invited me several times to be at his house until I might return to Ireland. The Bishop of Lincoln also presented me with five guineas. The Lord remember them all for their kindness to the distressed.

and pecuniary
relief.

“After four months’ stay in London, having in the mean time made provision for as many poor clergymen of Ireland, that were forced out thence, as I could, I went to Oxford, being invited thither by Dr. Bury, rector of Exeter College, where I was kindly entertained for nine months, and furnished with all necessaries both by the doctor and his wife, and by Mrs. Guise, their daughter. The Lord reward them for it!

“The Bishop of London sent me twenty guineas; Mrs. Rowney sent me five guineas; Mrs. Bury offered twenty guineas at my departure; but I refused them, as having no present occasion.”

So soon as the defeat of King James had opened a way for the bishop’s return to Ireland, he availed himself of the occasion; and having arrived there in August, was, after the interval of about four months, translated by the new government to the metropolitan see of Cashel, of which he received intelligence on the 20th of December, five days after the meeting of the English bishops, related above by Bishop Patrick.

His promotion.
1690

At about the same time the sees of Clonfert, Elphin, and Clogher, which had been vacant, respectively, since the years 1684, 1685, and 1687, were filled, the first by the elevation of William Fitzgerald from the deanery of Cloyne, and the two last by the translation of Simon Digby and Richard

Bishop Digby.

Tennison from the bishopricks of Limerick and Killala. Of these, the Bishop of Limerick had remained in Ireland during the late season of popish tyranny and persecution, and had profited by the occasion of his being in Dublin to join in congratulating King William on his victory at the Boyne. Bishop Tennison also would fain have continued in his charge; from which, however, he was forcibly driven, as there hath been already occasion to notice, by the hard necessity of the times. From a parochial cure in the city of London he was now again called to take a new post in the Irish episcopate, where his active discharge of the publick offices of his ministry, for he is recorded as "remarkable for the constant exercise of preaching, by which he reduced many dissenters to the Church," and as having "in one year in his visitation confirmed about two thousand five hundred persons¹," bears testimony to the fitness of the choice. And it may be here not impertinent to notice, that, having been subsequently translated to Meath, he set a valuable example to his brethren and his successors, by bequeathing a sum of money to the Lord Primate for the purchase of land, to serve as the foundation for a fund, to which he expressed his hope that the bishops of the kingdom would make additions, for the maintenance of clergymen's widows and orphans².

Bishop Tennison.

The vacancies made by these translations were supplied by the promotion of Bartholomew Vigors, Nathaniel Wilson, and William Lloyd, respectively Deans of Armagh, Raphoe, and Achonry, to the several sees of Leighlin and Ferns, of Limerick, and of Killala.

¹ WARE, 191.

² Ibid, 162.

ees of Derry and
Waterford.

The sees of Derry and of Waterford had been vacated about the same period, which nearly coincided with the termination of King James's unhappy reign; the former by the death of Bishop Hopkins, which occurred on the 29th of June, 1690, in London, whither he had fled for protection³; the latter by the death of Bishop Gore, which took place somewhat later in the same year, in consequence of some inhuman treatment inflicted on him by Irish ruffians.

Account of
George Walker.

The see of Derry had been designed for the well-known Rev. George Walker, more valued at the time, and more commemorated afterwards, for his military exploits, than for his peaceful and clerical character. The son of English parents, a native of the county of Tyrone, in Ireland, and educated in the university of Glasgow, he had been admitted to holy orders in the Irish church, and became rector of Donoghmore, a parish not many miles distant from Londonderry. During the conflict that arose out of the arbitrary proceedings of King James he had raised a regiment for the defence of the Protestant cause; and having gallantly engaged in the protection of the town against the besieging forces of the king, he was chosen its governour, and in that capacity delivered it from its besetting dangers, until at length he resigned it safe into the hands of the English general.

His reception in
England.
1689.

The gracious reception of him by the new sovereigns on a visit, which he soon afterwards made to England, intimated their sense of his services. The thanks of the House of Commons testified that his claims were adequately recognised by the English Parliament. And the degree of Doctor of Divinity, conferred on him by the uni-

³ WARE, 295.

versity of Oxford, the 26th of February, 1690, on his return towards Ireland, bore witness to the estimation in which he was held by that learned body. A higher distinction, however, awaited him from regal hands. "The king," says Dr. Tillotson, in a letter to Lady Russell, dated London, September the 19th, 1689, just before his own elevation to the archbishoprick of Canterbury⁴, "The king, besides his first bounty to Mr. Walker, whose modesty is equal to his merit, hath made him Bishop of Londonderry, one of the best bishopricks in Ireland, that so he may receive the reward of that great service in the place where he did it. It is incredible how much everybody is pleased with what the king hath done in this matter; and it is no small joy to me to see that God directs him to do so wisely."

The reward here specified must have been in anticipation of the vacancy; for the death of Bishop Hopkins, which occasioned it, did not occur till the 29th of June, 1690⁵, eleven months after the date of the before-cited letter, and two days before the death of his designed successor. It has, indeed, been elsewhere stated, that Walker, at the time of his own death, had in his pocket his appointment to the bishoprick. This could have been a promise only, and not the actual appointment. But, however this be, the military occupation, in which he had been engaged, when urgent circumstances appeared to call for and to afford an apology for his services, had inspired him with a soldier's ardour, which survived the urgency of the call. He returned to Ireland; but, instead of returning to his professional functions, he again mingled with the army, and was killed in the battle of the

His re(turn to
Ireland.
1690

⁴ BIRCH'S *Life of Tillotson*, 281.

⁵ WARE, p. 295.

And intended
preferment.

Boyne, "having resolved to serve that campaign before he took possession of his bishoprick⁶." To those who look back with a calm and unimpassioned eye on these events, it may seem questionable how far the king "did wisely" in proposing to reward services, such as those of Mr. Walker, with such a reward, and they may hesitate in concurring with the sentiment that such a measure was attributable to the particular "direction of God." They may moreover think, that whatever pleasure and joy were felt by others in the prospect of Mr. Walker's promotion, in the sober-minded churchman, at least, the gratification must have been abated, by seeing his future spiritual pastor, on the eve of his consecration to the episcopate, resuming his military career of choice, rather than of necessity, and again wielding the weapons of a carnal warfare.

Bishops King
and Foy.

The death of Walker made, of course, a new appointment necessary. And, accordingly, the two sees of Derry and Waterford were now appropriately bestowed on two distinguished champions of the Church, eminent for their trials and their services during the late season of trouble, rebuke, and blasphemy: the former on William King, dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, whose name has been already commemorated with honour, for his delegated superintendence of the diocese of Dublin in the archbishop's absence; the latter on Dr. Nathaniel Foy, who was conspicuous for his opposition to the Popish corruptions, and for his advocacy of the pure doctrines of the National Church, to the great risk and peril of his life; and who, having in consequence been a partaker with Dr. King in assaults and imprisonment, was now deemed worthy of par-

⁶ BIRCH'S *Life of Tillotson*, p. 221.

taking in his elevation to the episcopal office and dignity.

By permission of his metropolitan, Primate Boyle, whose age and infirmities incapacitated him for every active duty, the new Bishop of Derry was consecrated to his order by the Archbishop of Dublin, on the 25th of January, 1691, and immediately after his consecration proceeded to visit his diocese. Its condition was one of great distress and misery; and such as to require his immediate care, attended by powerful remedies. In consequence of the ravages, to which it had been long subject, its villages and plantations were all destroyed: its churches burnt or dilapidated; its clergy withdrawn, and its parishes forsaken, the poverty of the people, and the want of tillage and cattle, being insufficient for the support of a resident ministry. To the correction of these evils the diocesan applied himself with vigour and effect. Partly by his own contributions, and partly by an arrear of rent collected from the tenants of the bishoprick during the vacancy of the see, and ordered by the Government to be placed at his disposal, he repaired the churches which had been laid waste by King James's army, and built several new ones in addition. He collected about him an efficient clergy, by compelling the incumbents either to reside or to appoint and maintain sufficient curates; and many he supported from his own revenues, until the improvements of their respective parishes provided them with a decent maintenance. And, as vacancies occurred amongst his clergy, he filled them with men remarkable for their learning and moderation, as well as exemplary for their piety and good morals. This, however, was not effected without delay, nor, indeed, without considerable dissatisfaction and oppo-

State of diocese
of Derry.
1691.

Exertions of
Bishop King.

sition. In his MS. correspondence, to be hereafter noticed, he says of himself, "I believe no bishop was ever more railed at for the first two years, than I was at Londonderry, by both clergy and laity. But by good offices, steadiness in my duty, and just management, I got the better of them, and they joined with me heartily in promoting those very things for which they opposed and condemned me at first."

Scotch
Presbyterians.

From without, also, the situation of his diocese brought him into conflict with other difficulties, which he combated with earnest zeal, regulated and directed by knowledge. New colonies from Scotland had poured into the northern parts of Ireland, and thus, unhappily, had strength been added to the previous armament of dissent and separation, arranged against the Church. To counteract this evil the Bishop of Derry directed his efforts: he laboured fervently, but temperately and prudently withal, by the methods of gentle and Christian reasoning, and by an example of meekness, charity, and good offices, to work upon the Protestant dissenters in his diocese, and to persuade them to a conformity with the discipline and ceremonies, as well to a profession of the doctrines and creeds of the Church. The work of his ministry is recorded to have been attended with considerable success⁷. And a proof and a specimen of his episcopal vigilance remains in his treatise on *The Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*: a treatise in which the arguments in vindication of the Church's forms of divine worship are exemplified from Holy Scripture, set forth in a perspicuous method, and enforced by conclusive reasoning; which is calm and affectionate in manner, free from all

Treatise on the
"Inventions of
Men in the Wor-
ship of God."

⁷ HARRIS'S *Ware*, p. 366.

bitterness of spirit, and all harshness of language; and of which, whilst some opponents have commended "the air of seriousness and gravity, becoming the weight of the subject, as well as the dignity of the writer's character," no one has been found to confute its positions, or to invalidate its truth.

This discourse of the Bishop of Derry, however, called forth an answer from a Mr. Boyse, a person of some eminence amongst the dissenting ministers of the day, composed in a manner, and with a spirit, very different from the author's, who, however, considered himself required to give some explanation concerning certain matters of fact, which were attributed to him as mistakes, but which he deemed capable of proof. In this undertaking he was led to mention several particulars of the state of religion, as professed by Churchmen and Protestant dissenters; and these particulars it is now intended to abstract from the tract, and submit them to the reader as matters of historical information. The tract was entitled, "An Admonition to the Dissenting Inhabitants of the Diocese of Derry, concerning a Book lately published by Mr. J. Boyse," and so it was published in Dublin, 1694. It was also published in London, 1706, under the title of "An Admonition to the Dissenters, being a Vindication of a Discourse concerning the Inventions of Men in the Worship of God." In the interval the author had been translated from the see of Derry to that of Dublin; and it is possible that since the original date certain allowances should be made, though I am not aware of their being requisite, for some alteration in the state of things during the interval.

Comparison of
Churchmen and
Dissenters.

After some introductory remarks, he begins with stating that, at the time of writing, he had been

Religious igno-
rance.

above three years amongst the inhabitants of Derry, and had taken the best care he could to inform himself of the state and condition of the diocese, and of every parish therein. He had visited each of them several times, and discoursed personally with many hundreds, and informed himself particularly of the customs, manners, inclinations, and scruples of every sort and persuasion. He had found, to his great trouble, much ignorance among the poor people; insomuch that of 800, or more, of the dissenters' communion, with whom he personally discoursed, he did not find above four persons that could give any account of their catechism, and only two that could repeat it, and a great many that could neither say the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, nor Ten Commandments. Of this he had many witnesses, that were present at some of his discourses.

Effects of cate-
chising.

"I do not say," continues the bishop, "this ignorance was peculiar to dissenters, for too many conformable persons were in the same condition. This I looked on with great compassion and concern, as it became me; and, in order to remedy it, I took care to have English schools kept in every parish, according to law; and obliged the schoolmaster to teach the Catechism, and the ministers to catechise in each parish: and I furnished them with Catechisms, which, with God's assistance, has proved of good use to such as are conformable, near 2000 of all ages having since learned the Catechism, and presented themselves to be confirmed. I could not have the same influence on you that differ from me; and yet I hope my endeavours have not been useless to you, but have helped to raise an emulation in you to instruct your children."

Dissenters'
Catechism.

The great obstacle to the dissenters learning

their Catechism, the Bishop found to be its length and intricacy, insomuch that, generally speaking, whoever could not read must despair of getting it by heart. He was thus put upon persuading them to make use of an easier Catechism, not excluding their own, if they had a mind to it.

At this time there were only nine meeting-houses in the diocese, "and I think," he observes, "the number is not increased." He then reports the result of the best inquiry he could make among themselves and other people, according to which, upon an average of one meeting-house and one Lord's-day with another, there were not 300 at each meeting: so that, supposing 30,000 persons as computed to be the amount of those persons who professed themselves to be of the Presbyterian persuasion, and who, on that account, absented themselves from church, there appeared to be only one in ten, or thereabout, who attended God's worship anywhere on the Lord's day. The case seems to have been not much better before the late troubles: for though there were then some more meeting-houses, the number of people attached to them was proportionably more also. The bishop found the sense of religion much decayed amongst them by means of this small number of their meeting-houses; and many of them, when pressed by him to worship God somewhere, answered, that they could do it at home. "And, indeed," he adds, "I have found some that had not been at any publick worship in seven years; and it is not to be wondered at, when some of you are ten miles, some twenty, from a meeting-place. I cast about in my mind how to remedy this; and in order to it, inquired of many of you why you did not frequent the publick church, since you had none else which you could

Small number of meeting-houses.

Non-attendance on publick worship.

Dissenters' objections to the Church.

constantly attend with your families. I perceived that three objections especially had stuck with you formerly: first, that our ministers were popishly inclined; secondly, that some of them were of ill lives and negligent; and thirdly, that our service was only human inventions, and had no particular warrant from Scripture. The first and second of these I found, by God's blessing, in great measure removed at my coming amongst you; so that I cannot say that any of you ever objected them to me. And as to the third, I particularly examined what things they were in our ordinary Lord's-day's service which you taxed as human inventions, for I only invited you to that service, and which made you think it more justifiable to stay at home than to come to our churches; and I carefully marked what you objected, and put them in the form that you now find them in this book."

Number of parish churches.

The bishop elsewhere observes, that the meeting-houses were more numerous in his diocese of Derry than in the neighbour dioceses of the north; there being, that he could learn, only four in Rapho diocese, in which, and in the other dioceses of the north, the parish churches were proportionally as many more than the meetings as they were in the diocese of Derry. In this diocese it has been already stated that the number of meeting-houses was nine: in the same diocese there were at the time forty-two congregations, in which the offices of the Church were constantly performed.

Celebration of Lord's Supper by Dissenters,

In another part of the tract is introduced a curious computation as to the ministering of the Lord's Supper. In the preceding seven years the Lord's Supper had been celebrated amongst the Presbyterians

In Londonderry, twice . . .	2
In Clondermot, once . . .	1
At Ballindret, once . . .	1
At Ballykelly, once . . .	1
At Burt, twice . . .	2
At Ardstra, once . . .	1
At Ahadowy, once . . .	1
	<hr/>
In all, nine times . . .	9

So that, in the whole diocese, it had been celebrated by them only nine times in seven years; and that, at one with another, there were about 400 who received, though the bishop's information did not allow so many. In seven years about 3,600 may be computed to have received.

But in the Church, since he came to the diocese, which was about three years and two months before the date of his treatise, the Lord's Supper had been administered

and in the Church.

In the cathedral about . . .	43 times
In the parish churches, first year	78 „
„ „ second year	103 „
„ „ third year	162 „
	<hr/>
In all	386 „

So that in the Church the holy sacrament had been administered in the diocese, during three years and two months, about 386 times, being about forty-three for once in the Presbyterian meetings during seven years.

“As to the number of communicants in the Church,” adds the bishop, “I cannot give an exact computation; but as to the cathedral, where I have, for the most part, officiated myself, I can give this account:

Number of communicants.

At 4 Easter sacraments, one with another, above 200; in all	800
At 3 Christmas sacraments, and 3 Whit- sundays, one with another, above 100 at a time	600
At 33 monthly sacraments, one with ano- ther, 50	1650
In all	<hr/> 3050

From which it is manifest, that near as many have received, in one parish in this diocese, in about three years' time, as with you, in the whole diocese, in twice that time; notwithstanding the numerousness of those who are of your profession.

“As to the larger towns, I call only three such in this part of the country, that is, Londonderry and Strabane, in this diocese, and Coleraine, on the border of it. Now, as to Londonderry, it has had this sacrament administered but twice in six or seven years, and Coleraine but once in that time; and as to Strabane, though it, as well as the others, had a settled ministry in it before and some time since the troubles, yet I am informed, from good hands, that in twenty-six years last past the Lord's Supper has been administered in it but twice. And I have the more reason to believe this, because your sacraments are administered with so great a concourse of spectators and hearers, besides those that receive, that they can hardly escape observation, which would have been reckoned a profanation of this holy mystery in the primitive times, and in earnest an abuse brought in by Popery.”

Dissenters' man-
ner of celebration.

The foregoing extracts bring us acquainted with some circumstances in the religious profession of the north, as maintained by Churchmen and Presbyterians; of the condition of the Papists it did not fall within the scope of Bishop King's undertaking to make any mention.

Alive, however, to the evils and dangers which con-

tinually beset the Church from her enemies on either side, and prepared to meet and repel their efforts with "the armour of righteousness on the right hand and on the left," the new prelate, who had been impressed by painful experience, as well as by profound theological learning and historical knowledge, with a due sense of the character of the Romish church, was prepared to protect his flock against assaults from that quarter. And, in counteracting the progress of Popery in his diocese, much credit has been given, with reason, to Bishop King for his exertions.

State of Popery
in the north.

Many of the Irish natives having left their habitations in the barony of Inishowen, in the county of Donegal, and followed the Irish army into the south, after the raising of the siege of Londonderry, several families, having migrated from the Highlands of Scotland, settled in their places. These Highlanders being Protestants, but not understanding the English language, presented a petition to the Bishop of Derry, praying that a minister might be sent to perform divine offices amongst them in their own tongue. This was readily granted, and two ministers were accordingly commissioned to celebrate divine service in that barony in the Irish language; one of them being a beneficed clergyman, and the other receiving a competent allowance from the bishop. And by the blessing of God upon their labours, they formed a congregation of four or five hundred persons, none of whom understood English.

Church service
in Irish,

in Derry,

The good effects of establishing these two clergymen, capable of officiating in the Irish language, in the diocese of Derry, were so apparent, that several of the same description were, for the same reasons, employed in the northern parts of the county of Antrim; for that district having been also deserted

and in Connor.

by the Irish, on the landing of the English army near Carrickfergus, in 1689, many families from the western isles of Scotland, who understood no language but the Irish, settled there. At their first arrival, they attended the divine service of the Church; but not understanding it by reason of the language in which it was celebrated, in a short time they went over to the communion of the Church of Rome, desirous of having the benefit of such exhortations as the Popish priests usually gave their congregations in the Irish tongue; and, when they were asked their motives to the change, they answered, that "it was better to be of that religion than of none at all:" an inevitable consequence of no provision being made for performing the offices of religion for their benefit in a language which they understood.

This consequence being perceived, and a proof having been given by this example, that, if proper means were not used to prevent it, the Highlanders, who removed in considerable numbers into that part of Ireland, must be Papists, or Protestant dissenters, or of no religion, a petition was presented to the Bishop of Down and Connor, in which diocese the county of Antrim is situate, requesting the appointment of a minister, who might officiate for them in their own tongue. Such a minister was accordingly sent amongst them, named Duncan Mac Arthur, and, on his death, a second, Archibald Mac Collum, appointed by the bishop to celebrate the offices of the Church in the Irish language. And their ministry was blessed with such success, that they not only brought back to the Church those Highlanders who had lapsed to Popery, but converted also many of the natives of Ireland to the religion of the Church.

Ministers appointed to officiate in Irish.

Besides these, three or four other clergymen, equally well qualified for their peculiar posts, were placed in the same county, and collected about them considerable congregations. The foregoing particulars are taken from a "History of the Attempts to Convert the Popish natives of Ireland to the Established Religion," by the Rev. John Richardson, published in 1712: he speaks of these valuable results as being in progress at the time of his publication, and adds, "by these means, many Highlanders and Popish natives are added to our Church: whereas in other places, where such care is not taken of them, the natives do not only continue in Popery; but many of the Highlanders are drawn off to separate meetings, or to the Romish superstition and idolatry."

But the proceedings of Bishop King in his diocese have rather led to the anticipation of affairs of a later period: we recur therefore to the regular course of events, by observing that to his episcopal charge of the diocese of Waterford and Lismore, the bishop elect, Nathaniel Foy, was consecrated in August, 1691, by the new metropolitan, Archbishop Narcissus Marsh, who in the previous January, in his capacity of suffragan Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, had assisted his then metropolitan, his namesake, but not, so far as appears, his kinsman, Archbishop Francis Marsh of Dublin, in the consecration of Bishop King. This his consecration of Bishop Foy, the first metropolitical act of the kind in which he was engaged, the Archbishop of Cashel commemorates in his *Diary*, with a prayer, accompanied by the expression of his "great hopes," that the newly-consecrated prelate may be "made an instrument of God's great glory." Whereas a record of the consecration about the same time of another of the

Foy, bishop of
Waterford.
1691.

recently-appointed bishops had drawn from him the remark, "In which consecration I had no hand, the Lord's name be praised for it! nor may I ever be concerned in bringing unworthy men to the Church."

SECTION II.

Other Episcopal changes. General acquiescence in change of dynasty. New oath of allegiance. Reasons for taking it. Anonymous pamphlet. Its supposed author. Bishop Sheridan, a non-juror: his deprivation and subsequent distress. Order concerning his intended successor: his rejection, and circumstances connected therewith. Bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh. Preferment of a Scotch prelate to Rapho. Relief given from Ireland to Scottish clergy. Few Irish non-jurors. Charles Leslie: his life, death, and character. Henry Dodwell. Converts. Deprivation of Bishop Hackett and Archdeacon Matthews. Character of Bishop Foley. Other newly-appointed Bishops. Death of Archbishop Francis Marsh. Narcissus Marsh, Archbishop of Dublin: his library. Death of the Queen.

IN connexion with these changes in the Irish episcopate, may be mentioned certain others, which marked the early years of the reign of King William and Queen Mary.

General acquiescence in the change of dynasty.

The Irish prelates almost unanimously acquiesced in the change of dynasty, and pledged their fidelity to the new sovereigns by the form, which, by the authority of an English Act of Parliament, was substituted for the one that had been previously imposed. The words of the former oath were these: "I, A. B., do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare, in my conscience, before God and the world, that our Sovereign Lord King James is lawful and rightful king of this realm. . . . Also, I do swear in my heart, that notwithstanding

any declaration or sentence of excommunication, or deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted by the Pope or his successors, . . . I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs, and successors; and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever," &c. The other ran thus : "I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary."

New oath of
allegiance.

To the adoption of this latter form the bishops, and together with them the clergy and other members of the Church, were probably induced by such considerations as these: that the obligations of their oath of allegiance to King James had been annulled, for that, 1. He had by his own lawless conduct made it unlawful to them; 2. That by the previous transactions and the actual state of things, God and King James had made it impossible; 3. That the Protestants of Ireland were formally released from it, perhaps by law, certainly in reason and equity: considerations, probably enforced by the cautious and moderate terms of the new oath, which promised fidelity to the actual sovereigns, but forbore from any recognition of their abstract right.

Reasons for tak-
ing it.

These considerations are put forward in a pamphlet, entitled "The Case of the Irish Protestants in relation to recognising, or swearing allegiance to, and praying for, King William and Queen Mary, stated and resolved." An advertisement prefixed is dated October 27, 1690: but the title-page bears upon it, "London: Printed for Robert Clavel, at the Peacock in St. Paul's Church Yard, MDCXCI." On these views the author argues at some length, showing how the conduct of King James had been

Publication on
the case of Irish
Protestants.

such as to exempt the Irish Protestants from their allegiance in these several respects; and he winds up his argument thus :

Summary of the
argument.

“The conclusion then of all shall be : out of the power of the king, who would not be persuaded to preserve himself, and neither could nor would protect his Protestant subjects ; out of the hands of merciless and barbarous fellow-subjects, who were bent to have destroyed both themselves and their country, and all in it, with themselves ; and finally, from the lashes of the scourge of Christendom ; God has brought us poor oppressed Protestants under a Protestant prince. The case now in short is, whether we will accept protection or no ? The conditions indeed, say our adversaries, are very hard. Yes, they are no less than what God has made our duty, if not our necessity, to swear to bear faith and true allegiance to, and pray for, *our* deliverers and *their* conquerors, in that quality wherein we find them, and wherein they have delivered *us* and conquered *them* : that is to promise sacredly to man such subjection, and to make to God such prayers, which in our present condition, even without such promise, it were sin not to do. In the whole Revolution, God has not vouchsafed to us, such Irish Protestants, who are mainly concerned in this paper, any active part in advancing these princes to their power. He has thought fit to assign us still only a passive lot. We must acknowledge it is not, it has not been, our business, to set up powers, but yet we must own it is our duty to obey them. And no less certainly to be thankful to God and them, if we may be protected by them. The Scripture is express, ‘Let every soul be subject to the higher powers.’ Such certainly the conquerors are. And, ‘I exhort that first of all supplications, prayers, intercessions, and giving of thanks be made for all men, for kings and all that are put in authority,’ even for the person of a Nero therefore at that time ; and, if for the froward, much more for the good and gentle.”

Pamphlet
anonymous.

This pamphlet is anonymous. Speaking of himself, the author says in his advertisement, “In his

arguing he chose for satisfaction to proceed rather on foundations of divinity than policy and law: little meddling with those grounds, on which, since the writing hereof, he finds abler heads most to build." But of the individual the tract itself gives no indication. A copy of it, however, is preserved in Trinity College Library¹, bound in a volume with twelve others in defence of the new oath of allegiance, this being the only one of the thirteen which has a special relation to the Protestants of Ireland; and in that copy an interlineation in the advertisement, apparently written by a contemporaneous hand, speaks of the tract as the composition of "a Bp. or Dr. of the Chair;" and a hand-writing, different from the other, but in appearance of about the same age, has inscribed on the title-page, "Bp. Cork, and Bp. C.:" The pamphlet, therefore, though it has escaped the notice of Harris, in his *Writers of Ireland*, may probably be attributed to Edward Wetenhall, who had suffered great oppression and cruelty under the late tyranny, and was bishop of the united sees of Cork and Ross.

Its probable
author.

But whoever was the author of the tract, the conduct recommended by it was followed by all the Irish prelates, with the exception of only one member of their body.

Of the bishops, who had been driven from their sees by the arbitrary and lawless proceedings of King James II., and constrained to seek refuge in England, Sheridan, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, was one. He was the son of a Popish priest in the diocese of Kilmore, who had been converted to a renunciation of the Popish corruptions, and an adoption of the

A nonjuring
bishop.

¹ R. R. p. p. 25.

truth of the Gospel, as professed by the Church, by the judicious zeal of Bishop Bedell; and, having testified the sincerity of his conversion, by his unshaken adherence to his adopted faith in the rebellion of 1641, and by the relief which he afforded in that season of persecution to many of the afflicted members of the Church, and even to the venerable Bishop Bedell himself, survived to see two of his sons elevated to the episcopate: Patrick, who died in 1682, possessed of the bishoprick of Cloyne; and William, who now retaliated the injuries inflicted on him from his late sovereign by a faithful and immoveable allegiance. An Act of Parliament, the authority of which, though passed by the English Legislature, was recognised in Ireland, made it obligatory upon him to take the oaths to the new sovereigns; and his refusal to comply, although he endeavoured to shelter himself from the penalty by absenting himself from Ireland, was followed by his deprivation². In fact, "according to the ancient laws of the kingdom," as affirmed by Bishop King, in his MS. Correspondence, "for absentees without licence, his bishoprick was forfeited by his absence."

His deprivation.

His subsequent residence,

Mr. Harris states, that, "after his deprivation he lived in London many years, where nonjurors, and others of his own opinion, resorted to his house, for the private exercise of their devotion. He died," adds Mr. Harris, "as I am informed, about the year 1716."

and distress.

Previously to his death, however, he fell into a condition of great penury and decrepitude. In a letter to the Bishop of Ferns, from London, February, 1704, Archbishop King writes, as I find in his MS. correspondence, "Bishop Sheridan has been

² WARE, p. 244.

with me: he is exceeding poor and crazy. It is not fit one of our order should be exposed to begging. I hope my lords the bishops will remember him, as they did last year: pray subscribe for me 10*l.* as I did before." In two or three other letters of about the same date, the archbishop notices to other Irish prelates the poverty of "their brother Sheridan," who thus appears to have been supported by seasonable contributions from the episcopal body.

To his immediate successors in the bishoprick indeed he was probably at first principally indebted for support: and it appears to have been at one time in contemplation, to procure a regular provision for him out of the revenues of the see. Such a project was submitted to the Irish bishops at the instance of Mr. Dodwell, and is thus commented upon by Bishop King, in a letter of March the 3rd, 1702, addressed to Dr. Madden, who was the vehicle of the proposal:

"SIR,

"I perused the letter you sent me from Mr. Dodwell, and communicated the contents of it to my brothers here, who very much approved of taking Bishop Sheridan's case into consideration, and are desirous to do him all the justice in their power; and do think Mr. Dodwell's proposal may be a handle to give him some satisfaction. They say, by ancient practice and the laws of the Church, a man may resign his bishoprick, reserving to himself a pension out of the profits of it: that to avoid schism, many formalities have been laid aside, and even two bishops allowed in a see, to which Mr. Dodwell is no stranger: that, if such a method can be concerted, they would be willing to secure the bishop a pension during his life: that his resignation may express the reasons that occasion it, and his deprivation by lay power only may be protested against in it, though that be not altogether his case, as they conceive: they rather lay it on his deserting his charge, contrary to the

Relieved by his brethren.

Project for procuring him a pension.

laws of the Church and kingdom, that make that deprivation *ipso facto*. But I do think Mr. Dodwell altogether in the right in not disputing that affair, for no good can come of such a contest; whereas, in the way he proposes, some claim of a right to the Church may be preserved, and in our present difficult circumstances that is better than nothing. I think the bishop will be likewise justified, even on his own principles: for what better can he do? who, if he come to his own diocese, perhaps would not be able to get one single person to join with him.

"I do not know whether I have hit Mr. Dodwell's meaning in his proposal; but if I have not, he will, I believe, take this occasion to explain himself. You may communicate this to him, with my respects as an old friend, and let him know, if anything be done in this affair, the value that the bishops here have for his learning and other good qualities, is the chief ground of it; and his appearing in it will prevail much still with them.

"I heartily recommend you to God; and am yours, &c.
"W. D."

If the Bishop of Derry, at the time, and with his opportunities and means of information, "did not know whether he hit Mr. Dodwell's meaning in his proposals," a modern reader of his correspondence may be allowed to regard this occurrence as not altogether free from obscurity. It may, however, be considered sufficiently clear, that no certain provision was thus made for the displaced prelate, as he was subsequently living on eleemosynary contributions from his brethren.

I recur to the date of his deprivation, which penalty, to whatever law it be attributed, was incurred early in the year 1692: and it was in connexion with this vacancy, that some proceedings of a nature rather uncommon and remarkable are indicated in the *Diary* of Archbishop Marsh, under that year.

On the 24th of October, he notes, "The Lord-Lieutenant, by the queen's orders commanded me, the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, Rapho, Clogher, and Waterford, to give him our opinion sincerely, whether we thought Dr. S—— qualified for a bishop.

Queen's order concerning Dean S——.

"25. We gave our joint opinion in writing, that being a man of an ill fame, we could not judge him qualified for a bishop, unless he should purge and clear himself of that fame. I gave an account hereof to the bishops of London, Salisbury, and Coventry. Lord, preserve me in this hazardous undertaking, I beseech thee."

Opinion of bishops thereupon.

The subject is resumed on the first of November following. "This morning, the Archbishop of Dublin acquainted us, (the six bishops before mentioned,) that he had received an order from my Lord-Lieutenant, upon Dean S——'s petition, that he and the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's should inquire into the matter of the ill fame of Dr. S——; but not having authority thereby to summon and swear witnesses, his Grace thought that he could not act thereby."

Difficulty of acting.

On the 3rd of the same month, "Dean S—— put in a petition, that he might be purged of an ill fame, that was objected against him, at the Lords' bar. The petition was admitted, but the Archbishop of Cashel, the Bishops of Meath, Derry, and Waterford, dissented. Then the house in a confused, tumultuous manner desired the speaker to acquaint his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, that they made their request that the queen would take no notice of any private whispers concerning Dean S——, until he had purged himself at the bar of the Lords' house."

Dean S——'s petition.

What were the circumstances of this case, the *Diary* makes no mention; but the author of the

Uncertainty and peril of the proceeding.

Diary seems to have regarded it as pregnant with evil consequences to himself. For having added, that "my Lord Lieutenant thereupon entered the house in his royal robes;" and having given a summary of the ensuing proceedings in the house, he subjoins, with evident reference to the foregoing account: "O Lord! look upon me in mercy, and deliver me from the great calamities and troubles that this affair is like to bring upon me, wherein I endeavour only to discharge a good conscience, O Lord! and that thou knowest, who knowest all things. Hear me, O God, hear me and deliver me, I most humbly beseech thee!"

Conduct of the
bishops.

On the 9th, he remarks: "We, the bishops concerned, agreed upon a letter to be sent to my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, representing the whole of Dr. S——'s business to his grace, which was subscribed by all the six bishops but Kildare and Rapho. The four subscribers also sent letters to their friends to the same purpose, namely, to the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield; the Bishop of Meath to the Bishop of London; the Bishop of Clogher to the Bishop of Lincoln; and the Bishop of Waterford to the Bishop of Salisbury: and the Bishop of Derry also wrote to the Bishop of Worcester. Lord, grant that these letters may have their due effect, to the glory of thy name, and the good of thy Church."

Result of the op-
position.

With the exception of a brief note, the 24th of the same month, "About this time I received a letter from the Bishop of London about this affair, which I answered by the next post," the *Diary* contains no further particulars. But the foregoing narrative, scanty as it is, may be thought to possess some interest for the ecclesiastical inquirer, exem-

plifying a successful opposition to an intention of introducing an unworthy person into the government of the Church. I say successful, for the individual whose character was thus brought into question was certainly never advanced to the episcopate, though his younger brother was, some years afterwards, promoted to one of the highest stations in the Church, which he adorned by his virtues, as he edified it by his talents and learning.

It is with evident allusion to this case that Bishop Burnet speaks in his *History of his Own Times*, though his epithet of "great" appears inaptly chosen to designate a "family" distinguished by no rank, or property, or political influence in the country. "The state of Ireland," he says, "leads me to insert here a very particular instance of the queen's pious care in the disposing of bishopricks. Lord Sidney was so far engaged in the interest of a great family of Ireland, that he was too easily wrought on to recommend a branch of it to a vacant see. The representation was made with an undue character of the person; so the queen granted it. But when she understood that he lay under a very bad character, she wrote a letter with her own hand to Lord Sidney, letting him know what she had heard, and ordered him to call for six Irish bishops, whom she named to him, and to require them to certify to her their opinion of that person. They all agreed that he laboured under ill fame; and, till that was examined into, they did not think it proper to promote him; so that matter was let fall. I do not name the person, for I intend not to leave a blemish on him, but set this down as an example fit to be imitated by Christian princes."

Bishop Burnet's
account of the
occurrence.

In the end, the bishoprick of Kilmore was con-

Translation of
Bishop Smith.

ferred on William Smith, bishop of Raphoe, one of the prelates who had been driven for a season from their sees by the tyranny of the preceding reign. A few months, however, before his translation, the bishoprick of Ardagh, which had in ancient times formed an independent see, but had been united to Kilmore in 1603, though again separated by the spontaneous act of Bishop Bedell in 1633, and again united in 1663, was on the present vacancy placed under the care of a separate pastor, in the person of Ulysses Burgh, a Doctor of Divinity of Dublin University, and Dean of Emly, who was consecrated in September, 1692. Mr. Harris, who states the fact, assigns no special cause either for the separation at this time, or for the reunion of the bishopricks in the spring of the following year, when, Bishop Burgh having died in the interval, they were again brought into union, and committed to the oversight of William Smith, who became Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh.

Ardagh separated
from Kilmore,

and reunited.

Preferment of a
Scotch prelate,

This translation of Bishop Smith from Raphoe now caused occasion for the appointment of a Scotch prelate, Alexander Cairncross or Cairncastle, archbishop of Glasgow, on whom severe sufferings had been inflicted by the two great divisions of sectarists, the Presbyterians and the Papists. His episcopal principles had first caused him to be obnoxious to the Scotch Presbyterians, by whom he was rigorously treated and expelled from Glasgow. By his reluctance to abandon the obligations of his Protestant faith, he had afterwards become offensive to King James, and was deposed from his archbishoprick, because, as Mr. Harris states, he would not accede to the measure of abrogating the oaths which were

who had been
deprived of his
bishoprick.

required of Papists as a qualification for serving in civil employments; or because, as related by the Rev. John Skinner, in the *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, ii. 502, he hesitated in complying with an order to punish for presumption one of the clergy of his diocese, who, before a numerous auditory in the High Church of Edinburgh, and in the presence of most of the privy council and many of the bishops, had set forth and argued against the corruptions and perils of popery.

His sentence of deprivation was accordingly pronounced in 1687, in pursuance of letters of deprivation from King James. But his cause was taken up by the succeeding sovereign; and through the intercession and influence of Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, the king's letters-patent were issued for his appointment to the see of Raphoe, the 16th of May, 1693, partly in compensation of his former losses and sufferings, and partly to "open an inlet and shelter in his diocese to the Scotch episcopal clergy, who were forced to fly from Scotland on the score of their religion³:" a poor compensation to the individual for the deprivation of his rightful dignity in his own country, and a very insufficient and unsatisfactory exchange to the Scotch clergy for stations of honour and emolument in their own apostolical church, which they had the pain of seeing sacrificed by the new government to the innovations of modern sectarianism.

Causes of his
appointment to
Raphoe.

1693.

To the Scottish clergy, in this their season of privation and distress, pecuniary assistance was rendered by their Irish brethren. From Mr. SKINNER'S *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* we learn, that one of the ejected ministers obtained a brief,

Relief given to
Scottish clergy
from Ireland.

³ WARE, p. 277.

soon after this period, from the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, for collecting money among the well-disposed in that kingdom for the relief of the suffering clergy in Scotland. With this sanction, and by the able assistance of Archbishop King, who occupied at the time, first, the bishoprick of Derry, and then the metropolitan see of Dublin, he collected above nine hundred pounds; which, with other contributions in Scotland and England, was of great service both to the bishops and to the clergy. Letters from Archbishop King to Mr. Millar, the clergyman employed on the occasion, are stated by Mr. Skinner to be in existence, expressing the most cordial goodwill to him and to his cause. Among the benefactors was Bishop Cairncross, who dying, whilst these sums were in collecting, left by his will the tenth of his personal estate to the distressed episcopal clergy of Scotland. During his incumbency he had repaired the palace at Raphoe, which had been burned by King James's army: and his funeral, in 1701, was solemnised in the cathedral of his diocese, amidst a large attendance of the neighbouring nobility and gentry, as well as clergy, the last offices being celebrated, and a funeral sermon preached, by Bishop King. In a letter of May 16, 1701, to the Lord Primate, the Bishop of Derry says: "I think myself in duty bound to acquaint your Grace, that the Bishop of Raphoe died the 14th instant, about eleven in the morning. I attended him in his sickness, and administered the holy sacrament and other offices of the Church to him. He behaved himself with great patience and submission to the will of God, and died as became a good Christian. He has left a tenth of all his goods and chattels to the distressed episcopal clergy of

Benefaction of
Bishop Cairn-
cross;

his death;

Scotland. He laid out six or seven hundred pounds on the manse-house of Raphoe, and it will take three or four hundred pounds more to finish it." And in another letter, of the 6th of June, 1701, which communicated the event to the Archbishop of Dublin, the preacher notices, that there "attended a great concourse of the common people; many," he adds, "that, I believe, never heard a bishop preach before." In the course of Bishop King's correspondence occur occasional letters to the Bishop of Raphoe, whom, with obvious reference to his former dignity in the Church of Scotland, he constantly addresses with the compellation of "your Grace."

funeral sermon by
Bishop King.

Bishop Sheridan was the only member of the Irish episcopate, who was deprived of his dignity for refusing to transfer his allegiance to the new sovereigns. Of the inferior Irish clergy, some, but so far as I can learn not many, conceived the like objection to taking the new oaths, and accordingly suffered the like penalty of deprivation. Amongst these was the celebrated Charles Leslie, son of the late eminent Bishop of Clogher, and Chancellor of the cathedral of Connor, whose great abilities and theological erudition and powerful writings in defence of Christianity, of episcopacy, and of the principles, doctrines, and ministry of the Church, were ample reasons for causing him to be distinguished as one of the chief, if not the chief, of the Irish non-jurors. After the revolution he relinquished his ecclesiastical preferments, and attached himself to the fortunes, first of King James, and, after his death, of his son. By several visits which he made to the courts of St. Germain and Bar le Duc, as well as by his writings, he was rendered so obnoxious to the government

Few Irish non-
jurors.

Charles Leslie.

His life after the
revolution.

of the new sovereigns, that he found himself under the necessity of leaving the kingdom, and retiring to the pretender's court. He was there allowed to officiate in a private chapel after the manner of the Church of England, and was assiduous in his endeavours to convert the pretender to the faith and worship of that Church. But, perceiving his labours to be ineffectual, and having undergone many difficulties through evil report and good report, he returned to England in 1721, where he prepared a collection of his theological works for the press. Thence he retired to his native country, Ireland; and after about a twelvemonth's interval, died in the tranquillity of domestick retirement, on his own property at Glaslough, in the county of Monaghan, April 13, 1722⁴.

His death.

Representation
of his conduct by
his enemies.

Charles Leslie was no favourite, and appears, indeed, to have stood in an unmerited degree of disesteem, with those who filled the high places of the English Church. Birch, in his *Life of Archbishop Tillotson*, referring to Bishop BURNET's *History of his Own Times*, relates, that "though a declared enemy to the revolution afterwards, he is said to have been the first who began the war in Ireland against James II., affirming, in a speech solemnly made, that he, by declaring himself a Papist, could no longer be king; since he could not be the defender of our faith, nor the head of our Church; dignities, so inherent in the crown, that he, who was incapable of these, could not hold it. And, as he animated the people with this speech, so some actions followed under his conduct, in which several men were killed⁵."

⁴ HARRIS's *Writers of Ireland*, p. 283. NICHOLS's *Lit. Anecd.* i. 195.
⁵ P. 325.

Of the inconstancy here attributed to him, if truly attributed, he must of course bear the blame; but equity demands that he should have credit for the denial, which all his life he made, and frequently and publicly provoked his antagonists to disprove it, "that he ever acted out of his profession as a divine, and his office as a magistrate; and, above all, that he ever took up arms for or against any government." In agreement with this, Harris, in his *Writers of Ireland*, states, that, "in the beginning of the year 1689, a brisk skirmish occurred near Leslie's residence, in which near two hundred of the Irish were slain, but he, with his family, was at the time in the Isle of Man, and received the first account of it some time after at Chester⁶."

His justification
of himself.

Birch speaks also with unjust depreciation of the literary character of Charles Leslie, whom he describes as "a man of some learning and wit, but accompanied with a vein of scurrility, that must render his writings in general disgusting to the present age and posterity, however applauded in his own time, and by his own party." Of his political writings I forbear to speak. But, with respect to his theological works, the Church was indebted to him for a demonstration of the certainty of revealed religion against the Deists; for a demonstration of the certainty of Christianity against the Jews; for a vindication of the Church of England against the Church of Rome; of the divine institution of baptism against the Quakers; of the necessity of episcopal ordination against the Presbyterians; of the divinity of our blessed Lord against the Socinians. The members of the Church in general, not only of his own but of succeeding ages, have acknowledged the debt; and the works of Charles Leslie still continue to be

His literary cha-
racter and works.

⁶ P. 283.

His argumentative powers.

holden in esteem, not indeed for the allurements of an elaborate style, but for their soundness of argument, their perspicuity of reasoning, their earnestness of sentiment, and withal their substantial support of the Christian verity. Of Leslie's argumentative powers in particular, Dr. Johnson had formed a high estimate. Having on a certain occasion, as related by Mr. Boswell, spoken slightly of the reasoning of the non-juring divines, and made objections to the several claims advanced in favour of William Law and Jeremy Collier, of Kenn and of Kettlewell, in answer to the question, "What do you think of Leslie?" he said, "Charles Leslie I had forgotten. Leslie *was* a reasoner, and a *reasoner who was not to be reasoned against*."

Henry Dodwell.

Of other Irish non-juring clergymen, the names have not fallen under my notice, unless it be that of the learned Henry Dodwell, who, however, though a native of Ireland, held the Camden professorship of history in the University of Oxford, which office he relinquished in 1688, on account of the new oath of allegiance. An earnest and able letter, a copy of which, in MS., is now lying before me, addressed to one of the newly-appointed English bishops, probably Pearson, bishop of Chester, with whom, as well as with Lloyd, bishop of St. Asaph, he had been on terms of intimate friendship, contains a full exposition of his sentiments on that very perplexing and painful subject.

Converts.

It appears to have been from motives altogether independent of this question that Thomas Fitzgerald, an incumbent in the Queen's County, quitted the parishes of Ballyadam and Fontstown, and turned Papist, as noted in Archbishop Marsh's *Diary*,

under the date of December 22, 1690; as about two years before a conversion in the opposite direction had taken place, of a Popish priest to the communion of the Church. The motives of the former are not stated: those of the latter, Neal Carolan, arose from a careful examination of the Church's doctrines, the result of which is related by himself in a book entitled "Motives of Conversion to the Catholick Faith, as it is professed in the reformed Church of England." The articles which he discusses in this book are, "The infallibility of the Pope; transubstantiation; half-communion; image worship; and prayers in an unknown tongue⁸."

About the same time another see was vacated, under circumstances almost as singular as they were disreputable and detrimental. In 1672 Thomas Hacket, a native of England, but a graduate of Dublin, beneficed in Hertfordshire, and a chaplain of King Charles II, had been promoted to the diocese of Down and Connor. But for the twenty succeeding years he had been notoriously negligent of his pastoral office, and for the most part absent from his sphere of duty, and resident in England. His diocese suffered the natural consequences of his absence and neglect, in the deteriorated condition of his clergy. A disposition appears to have at one time existed, in a quarter not distinctly indicated, to extend an unmerited and unbecoming indulgence to this delinquency. This is intimated in the answer to a letter of congratulation from Primate Boyle, on the elevation of Dr. Tillotson to the archbishoprick of Canterbury, wherein the archbishop says, "As to your former letter, dated three days before, con-

Hacket, bishop
of Down and
Connor.

Neglect of his
diocese.

⁸ HARRIS'S *Writers of Ireland*, p. 204.

cerning a coadjutor for the bishoprick of Down, I never heard the least syllable of it: and, if any such were designed, I would oppose it to my power, as an example of very ill consequences. I think it much fitter to have the bishoprick made void, for the bishop's scandalous neglect of his charge⁹."

This letter is dated June 11, 1691. But notwithstanding the decided language of Archbishop Tillotson, and the evident propriety and urgency of the intended proceeding, two years and a half elapsed before any movement was made in the affair. Then, however, a royal commission was issued, Dec. 19, 1693, addressed to the Bishops of Meath, Dromore, and Derry, for inquiring into his alleged neglect: and the commissioners, or any two of them, were empowered by the king and queen to "exercise all manner of jurisdictions, privileges, and pre-eminencies, touching any spiritual or ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the diocese of Down and Connor, and to visit and reform all errors, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, committed or permitted by the said Bishop Hackett, or any of the clergy in the said diocese." Wiseman, bishop of Dromore, was prevented by bad health from acting. But the commission was executed by Dopping, bishop of Meath, and King, bishop of Derry, who, on the 13th of March, 1694, suspended him from the exercise of his office; and on the 21st of the same month deprived him, for simony in conferring ecclesiastical benefices, and for other grievous enormities committed in the exercise of his jurisdiction.

His deprivation,
1693.

Punishment of
other clergymen.

By virtue of their commission also, they afterwards, for non-residence and neglect of his pastoral care and other offences, deprived Leonard Matthews,

⁹ BIRCH'S *Life*, p. 267.

archdeacon of Down, of five out of nine parishes of which he was the incumbent, and suspended him from his function and benefices during the king's pleasure. They also deprived Thomas Ward, dean of Connor, of his benefice for incontinence, and censured and suspended other clergymen for misdemeanours. The archdeacon appealed against the sentence, and petitioned three successive Lord Chancellors, Cox, Freeman, and Phipps, for a commission of delegates, to hear and determine his appeal; and in 1704 he printed his case in a volume of small folio, of 207 pages, intituled, *The Argument of Archdeacon Matthews for a Commission of Delegates upon his Appeals and Querel of Nullities*, wherein he impugned, with great appearance of legal research and erudition, the jurisdiction of his judges, annexing a copy of "The Lisburn Commission Ecclesiastical, to which the foregoing argument refers." His efforts, however, for counteracting the judgment were altogether, and, as should seem, deservedly ineffectual; and on thirteen or fourteen different hearings, before so many courts and judicatures, he was always condemned.

Matthews, archdeacon of Down.

Meanwhile the sentence of the commissioners was acquiesced in by the other condemned parties, in common with the deprived prelate, whose place was in a few months supplied by Samuel Foley, who was well qualified, by the religious character of his life and deportment, accompanied with a sweetness of temper and affability of manner, to repair, as far as possible, the injury done by his unworthy predecessor, had it not pleased Divine Providence to remove him from his trust in the fortieth year of his age, and the first of his episcopate. Some MSS. left by him under the title of "Foley's Collections, out of several authors, relating to the points in con-

Bishop Foley.

His character.

troversy between us and the Papists," are preserved in the library of Trinity College, of which he was a fellow: and in an unpublished letter of Bishop King, of Oct. 24, 1696, in the MS. correspondence to be noticed presently, he is recorded as a person "very meritorious, very useful and laborious in the Church." He was succeeded in his bishoprick of Down and Connor by Edward Walkington, who had been formerly a senior fellow of Trinity College, and subsequently Archdeacon of Ossory, and was then appointed Chaplain to the Irish House of Commons in the first Parliament holden in Dublin in the reign of King William and Queen Mary. By the recommendation of that House he was promoted to the sees of Down and Connor on the death of Bishop Foley in 1695, the first or rather the only example which occurs to me of a promotion to a bishoprick from such a recommendation.

Bishop Walkington.

Cause of his promotion.

Other episcopal appointments.

There were some other episcopal appointments made about this time in the Church of Ireland, but they were required by vacancies which occurred more in the ordinary course of things than those to which we have already adverted. On the death of Bishop Roan in September, 1692, who left it on record in his will, that he had been "disabled from doing those works of charity which he had intended"¹⁰, having "been stripped of all his substance at the revolution, so that he had little left him, and much debt accrued from the injury of the times," Henry Rider was advanced from the archdeaconry of Ossory to the bishoprick of Killaloe, and consecrated at Dunboyne in the diocese of Meath, by the Archbishop of Cashel, the licence of the Lord

Bishop Rider.

¹⁰ WARE, p. 598.

Primate and the Bishop of Meath being first for that purpose obtained. On the translation, in December of the same year, of Bishop Jones from the see of Cloyne to that of St. Asaph in Wales, the vacancy was filled by Dr. Willam Palliser, a senior fellow of the college and publick professor of divinity, who was consecrated the following March by the Archbishop of Dublin in the college chapel. And on the death of Bishop Otway in March, 1693, John Hartstong, archdeacon of Limerick, who as such had been attainted by King James's Parliament, was at the instance of the Duke of Ormonde advanced to the see of Ossory, under circumstances no otherwise remarkable, than that he was only in the thirty-third year of his age.

Bishop Palliser.

Bishop Hartstong.

It was also in the course of the same year, the 16th of November, 1693, that the archiepiscopal see of Dublin was vacated by the death of Francis Marsh, who had occupied it since the year 1681, being one of the prelates who for their personal safety were constrained to fly from the persecutions of King James's reign, and being included in the first list of those who were proscribed by his act of attainder. A brief character of him is cited in WARE's *History of the Bishops*¹¹, as given by Dopping, bishop of Meath, who preached his funeral sermon, November the 18th, "that he was a prelate greatly skilled in the Greek language, and in the Stoick philosophy, affable, mild, grave, and of an unblameable life." It is a circumstance highly commendatory of his character in youth, that being a fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, he was, on the promotion of Jeremy Taylor to the

Death of Archbishop Francis Marsh.
1693.

His character.

¹¹ P. 358.

His connexion
with Bishop
Jeremy Taylor.

diocese of Down and Connor in 1660, immediately brought over to Ireland by that eminent prelate, admitted by him to deacon's and priest's orders, and soon afterwards installed by his influence in the deanery of Connor. The deanery of Armagh, and the archdeaconry of Dromore; the sees of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe; those of Kilmore and Ardagh; and lastly, the metropolitan see of Dublin; were his successive preferments. His name and posterity have been perpetuated by his marriage with Mary, the second daughter of his illustrious patron.

Dublin offered to
Bishop Tennison.

Upon his death the see of Dublin was offered to Dr. Thomas Tennison, who in January, 1692, had been consecrated to the bishoprick of Lincoln, and who not long after succeeded Tillotson in the archbishoprick of Canterbury. He is stated to have been willing to accept the present offer under certain conditions. For "that, as a just motive to his acceptance of it, he requested of King William, in behalf of the poor clergy, that the forfeited impropriations, belonging to the estates of Papists, might be all restored to the respective parish churches: and his Majesty was pleased to say it was a reasonable proposition. But some unforeseen difficulties arising, the project was not carried into execution¹²."

Narcissus Marsh,
archbishop of
Dublin.

The offer, having been thus declined, was transferred to Narcissus Marsh, whom, in 1691, we have already noticed to have been promoted from the bishoprick of Ferns and Leighlin to the archiepiscopal see of Cashel; who now, on the 24th of May, 1694, was advanced to the more elevated and important government of the arch-diocese of Dublin; and to whom we shall hereafter have occasion to

1694.

advert, on his further advancement to the primacy in 1702, the first year of the reign of Queen Anne. He was engaged in his triennial visitation of his province of Cashel, when he was apprised of his intended translation, as noticed in the following extract from his *Diary*:

“April 20. The news came to Cork, while I was there, that their Majesties were pleased to declare I should be translated to the see of Dublin, and accordingly the king’s letter was sent over for that purpose; and all this without my knowledge, or any means used by me for obtaining it. O Lord, thy ways are wonderful: and, as this is thy sole doing, so I beseech thee to grant me sufficient assistance of thy Holy Spirit to enable me to perform the work which thou hast assigned me. Amen.”

Account of his promotion.

The archbishop was enthroned in St. Patrick’s, Dublin, on the 26th of May, his patent having been passed on the 24th. And the succeeding entries in his *Diary*, during the six succeeding months, show the promptitude and diligence with which he devoted himself to the visitation of his new diocese and province, and the earnestness of his desire and prayer that “all the rules he made at these his visitations might be duly observed, and that all might tend to God’s honour and glory.” To one of these entries, in particular, attention may be directed, as indicating an episcopal irregularity, which must be presumed to have appeared in one of his suffragans, and which the metropolitan of course considered that his duty required him to rectify. “Nov. 26. This day I wrote to the Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, admonishing him not to ordain any but such as are to be preferred in his own diocese, nor to admit any out of another diocese into his without letters dimissory.” And it may be

His diligence in office.

Correction of an episcopal irregularity.

Archbishop
Marsh's library.

here convenient to notice, as falling within the scope of our present narrative, the excellent provision made by the archbishop for the intellectual improvement of his diocese, in the noble library which he built, furnished, and endowed in the neighbourhood of his archiepiscopal palace. The library of Dr. Edward Stillingfleet, formerly bishop of Worcester, being to be sold, was purchased by Archbishop Marsh, who added to it his own collection of books, and deposited the whole in a building constructed by him for the purpose, at the estimated cost of more than 4000*l*. To render it more useful to the publick, he added a handsome endowment to the amount of 250*l*. a year, for a librarian and sub-librarian to attend at certain prescribed hours. And for the continual security of the benefaction, he obtained an Act of Parliament to settle and preserve it in perpetuity. At the era of its establishment it was of singular value and advantage: and as such it is mentioned by Mr. Harris, who “acknowledged it from a long experience to be the only useful library in the kingdom, being open to all strangers, and at all seasonable times.” He lamented, however, the want of one provision to make it complete; namely, a supply of books from the time of its establishment: “there being only the small fund of 10*l*. a year allotted for this purpose, which is little more than sufficient to keep the books in order.” But on this subject there will be occasion hereafter to speak more at length.

Death of Queen
Mary.
1694.

Towards the close of the year in which Archbishop Marsh had been translated to Dublin, the queen died; an event which he thus feelingly records in his *Diary*: “1694, Dec. 28. This morning about

one of the clock died that most excellent princess, Mary, queen of England, at her house at Kensington; and left me the greatest of her admirers, and faithfullest of her subjects, to lament her death, and the loss of the three kingdoms thereby, until it shall please God to call me to follow her for ever, and to be (if it may so please my heavenly Father) where I have good hope to believe that she is. ‘*Sit anima mea cum anima dominæ meæ, hoc est, in intimis Paradisi penetralibus.*’” Without entering on the difficult questions connected with the queen’s accession to the throne, her conduct in discharge of her royal duties appears to have been exemplary: and the care, with which she is generally supposed to have exercised her ecclesiastical patronage in England, probably had its counterpart in Ireland, as may be inferred from the instance already cited, of her effective interposition to prevent the appointment of an unfit person to the episcopate, first made under a misapprehension, and annulled on a discovery of the error: at the same time it may well excite astonishment that she gave her sanction to the appointment of another, of whom if a judgment may be formed from the reflection of Archbishop Narcissus Marsh at the time, and from Archbishop King’s report of the same person, to be noticed hereafter, the unfitness is hardly questionable.

Her exercise of
ecclesiastical pa-
tronage.

SECTION III.

Acts of King James's Parliament annulled. Limitation of power of granting Faculties proposed. Projected Reformation of Ecclesiastical Abuses. Parliament of 1692. Proceedings connected with the Church. Bishop of Cork's Sermon. Vote of Thanks to the King. Circular Letter to the Bishops. Building and Repairing of Churches recommended. Parliament of 1695. Acts relating to the Church. Bill for Liberty of Conscience. Archbishop King's MS. Correspondence. Neglect of the Church by the Government. Abuse of Ecclesiastical Patronage. Letters of Archbishop King to Bishops Burnet and Lloyd. Canvassing of Clergymen for Bishopricks. Condition of Dissenters. Their interest with Government. Archbishop King's literary pieces.

Acts of King
James's parlia-
ment annulled.

1690.

1695.

AFTER the transfer of the sovereign power from King James II. to King William and Queen Mary, no parliament was assembled in Ireland until the year 1692. But in the mean time, namely in 1690, the acts of King James's Irish parliament had been by the English legislature declared null and void; which declaration was, at a subsequent period, namely in 1695, adopted by the Irish legislature; and in pursuance thereof, all the rolls, records, and other documents, relating to the act of attainder and other pretended acts in Ireland in King James's reign, were, on the 2nd of October, cancelled and publicly burned.

Preparations for
a parliament.

In the interval, however, notice was given of a parliament to be assembled in Dublin: as a preparation for which some of the bishops employed themselves during the preceding autumn in framing measures for the improvement of the Church. Of

these the following notes occur in Archbishop Marsh's *Diary*, under the year 1691.

"Sept. 20. We have consulted some days about preparing acts against the next session of parliament; and since my Lord Primate Boyle would not hearken to the abridging the power of granting faculties, or rather to a more moderate use of it, than hath been practised, we have drawn up a letter to my Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, done by Francis, lord archbishop of Dublin, to get the power limited and some other things regulated: which letter is signed by Fr. Dublin; Narcis. Cashel; Ant. Midens; Will. Derrens; Nat. Waterford. The rest of the bishops here, namely, Will. Darens; Will. Aladens; Will. Clonfert; not being favourable thereto." The reader may find it convenient to be apprised, that the names *Midens* and *Derrens* respectively indicate the Bishops of Meath and Derry; and *Darens* and *Aladens* those of Kildare and Killala.

1691.

Limitation of
power of granting
faculties pro-
posed.

The archbishop's *Diary* proceeds thus:

"Oct. 8. I sent a copy of a letter signed by the Archbishop of Dublin, myself, the Bishops of Meath, Derry, and Waterford, for the Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the reformation of abuses in the Church; especially concerning, 1, faculties for pluralities; 2, examination for orders and admission into ecclesiastical livings; 3, recovering ecclesiastical debts; 4, the use of excommunication. This copy I sent to the Bishop of St. Asaph, but since that another copy is ordered to be drawn, and that laid by. O God, remember me for good, and cause the abuses to be reformed, and put it into the hearts of those concerned to do it." And then, after an interval, "The letter before mentioned, as designed

Projected reform-
ation of ecclesi-
astical abuses.

to be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, was laid by, and another obtained from the lords justices, (Sir Charles Porter and Mr. Coningsby,) to my Lord Sidney, one of the principal secretaries of state in England, desiring him to represent the thing to his Majesty, and to obtain his letter to the primate, requiring him to call together the bishops here present, to consider of a way to rectify these abuses.”^s

Meeting of parliament, 1692.

In 1692, being the fourth year of William and Mary, dating from the commencement of their reign in England, the 5th of October, about two years and a quarter after the victory of the Boyne, the parliament met in Dublin, under Lord Viscount Sidney, lord lieutenant of Ireland: and on the 12th of the same month the House of Lords passed a bill of recognition of their Majesties’ title to the crown, and sent it down to the House of Commons, whence it was returned without any alteration on the 13th.

Time of annulling the acts of James’s parliament.

Speaking of the transactions of this year in Ireland, Bishop Burnet, in the *History of his Own Times*, relates, that “a parliament was summoned to meet in Ireland, to annul all that had passed in King James’s parliament, to confirm anew the act of settlement, and to do all other things that the broken state of that impoverished island required.” If, however, the purpose of the summoning of the parliament was “to annul all that had passed in King James’s parliament,” the purpose was not effected at this time, nor until the year 1695, when, as Bishop Burnet himself notes among the occurrences of that year, “all the proceedings in King James’s parliament were annulled.” In the mean time the act of settlement, by the recognition of their Majesties’ right to the crown, was in this parliament enacted without delay.

The preamble of this act sets forth the annexing and union of the kingdom of Ireland to the imperial crown of England, and that the kings and queens of England are, by undoubted right, kings and queens of this realm; its deliverance by King William and Queen Mary, with great expense of blood and treasure, and the extreme hazard of the king's person, from the miseries of civil war and rebellion raised by the Irish Papists and abetted by the French king; its being thus secured from Popery and arbitrary power, and happily reduced to a state of peace and order, to its laws and liberties, and the free and impartial administration of justice, for which, with all possible thankfulness, is acknowledged the goodness of Almighty God, in raising up their Majesties to deliver us, and to reign over us. And then follows the recognition and acknowledgment, as enacted by the present act of parliament, that the kingdom of Ireland, and all titles, styles, royalties, jurisdictions, and so forth, thereunto belonging, are most rightfully and lawfully vested in their Majesties King William and Queen Mary, and that their most excellent Majesties were, are, and of right ought to be, king and queen of England, Ireland, and so forth.

Act of recognition of King William and Queen Mary's right to the throne.

4 W. and M., c. 1.

In this parliament some other proceedings ensued, which may be noticed as connected with the Church, some of which are mentioned in Archbishop Marsh's *Diary*, as follows:

Parliamentary proceedings connected with the Church.

"Oct. 15.—This day it was voted in the committee for religion, that a bill for toleration be desired, with this proviso, that the sacramental test be imposed as it is in England; and also that persons obliged to take it do likewise receive the communion thrice in the year, at least,

according to the rubrick of the communion service ; and also that they presume not to preach against our Church in their meetings, under the penalty of 100*l.* the first time, 200*l.* the second time, and losing the benefit of toleration for the third offence, with some other clauses.

“My Lord Lieutenant, at a committee of the council, promised to return the bill for toleration that had been drawn, without the above-mentioned limitations, and to get it amended in England.”

“19.—At a committee of religion several heads were discoursed, and by the members of the committee agreed on, as fit to be inserted in a bill for toleration ; but my Lord Coningsby acquainting the committee, that a bill for that purpose was already sent over to England by the council, they were let fall.”

On the 9th of October, soon after the opening of the parliament, the Archbishop of Cashel had preached to both houses at Christ Church. On the 23rd, as the archbishop notes in his Diary, “The Bishop of Cork preached boldly against the Irish.” And on the 24th, “The thanks of the house were voted to be given to the Bishop of Cork for his sermon, with their desire that he should print it ; and this message to be carried to him by the Earl of Drogheda and the Viscount Blessington.” The 23rd of October was the day appointed by act of parliament to be celebrated as a day of annual thanksgiving for the deliverance of the country from the massacre and rebellion of 1641 : and the Bishop of Cork, here mentioned, was Edward Wetenhall, who had recently experienced great cruelties and oppressions from the persecution of the Irish Papists during the tyranny of King James. He is recorded as eminent for the continual exercise of his pastoral function with great diligence and assiduity, during twenty years’ superintendence of Cork and Ross,

Bishop of Cork's
Sermon. Oct. 23.

and fourteen years afterwards of Kilmore and Ardagh, to which he succeeded, on the death of Bishop Smith in 1692. It appears, from a letter of Bishop King to Sir Robert Hamilton, in February, 1702, that Wetenhall would gladly have given way to the old possessor of the see, Bishop Sheridan, if he could have been restored to it. As it was he repeatedly contributed, with the other prelates, to the support of their displaced and distressed brother.

“On the 22nd of October,” as we learn from the same authority, “the Archbishop of Tuam,” Dr. John Vesey, who had been forced to fly from his country in the rigorous season of Lord Tyrconnel’s government, and who had been included in the first list of those who were proscribed by King James’s Act of Attainder, “made a motion that an address of thanks should be presented to his Majesty for his great care of Ireland, in venturing his person for its reduction: and that thanks should be given to both houses of parliament in England for their assistance therein in a parliamentary way; and thanks also be given to the people of England for their charity towards the English that fled out of Ireland thither for their security. All which was voted, and a committee chosen to draw up an address to the king, and to consider how the latter were to be done. On the 25th the committee brought in the address, which was read, and after some few alterations approved. It was concluded that the speaker should write to the Speakers of both houses in England, to signify the thanks of the Lords’ House, and that in his letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, he should insert a clause to testify the thankfulness of the people of this kingdom for their relief in England. The 26th,

Vote of thanks to the king.

the address being ready, was sent to the House of Commons, who returned it without any alteration."

Act for encouraging Protestant strangers.

On the same day a bill was brought into the House of Lords "for the encouragement of Protestant strangers to settle in the kingdom of Ireland." An act, in some degree similar, had been passed in the thirteenth and fourteenth years of King Charles II., but had expired after the lapse of seven years.

4 W. and M., c. 2.

It was now revived for the seven years next ensuing, encouraging such strangers to settle in the kingdom, and providing, as the conditions of their deriving benefit "from the act, that they should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, as mentioned in the act, and make and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation. And Protestant strangers and foreigners thus qualified were to have and enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and have liberty of meeting together publickly for the worship of God, and of hearing divine service, and performing other religious duties in their own several rites used in their own countries."

Motions from committee of religion.

"On the 27th a motion was made from the committee of religion, that they might have liberty to prepare heads of a bill for toleration; of another bill against sabbath breakers, and the reforming the lives of the laity and clergy, which passed; and also the house agreed with their committee that the popish holydays ought to be abrogated, but there was no vote passed for preparing heads of a bill for that purpose."

There will be occasion hereafter to revert to some of these proposed measures. They were not prosecuted, nor did any other business of special interest in the Church, except the petition of Dean

S——, occur in this parliament, which was prorogued by Lord Sidney, November 3rd, 1692, and again April 6th, 1693, and dissolved on the 5th of the following September.

Parliament prorogued, Nov. 3, 1692.

At the time of the dissolution the government was in the hands of Sir Charles Porter, knight, lord chancellor, and Sir Cyril Wyche, knight, by whose authority a circular letter was addressed to the several prelates for procuring information in order to the improvement of the Church. A MS. transcript of this letter, marked "Copia vera," has fallen into my hands, together with some other diocesan documents, and it runs after the following manner:

Circular letter to the Bishops, Sept. 30, 1693.

"My Lord,

Dublin Castle, 30th September, 1693.

"That the Lords Justices might be able to do that service to the Church which they desire, they are endeavouring to be informed of the present state of it: and in order to it lately directed me to write to your Lordship and the rest of my Lords, the Bishops, to desire a copy of the last visitation in each respective diocese; in which they hoped to have found every dignity, rectory, cure, or vicarage in the kingdom, with the value of it in the king's books, the impropiator, patron, and incumbent of each, the number of parishes, and what parishes have churches now standing, and what none: as also what churches are in repair, that divine service may be celebrated in them, and what unions are already in your diocese, and what more are necessary: as likewise how many livings each incumbent hath, and what are the values of the said livings. But finding by some returns that have been made, that the visitation books are not so particular, I am commanded by my lords to desire further that these things may be added, and such other as your Lordship shall think fit; and to assure your Lordship that the Lords Justices have no other design in making this

inquiry, but only to do this poor country the best service they can, in truly promoting the honour and welfare of the Church.

“I am,

“Your Lordship’s most humble servant,

“RI: ALDWORTH.

“To the Right Reverend the Lord Bishop
of Downe and Connor, at Downepatrick.

“RI: ALDWORTH,

Copia vera.”

Edict of Bishop
of Down and
Connor.

In compliance with this letter from the secretary, the diocesan issued his “Edict” to his clergy, as follows :

“I hereby desire and require the clergy, and the churchwardens, and questmen, within the dioceses of Down and Connor, to make due inquiries and faithful returns to me respectively, according to the above letter and directions ; and particularly a true valuation of the tithes, glebe-rents, and other ecclesiastical profits of their several respective churches and chapelries, communibus annis, within the said dioceses.

“Dated this 21 Oct. 1693.

“THO: DUNO-CONORENS.

“To the Reverend the Clergy, and to the
Churchwardens and Questmen within
the Dioceses of Down and Connor.”

The coincidence may be thought a little remarkable, that the bishop, whose name is subscribed to the foregoing edict, was the same that has been lately mentioned ; against whom a commission was issued for continued non-residence and neglect of his diocese in the December of this year, 1693 ; and who, in the following March, was deprived of his bishoprick.

Building and
repairing of
churches recom-
mended.

This order of the Lords Justices was evidently intended for the ground of further proceedings, but

of any such I find no particular mention, unless it be that in the year 1695, the seventh of King William, (the queen having died on the 28th of December preceding,) when the parliament was convened the 27th of August before Henry Lord Capel, lord lieutenant; his Excellency, amongst other measures, recommended in his speech from the throne the building and repairing of churches, as one of the best means for promoting the established religion, and providing against future rebellions: a recommendation which was, however, productive of no present result.

In this parliament, however, several acts were passed, which require our attention: one, in the first place, after the example of that which had been passed in England, 29th Charles II., ch. 9, "for taking away the writ de heretico comburendo." It enacts the utter abolishing of all punishment by death in pursuance of ecclesiastical censures, saving, at the same time, the jurisdiction of Protestant ecclesiastical judges in cases of atheism, blasphemy, heresy, or schism, or other damnable doctrines or opinions, to be punished according to his Majesty's ecclesiastical laws by excommunication, deprivation, degradation, and other ecclesiastical censures, not extending to death.

Acts of Parlia-
ment, 1695.

7 W., c. 2.

To this, in common with others which had no special reference to religion, the following were added, partly for the protection of the Church and the reformed faith, and partly for the general religious improvement of the country:

Chapter 3 was "An act declaring all attainders, and all other acts made in the late pretended parliament, to be void."

Attainders made
in King James's
parliament void

7 W., c. 3.

The preamble first sets forth, that since the accession of King William and Queen Mary to the imperial crown of England, whereunto the kingdom of Ireland is inseparably united, no parliament could be holden without their Majesties' authority: but that, nevertheless, divers persons during the late war and rebellion did assemble in May, 1689, at Dublin, without authority from their Majesties, and did pretend to be a parliament, and, acting in concurrence with the late King James, did make several pretended acts, and cause the same to be recorded among the proceedings of parliament, all which pretended acts were formed in opposition to the sovereignty of the crown of England, and for the utter destruction of the Protestants and the whole Protestant interest in this kingdom, and are and were null and void. It then recites the enactment of the English act, declaring the said pretended parliament a rebellious assembly, and their acts void; and, thereupon, for the better quieting and assuring the minds of his Majesty's good subjects, and that no memorial might remain among the records of parliament, it enacts, that all the pretended acts, and the rolls whereon they are engrossed, and all proceedings made by the said persons pretending to be a parliament, and also all writs issued for calling the said pretended parliament, and all the journals of the said pretended parliament, be brought before the chief governor at the council-chamber, and there be publicly and openly cancelled and utterly destroyed. All the pretended acts of attainder of the said unlawful assembly are also declared absolutely null and void: and all persons subjected to any pretended disabilities and forfeitures are discharged thereof, as if they were particularly named in this act.

Another act, chapter 4, was passed "for restraining foreign education, by prohibiting, under a severe penalty, the sending of any child or other person into any parts beyond the seas out of his Majesty's obedience, to be trained up in any priory, abbey, nunnery, popish university, college, or school, or house of jesuits or priests." This act also, whilst it restrains instruction in the Popish religion by those means, or by Popish schoolmasters, recites the act of 28 Henry VIII., c. 15, "for the English order, habits, and language," and the act of 12 Elizabeth, c. 1, "for the erection of free schools," which acts are stated "not to have had the desired effect, by reason of such Irish Popish schools being too much connived at;" and requires the judges of assize and justices of peace to give them in charge to the grand juries, and to be very circumspect in seeing them put in due execution.

7 W. c. 4.
Act for restrain-
ing foreign edu-
cation.

Chapter 5 was, "An act for the better securing the government, by disarming Papists;" but its particular enactments, as not directly connected with our immediate subject, need not be stated.

Act for disarm-
ing papists.
7 W., c. 5.

Chapter 9 was "for the more effectual suppressing of profane cursing and swearing;" and Chapter 17, "for the better observation of the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday:" being both adopted from English acts, the former from 6 & 7 William III., c. 11, and the latter from the 29 Charles II., c. 7.

Act against pro-
fane cursing and
swearing.
7 W., c. 9.

Another act, peculiar to Ireland, which had been agreed on by the Lords' Committee on Religion in 1692, was now enacted, founded upon the practice of "many idle persons, who refuse to work at their lawful calling and labour on several days in the year, on pretence that the same is dedicated to some saint, or pretended saint, patron,

Act restricting
holydays.

or pretended patron, for whom they have, or pretend to have, reverence or respect; and choose rather to spend such days in idleness, drunkenness, and vice, to the scandal of religion, rather than following and working in their lawful calling and usual employment, which hath been found by experience to tend very much to the impoverishing and hindering the improvement of this kingdom." This was set forth in the preamble, as the foundation for an act, Chapter 14, "declaring which days in the year shall be observed as holydays." And, for the remedy of the mischief, the act, having recited the days appointed by the Church to be kept holy, ordains, that "if any common labourer being hired, or other servant retained, shall refuse to work upon any other day than the several days mentioned, or than such days as shall be set apart by order of the king or chief governor, he shall forfeit two shillings for the poor of the parish."

Bill for liberty
of conscience.

These bills were passed in the month of September, 1695: another, which was intended to be passed, failed in consequence of the objection entertained against it by Sir Richard Cox, at that time one of the Judges of the King's Bench, and afterwards Lord Chancellor; better known to posterity as the author of a History of Ireland. In the preparation of bills for the approaching parliament, one "for liberty of conscience" was projected and submitted to the Privy Council, of which Sir Richard Cox was a member. He did not oppose the bill, for he said that "he thought all friends to the state should have a free toleration of their religion:" but he was desirous of modifying it in a particular wherein it appeared dangerous; arguing that, "as there was no test in Ireland, it was necessary for the

Modified by Sir
Richard Cox.

security of the established Church, to exclude from offices, or any share in the government, all those who would not conform to the Church established by law." And to that purpose he proposed a clause to be added to the bill, to which much the greater part of the council agreed. The bill accordingly was lost: for when its advocates found that they could not carry it without that clause, they dropped it altogether; thus testifying to the world, as Harris remarks, "that it was not ease they wanted for Protestant dissenters in religious matters, which no good man would refuse, but an admission into offices and power, which no firm churchman would consent to¹."

Object of the
Dissenters.

It appears from Archbishop Marsh's *Diary* also, that on the 16th of September, whilst parliament was sitting, "Heads for a bill of toleration were brought into the House of Lords, by the Earl of Drogheda; but by the bishops voting that they should not be read until three days after, who had a majority of votes, they were quite laid by." It is added, "The Bishops of Derry and Waterford protested against throwing out of the house a bill for union and division of parishes; and in their protestations having reflected something on the house, (as was apprehended,) they were both ordered to withdraw. And after some time, the Bishop of Derry was brought in and asked pardon of the house, and was ordered to take his place. But the Bishop of Waterford standing out, was brought to the bar, and there received sentence to be sent prisoner to the castle, until he should submit to beg pardon of the house, and desire his enlargement by petition, which accordingly he did on Tuesday

Protest of Bi-
shops of Derry
and Waterford.

¹ *Writers of Ireland*, pp. 216, 217.

morning, and was ordered his place, his confinement having been on Saturday."

Parliament
dissolved.

The parliament, having been several times adjourned, was at length dissolved, without any other acts being passed, particularly affecting the Church. And it was not before the year 1697, being the 9th of King William, that another parliament was called, wherein some provisions of that kind were enacted.

Archbishop
King's MS. Cor-
respondence.

The library of Trinity College has lately made a valuable acquisition of Archbishop King's correspondence, extending with some intermissions from the year 1696 to the year 1729; during the first six years of which period he was Bishop of Derry, and during the remaining twenty-seven occupied the archiepiscopal see of Dublin, which he vacated by death in the last-mentioned year. The correspondence appears to contain transcripts of almost all his letters of that period, made in a contemporaneous hand-writing for his own use, but, with some not inconsiderable exceptions, where injury has been sustained from damp or moth, easily legible. By the kind liberality of the reverend the provost and senior fellows of the college, conceded to my request through the sub-librarian, the reverend Dr. Todd, I am enabled to make use of this interesting collection of contemporaneous and authentick documents, hitherto unpublished, for the exposition of the History of the Irish Church, in which the writer bore, throughout that period, a conspicuous part. By a happy coincidence, the two principal intermissions, to which I have alluded, in the series of correspondence have been supplied from another quarter, which will be thankfully specified on a

future occasion. The name of the writer of the letters is too well known to the reader of these pages to need any remark on the importance of the correspondence.

The time at which this correspondence commences is remarkable, as occurring not long after the queen's death, which appears to have been in its consequences injurious to the Church of Ireland. Bishop King at least, in a letter to his "dear friend," Mr. Tollett, dated from Dublin, September the 22nd, 1696, thus laments the carelessness and neglect which the Church was then experiencing from the government:

"There is one thing I am much concerned at, because I have heard many take notice of it since I came to town, and 'tis the little care is taken of the Church in this kingdom at court, which between you and me in policy ought not to be neglected, since this is surely and apparently the strongest interest in Ireland. We have several times petitioned for the forfeited impropriations, which are really worth little; and yet can by no means procure a letter for them, though such was never demurr'd on by any king before, and 'tis not one single farthing out of the king's pocket; and therefore very ill reflections are made on his Majesty by some that wish him not well. I wish I could learn how to manage this matter, that I might stop their mouths." In a succeeding letter of May 13, 1698, the annual value of the forfeited impropriations is stated as between 800*l.* and 1000*l.*

Neglect of the
Church by the
government,
1696.

And he then proceeds to notice an abuse that prevailed in the disposal of the highest ecclesiastical preferments; both of which subjects are enlarged on

Abuse of ecclesi-
astical patron-
age.

in two letters of the 5th of October, the former to Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, the latter to William Lloyd, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

The letter to Bishop Burnet is as follows :

Letter from
Bishop King
to Bishop
Burnet, October
5, 1696.

Application for
the impropriate
tithes.

Not granted to
the Church.

Devotion of the
clergy to his
Majesty.

“ My Lord,

“ Having the opportunity of this bearer, Judge Coot, who is a very hearty friend to the Church, I give your Lordship the trouble of an affair that is of some concern to us, and in which we need your Lordship’s assistance and advice. Amongst many forfeited estates in the late rebellion, several impropriate tithes came under that qualification; and we, immediately after the victory of the Boyne, applied to his Majesty for them, that he would be pleased to restore them to the Church, for the maintenance of a Protestant clergy, which is very much wanting, where those impropriations are. We have been promised fair all along; but instead of giving them to the Church, there are several parcels already granted to laymen, and we do apprehend the rest will be disposed the same way. We have made several attempts to prevent this, and the late Lord Capell undertook our petition, but his death prevented our knowing the success. It appeared that all that was left of those forfeited impropriations were not worth 200*l.* per annum; that many private persons had gotten grants to many times their value; that all the former kings, his Majesty’s predecessors, had granted letters in favour of the clergy for such impropriations as came to the crown: that the clergy of Ireland are universally in his Majesty’s interest, and most devoted to his person, of any clergy in the three kingdoms, as indeed their obligations are greater to him, being restored by him to all they have. ’Tis hoped, if these things were laid before his Majesty, he would not refuse so small a request, which is not one farthing out of his pocket or of any courtier. If, therefore, your Lordship could put to your helping hand to further our petition, it would be a very great obligation on the clergy here, and a real service to his Majesty. My Lord, I have reason to beg your pardon for this trouble; but it being in the affair of the Church, I

doubt not but your Lordship will favourably interpret the importunity of, my Lord, your Lordship's most obliged humble servant,

“ W. D.

“ Gilbert, Lord Bishop of Sarum.”

The other letter was addressed to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; and it will be observed to commemorate with respect the endeavours of the late queen for checking the abuse complained of, and to deprecate an encouragement of the abuse on the king's part :

Letter of Bishop
King to Bishop
Lloyd,

“ My Lord,

“ The great concern your Lordship has all along manifested in behalf of this Church has encouraged the addresses of all that wish her well, and gives me the confidence to recommend to your Lordship's knowledge the bearer hereof, Judge Coot, a very hearty friend to the interest of the Church and churchmen here, and most zealous for the English Protestant interest, which is the true interest of the kingdom.

“ My Lord, I understand that several clergymen, that have livings in this kingdom, lye at court, and have promises from some there to use their interest with his Majesty to procure them the next bishopricks that fall in Ireland. My Lord, whatever the merits of these good men may be, their method is very injurious both to the Church and government here, and I find was so esteemed by her late Majesty. If such should be encouraged we should have many follow their example, and every one that expected a bishoprick would be obliged to leave his benefice here to curates, as those great men do; and when the attendance of clergymen (that have pretensions to preferments) at Dublin is become a great grievance to the Church, your Lordship will easily apprehend what the attendance at London must be. In short, good men would not do it; and, as it often happens, ill men would engross the best places by their assiduity. Besides the government here would lose the dependence of the clergy, which is of great moment to the

Canvassing of
clergymen for
bishopricks.

Disapproval by
the late queen.

kingdom; and truly every one that is preferred independently of the chief governor is looked on by him as an enemy, of which I could give examples; and therefore I do hope his Majesty will not easily be prevailed on to alter his usual methods, or put affronts on those that he thinks worthy of the government here, by preferring persons without the usual recommendations, which would in a great measure incapacitate his ministers here to serve him, and would not be so safe for his Majesty. My Lord, I assure your Lordship, that nothing but my zeal for the Church and his Majesty's service could prevail with me to give your Lordship this trouble; and if I gain no more by it, I am sure of this, that it gives me an opportunity to profess to your Lordship, which I am very ambitious to do, that I am,

“Your Lordship's most obliged humble servant,

“W. D.

“Will: Lord Bp. of Litchfield and Coventry.”

Condition of the
dissenters.

To this letter of the Bishop of Derry to the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, the following to the same prelate is an interesting sequel, exhibiting, as it does, the actual condition of the dissenters in Ireland, and the sort of esteem in which they were holden by the government. The observations also, in the second part of the letter, made by Bishop King on his own publication, and on his conduct towards the dissenters, and on the effect thereby produced upon them, are well deserving of attention. The letter was written from Londonderry, December 15, 1696:

“My Lord,

Letter of Bishop
King to Bishop
Lloyd. Dec. 15,
1696.

“I received the favour of your Lordship's of Nov. 16, last week; and am much obliged to your Lordship for the notice you took of my last by Judge Coot, and the consideration you give the intimation therein. My Lord, we have lost a very good friend to our Church in the late Lord Chancellor, and it concerns us much, both in respect of the

Church and kingdom, to have another good man in his place; for if a violent hot man, especially if engaged in the late faction, should succeed him, it would endanger the whole kingdom. I will take leave to discover a matter to your Lordship, to which, perhaps, you are no stranger; and 'tis, that the dissenters' interest in this kingdom is really in itself very weak and low, as sufficiently appeared in the last session of our parliament, in which all their interest, joined with the Lord Deputy's, the Speaker of the House of Commons, and all his adherents, could not carry anything that we had not a mind to, and, indeed, there were hardly ten dissenters in the house. But to deal freely with your Lordship, it has been the business of most of our governors since the Revolution to make an interest for dissenters. My Lord Capell did it above board, and professed that he had the king's commands so to do it; which intimation did them more service than all the other ways he could have invented; for everybody here has a mighty deference to his Majesty's pleasure. To give your Lordship an instance of my Lord's bias that way, there needs no more but to look over the lists of sheriffs made last year by him, and it will appear that if he could find a dissenter in the whole county, though the meanest contemptible fellow in it, he was sure to be named sheriff, though the great men of the county looked on it as an affront, and remonstrated from their quarter-sessions against it. Now, my Lord, if we have such governors still put on us, 'twill be impossible, whatever reason or Scripture be against schismatics, to hinder their multiplying; for most people value their interest above their religion; and if dissenters be picked out for places of honour, trust, and profit, whilst their equals are past by, many will daily qualify themselves as they see their neighbours do. I know not how things are in England with the Church, but I can assure your Lordship this is the case here, and that it is a great disservice to his Majesty in many respects.

"I am much obliged to your Lordship for your favourable censure of those pieces, which I ordered Mr. Tollett to present your Lordship. My Lord, I cannot pretend to be the author of any of the arguments in them, the whole was an

The interest of dissenters with government.

Lord Capell commanded by the king to favour them.

Their increase in consequence.

Bishop King's literary pieces.

Change of conduct in dissenters.

Uncertainty of their constitution.

Constitution of the Church.

effect of my reading. Mr. Thorndike gave me the notions, and all that I can pretend to is, the taking them out of his obscure stile and method, and putting them into a more modern dress. I have angered the party very much here, but yet have forced them to reform many things, and to speak much more moderately of us and our worthies than formerly. When I came to this diocese, I found the dissenters mighty insolent; and one of our communion could no sooner get into their company, but they immediately fell upon him, sometimes scoffing and sometimes arguing with him, and our own people had little to say for themselves, but that they had an establishment by law, and it did not contradict Scripture: but since my book came out, they are mute; no persuasions will prevail with them to dispute or talk of religion, and the members of our Church insult over them on this account. As to their constitution, I had taken it to task 'ere this, but I am at a loss what it is, or where to find it; so far as I can perceive, they have nothing fixed or certain, but everything is arbitrary according to their fancies. However, I take their humble advice to the parliament in 45 concerning Church government, on their late heads of agreement, to look the most authentick. And I have it in my thoughts, if God grant me health, to describe our constitution, and prove it from Scripture, and to compare it with theirs, which, as your Lordship rightly observes, is nothing but an heap of human inventions, not only without, but directly contrary to, Scripture. I want some help to the perfecting of this work, which I cannot come by in this place; and, besides, the subject is very new and ticklish, especially in respect of the foreign Church, and must be handled with a wary hand; which considerations, together with an imperfect state of health, which I fell into last winter in Dublin, and am not fully recovered, have hindered me from making any great progress in what I intended; and besides, I have some hope from your Lordship's letter, that it will be undertaken by a better hand."

Death of Robert Ware, March, 1696.

It may be here not inappropriate to our subject, if we mention the death of Robert Ware, in March, 1696, second son of Sir James Ware, and author of

the work, frequently cited in the early part of this history, entitled "The Reformation of the Church of Ireland, in the Life and Death of George Browne, some time Archbishop of Dublin." To him also we are indebted for the curious admonition to the Church of the dangers which beset it, in the volume entitled "Foxes and Firebrands, or a Specimen of the Danger and Harmony of Popery and Superstition." His more illustrious father, Sir James Ware, whose *History and Antiquities of Ireland*, as translated, enlarged, and edited by Walter Harris, great-grandson of Sir James and grandson of Robert Ware, together with his *Annals*, are the foundation of the ecclesiastical history of Ireland, had died in the year 1666, and been buried in St. Werburgh's Church, in the city of Dublin, without either stone or monumental inscription. But as his descendant truly remarks, "He had taken care in his life-time to erect a monument for himself by his labours, more lasting than any mouldering materials²."

SECTION IV.

Correspondence between Archbishop Marsh and Dr. Smith. Mode of preparing Acts of Parliament. Act for sending Popish Ecclesiasticks out of the kingdom. Other Acts relative to Papists. Their proper character. Measures of counteraction. Similar Acts in former Parliament. Failure of Bill for King's Preservation. Letters of Bishop King on the subject. Reasons of opposition. Bill opposed by Bishops. Their names. Protest in favour of the Bill. Its further fate. Failure of Bill for Building Churches: and of Bill in favour of Free Schools. Bills relating to the Church rejected by the Commons.

THE *Diary* of Archbishop Marsh is continued very little beyond the date of the last extract cited in

Correspondence
between Arch-
bishop Marsh
and Dr. Smith.

² HARRIS'S *Writers of Ireland*, pp. 256, 156.

the preceding section; and contains no more ecclesiastical intelligence. But in a collection, preserved in Oxford, in the Bodleian Library, of MS. letters between him and Dr. Thomas Smith, from about this time through the next eleven or twelve years, on various subjects, chiefly literary, one occurs, bearing date "Dublin, Oct. 13, 1697," in which he thus apologises for an apparent neglect of his correspondence:

Mode of preparing acts of parliament.

Age and infirmities of Primate Boyle.

Archbishop Marsh's laborious occupations.

"We having parliaments but seldom in Ireland, it might be supposed that here is occasion for many acts to be passed when we do meet; all which are prepared in this council, and sent to that in England, before they can be brought into our parliament to be passed into laws. And my Lord Primate being above eighty-seven years old, and almost deprived of his sight and hearing, you cannot imagine but the weight of business to prepare bills, to be passed into acts of parliament, for the Church, which nobody but churchmen will mind, hath lain, and still doth lay, heavy upon me; insomuch, that for four months past I have not been able to command almost a minute's time from publick business. And I thank God, that I have gotten a great many bills prepared for the good of our Church; whereof some are already passed, and the others I hope will suddenly be passed into laws, for the better establishment of this poor distressed Church."

The following statutes, passed in the parliament of 1697, were manifestly intended by the foregoing communication.

Act for sending Popish ecclesiasticks out of the kingdom.

It was matter of notoriety, that the late rebellions in Ireland had been contrived, promoted, and carried on, by Popish archbishops, bishops, jesuits, and other ecclesiastical persons of the Romish clergy: and it was naturally judged that the actual peace and publick safety of the kingdom were endangered by the great number of regular clergy of that descrip-

tion resident there, and settling in fraternities and societies, contrary to law, and to the great impoverishing of many of his Majesty's subjects, who were forced to maintain and support them. It was also notorious, that the said Romish clergy did not only endeavour to withdraw the king's subjects from their obedience, but were daily stirring up and moving sedition and rebellion, to the great hazard of the ruin and desolation of the kingdom. These mischiefs were set forth in the preamble of the act of the 9th of William III., chap. 1; and for the prevention of all such mischiefs it was enacted, that all Popish archbishops, vicars-general, deans, jesuits, monks, friars, and all other regular Popish clergy, and all Papists exercising any ecclesiastical jurisdiction, should depart out of the kingdom before the 1st of May, 1698, on pain of imprisonment till transportation; and that, returning after transportation, they should be guilty of high treason. With respect to any Popish ecclesiasticks not actually in the kingdom, it prohibited any such to come in, on pain of twelve months' imprisonment, to be followed by transportation, and of high treason if returning after having been transported.

Evils that occasioned it.

Penalties, varying according to the number of times when the offence should be committed, from twenty to forty pounds, and the forfeiture of lands and goods for life, were enacted against any person who should knowingly harbour, relieve, conceal, or entertain such Popish clergy.

Penalties for concealing them.

It was further enacted, that no person, upon pain of forfeiting ten pounds, should bury any dead in any suppressed monastery, abbey, or convent, that is not made use of for celebrating divine service, according

Burials in monasteries forbidden.

to the liturgy of the Church of Ireland by the law established, or within the precincts thereof.

Orders to magistrates.

And that all justices of the peace should, from time to time, issue their warrants for apprehending and committing all Popish ecclesiasticks whatsoever, that should remain in the kingdom contrary to the act; and for suppressing all monasteries, friaries, nunneries, or other Popish fraternities or societies.

Act against intermarrying of Protestants with Papists.

A statute was also enacted for preventing the mischiefs which had resulted from the intermarrying of Protestants with Papists.

Motives to the act.

It had been found that Protestant females, inheriting or being otherwise possessed of property for their advancement in marriage, or having considerable life estates by dower or jointure, or being guardians of Protestant children entitled to property, had been, by flattery and other crafty insinuations of Popish persons, seduced and prevailed upon to contract matrimony with Papists, and that such marriages had tended not only to the ruin and destruction of such property, and to the great loss and damage of many Protestants, to whom the same might descend, but also to the corrupting and perverting of the Protestants so marrying, and of those in their guardianship, so that they forsook their religion and became Papists, to the great dishonour of Almighty God, the great prejudice of the Protestant interest, and the heavy sorrow and displeasure of all their Protestant friends. Such females, therefore, under the penalty of being rendered incapable of holding their estates or interests, were, by chap. 3 of this parliament, forbidden to marry any person not certified to be a known Protestant.

Evil of intermarriages between Protestants and Papists.

It had also been found, that the marriages of

Protestants with Popish females had proved pernicious to the Protestant interest; forasmuch as it commonly happened, that such Protestant persons and their issues, being influenced by such Popish wives, were reconciled to Popery and became Papists. It was, therefore, enacted by the same statute, that any Protestant marrying a woman not certified to be a known Protestant, should be deemed a Papist or Popish recusant, and disabled from being heir, executor, administrator, or guardian, or from sitting in parliament, or bearing office or employment, unless he should, within one year after such marriage, procure a certificate that his wife had renounced the Popish religion and become a Protestant.

It had been also found, that Popish priests had of late endeavoured to withdraw soldiers from the king's service by marrying them to Popish wives. And it was, therefore, enacted by the same statute, that any Popish priest, or Protestant minister, or other person whatsoever, who should marry any soldier to any wife, without certificate of her being a Protestant, should forfeit twenty pounds for every such offence.

There are those by whom these enactments have been condemned as penal statutes against the Romanists¹. But surely it were more agreeable to truth and equity, more in correspondence with the avowed motives and real purposes of the Acts, to describe them as statutes protective of the Protestants. In the course of little more than fifty years, the Church of Ireland and her members, after having been afflicted by the most bitter sufferings, had been by a merciful Providence twice rescued from utter

Proper character
of these statutes.

¹ PLOWDEN'S *Hist. Rev.*, i, 201.

destruction and annihilation as the National Church. The authors of those distresses and dangers had been the Popish hierarchy and clergy; first encouraging the people of their communion to rebellion, and using them as the instruments of their own ambitious projects; and then giving effect by their co-operation to the arbitrary and tyrannical projects of a Popish king. What the Popish clergy had thus done was, moreover, not the hasty, the transient, and evanescent ebullition of a momentary excitement, but the deliberate and steadfast result of their own avowed principles, in obedience to that paramount authority to which they acknowledged allegiance. What they had done, therefore, they were prepared to seize any favourable opportunity of doing again. Knowing these their principles, and sensibly alive to the evil of their consequent practices, it was no more than an act of self-protection and self-preservation in the Protestants of the kingdom to divest the Popish hierarchy and regular clergy of their power to commit fresh injury, and for this purpose, as the only sufficient means, to dismiss them from the kingdom. Of the essential and unalterable character of the Romish religion, and of the restless, turbulent, and ungovernable spirit of its emissaries, the Protestants of Ireland had too sufficient reason to be satisfied: and the evils which had been thence experienced by their fathers and by themselves, they naturally endeavoured to avert in future from themselves and their descendants.

Measures of counteraction.

Thus, again, with respect to the other act for preventing Protestants from intermarrying with Papists, if the effect of such marriages had been proved to be the transferring of Protestant property to the hands of Papists, the corruption and perversion of

Protestants to the faith of Papists, the diminution of the wealth, the numbers, and the power of the Protestant community, and the proportionate increase of the weight and influence of their Popish opponents, it was prudently and justly done to take the requisite precautions for counteracting such effects. Such effects are stated in the preamble of the act as having actually come to pass. The character of Archbishop Marsh, who appears from his own testimony to have been the framer of the bill, is a sufficient voucher for the truth of the statement. But, indeed, the truth of it must be self-evident to all who know the genius of Popery, and have had any experience of its influence on the relations of domestick life.

Similar remarks apply to the principle of the statutes enacted in the preceding parliament, which have fallen under the same sentence of reprobation: the acts, namely, "to restrain from foreign education," and "for better securing the government by disarming Papists." They were not penal statutes enacted against the Romanists, but they were statutes of precaution for the security of the National Church, and the peace and prosperity of the kingdom. The same was the case with respect to that enactment of the next parliament, the 10th of William III., chap. 13, which "prevented Papists from being solicitors:" the ground of that enactment, as laid down in the preamble, being, that by experience in Ireland, it has been always found, that Papist solicitors have been, and still are, the common disturbers of the peace and tranquillity of his Majesty's subjects in general: that by the great numbers and daily increase of Papist solicitors, practising in Ireland, great mischiefs and inconveniences

Like grounds for enactments of former parliament.

are likely to ensue, to the prejudice and disquiet of his Majesty's subjects; and that a similar statute had been found to be a general benefit to his Majesty's subjects in England. Meanwhile the statute of the preceding parliament, in the 7th year of William, chap. 14, for declaring what days should be observed as holidays, was in truth a great indulgence and benefit to the large body of the Popish population, by exempting them, many days in the year, from the obligation to unprofitable inaction, and the temptation to spend a very large portion of their time in idleness, drunkenness, and vice; and enabling and encouraging them to employ it in honest and profitable industry.

Failure of bill
for the king's
preservation

It was a remarkable occurrence in this session of parliament, that a bill, which was brought in professedly for the king's preservation, failed of being carried, and that amongst those who contributed to its failure were several of the prelates. Great offence was excited in the government by so extraordinary an event, and one to all appearance so little expected. But in explanation and justification of his conduct, and that of his brethren, who were parties in the opposition, the Bishop of Derry addressed the following letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as preserved in his MS. correspondence:

"Dublin, 30th Oct. 1697.

Letter of Bishop
of Derry to Arch-
bishop of Canter-
bury, Octobe
30, 1697.

"May it please your Grace,

"It was our misfortune to have a bill brought before us in the House of Lords, for the better securing the king and government, to which several bishops could not assent; and there is reason to believe that several will endeavour to misrepresent them: upon account of the title and some other good things that were in it, they think themselves obliged to give your Grace an account of what they have done, being very desirous to stand right in your

Grace's opinion, especially in a matter that concerns his Majesty, to whom they have the greatest obligations. I have therefore sent your Grace inclosed, some of the reasons at their desire, and humbly entreat your Grace's favourable construction of them. The greater part of the temporal Lords, reckoning their proxies, were against the bill, and eight bishops. But if there had been no bishops at all in the house, it would have miscarried. I intimate this to your Grace, that the odium, if there should be any on men for voting according to their conscience, may not be laid on our bench by such as may not wish well to our order.

"My Lord, we have hardly any Jacobites among the Protestants in Ireland; and yet I can assure your Grace, that this bill, as it was drawn, did disgust most of them: and even those that were for the bill confessed that it was hard to subject about 800,000 persons, without distinction of age, sex, or quality, to the discretionary power of two justices of the peace in a matter that reached, not only to their liberty and property, but to their very lives.

Bill offensive to
most Protestants.

"But it did concern the bishops more particularly to be tender in the case: all severe laws in matters of conscience, and arbitrary proceedings, being laid at their door, though they have had the least hand in them. Besides, we understand that his Majesty was both by nature, principles, and education, against persecuting any upon mere conscience: and I assure your Grace, that those considerations did weigh very much with such bishops as voted against the bill; and we promise ourselves, that, if his Majesty be fully apprized of the matter, he will approve of our proceedings; and humbly beg your Grace, if there be occasion, to do us justice.

Considerations
against it.

"I will not trouble your Grace with any apology for this, which your Grace's station and concern for this Church in particular draws upon you: I shall only add my most earnest prayers for your Grace, that God would long preserve you for the good of these Churches and kingdoms; and that I am, in all humility,

"Your Grace's, &c.

"W. D.

"Archbishop of Canterbury."

Principles of
the opposition.

To the Bishop of Salisbury and to Sir Robert Southwell, both of whom had expressed dissatisfaction on the same occasion, the Bishop of Derry likewise wrote two long explanatory and justificatory letters, which are recited in his MS. correspondence. It is not my purpose to enter at length on this subject; but an extract from each of those letters may be acceptable, as showing the principles which actuated the writer and his brethren in their opposition. To Bishop Burnet he commenced thus:

Letter of Bishop
King to Bishop
Burnet.

“I understand by several hands that your Lordship is much offended with me, and some of my brethren here, for voting against a bill, that had a very good title, ‘the better security of the king’s person.’ My Lord, had the bill answered the title, I dare answer for all my brethren, as well as for myself, that not one of us but would have been zealous for it. But, my Lord, in our apprehension, it was against the honour, as well as the life, of his Majesty; and we take it ill that such a bill should be offered to us, and worse that we should be censured for rejecting it. We have no other liberty left us in our parliaments as to bills, and therefore must be cautious how we suffer ill things to pass us, for the sake of what is good in any bill. If we could mend a bill, we had been to blame for rejecting this; but since we cannot, we must let them know that would ensnare us, that the best title will not pass ill things.

No argument in
favour of the bill.

“I profess I never heard one argument for the bill but the title; and all the excuse that was made for the abominable things in it was, that it was never designed to be executed. But we have too many such laws already; and, with God’s help, shall never have any more, as long as I or my friends can help it. If one should measure our temper by our laws, I think we are little short of the Inquisition; but if by the execution of them, I doubt we shall seem as indifferent in matters of religion as our neighbours in Holland: whereas soft laws and strict execution are what wisdom and interest would recommend to us; and till we see some better use made of those we have than

has been hitherto, I think we ought to have no more *in terrorem*."

To Sir Robert Southwell the Bishop of Derry expressed himself after this manner:

Letter to Sir Robert Southwell.

"I have before me yours of the 14th instant, for which I return you my most hearty thanks, and reckon the freedom you use in it as one of the greatest obligations. I shall not say much to justify myself; and were it not the peculiar value I have for your opinion, I would not say anything at all. I never expected to live to see the sitting of a parliament; and it was the peculiar and extraordinary goodness of God, that did not only preserve me till the last sate, but enabled me to assist at it, beyond my expectation. I sate every day with the prospect of death before my eyes; and I neither said nor did anything, that I know, in it, but I was ready to answer at the tribunal of God. I hope you will be so charitable to a man in my circumstances as to think that what I did was designed for the service of my king and country, and that I would not consent to anything that I thought would betray either liberty or religion.

Bishop King's dangerous state of health.

"I was well aware that I was not in the way of my temporal interest; and you observe, that one of the justices, that had designs for my promotion, desisted because he found me *untractable*. I cannot help this character, nor my being of *sour and morose principles*, or being *tied up to them*. But I must profess to you, that my principles for government are no other than *Magna Charta*, nor for religion other than the Bible, as interpreted by the catholic consent of Christians. To these I am likely to be *bound up* whilst I live; and shall, with all the skill I can, oppose such as endeavour to alter them, and introduce slavery and irreligion.

His conscientious opposition.

"As to the particular objections you make, if I understand right, they are these:—1st. That it turned all men's heads to see eight bishops, made by King William, to be against the bill for the better securing his person, and three archbishops, made by King Charles, to be for it. In answer to which, methinks this is a great objection against the bill but none against the bishops; for 'tis to be supposed that

Bill opposed by bishops.

the bishops made by King Charles were of the humour of his court, and in that interest; and the bishops made by King William of the humour of his court, and in his interest: and surely they believed the bill prejudicial to his honour, and dangerous to his person, or they had never rejected it. One good argument for setting up arbitrary power over four-fifths of a nation, and altering *Magna Charta*, which is law in Ireland as well as in England, in so essential a part as trial for life, liberty, and estate, by a jury, were of more value than a thousand such extrinsic reasons; but there was not one offered in the debate for it, nor can be, as I take it."

Names of the
bishops con-
cerned.

It were needless to dwell on the other objections of a political nature discussed in this long letter. But it may be added, that, considering the incapacity of the Primate to take part at that time in publick affairs, the three archbishops who voted for the bill must have been Narcissus Marsh of Dublin, Palliser of Cashel, and Vesey of Tuam; though, indeed, the fact of Archbishop Palliser having been made a bishop by King William in 1692, when he was consecrated to the see of Cloyne, seems inconsistent with the supposed condition. Of the eight bishops, Sir Robert Southwell conjectured Bishop Foy of Waterford to be one; but the Bishop of Derry affirmed this to be a mistake, assuring Sir Robert that the Bishop of Waterford was not in the House at the time, and that his proxy and vote were in favour of the bill. Bishop Burnet also had been informed that the Bishop of Waterford was one of the opponents of the bill; but in another letter of Bishop King it is affirmed that "the Archbishop of Dublin had the Bishop of Waterford's proxy, and gave the bishop's vote with his own."

In fact, from a reference to the Journals of the House, it appears that the eight episcopal opponents

of the bill were the Bishops King of Derry, Vigors of Ferns, Fitzgerald of Clonfert, Lloyd of Killala, Hartstong of Ossory, Ashe of Clogher, Thomas Smyth of Limerick, and Lindsay of Killaloe. It appears also, from the same authority, that, before the question was put to the vote, it was stipulated that such Lords as should be in the minority on a negative might enter their protest on the Journals. The following protest was accordingly entered, with the signatures of the three archbishops and eleven temporal peers. Of the three it will be observed that the Archbishop of Cashel was one; and he having been promoted to that dignity by King William in 1694, and having been at first raised to the episcopate by the same sovereign in 1692, as Bishop of Cloyne, it is evident that the view, communicated to Archbishop King by his correspondent in England, was incorrect. That he did not rectify it may appear somewhat surprising.

Protest in favour
of the bill.

The protest was as follows, with the preface as entered in the Journals of the House:

“Leave being asked, and given, for any Lord to enter his dissent, if the question should be carried in the negative, we, whose names are here after-written, do dissent for the reasons following, viz.:

“Because it doth evidently appear, that the Papists of this kingdom have ever been, and at this time are, enemies to the English Protestant interest of this kingdom.

“Because it is notorious that his Majesty rescued our lives and liberties out of the hands of our enemies, the Papists of this kingdom, and restored to us the exercise of our religion by his great valour and conduct, and at the frequent and extreme hazard of his sacred person.

“Because this bill doth well correspond with the title, and seems aptly and properly framed to preserve his Majesty's person and government, whereon, under God, the

welfare of all the Protestants in all his Majesty's dominions doth entirely depend.

“Because this bill doth declare the associations already entered into for the preservation of his Majesty's person and government to be and remain good and lawful; and doth enjoin and require all that are in office or employment, and other persons therein specified, to join and associate themselves together for the better preservation thereof; which we conceive to be absolutely necessary for the good of the Protestant religion and the English interest; and the rather, since the House of Peers have not yet associated, although the House of Commons and many others have done the same.

“Because this bill enjoins every person elected to serve as a member of the House of Commons to sign the association already entered into by that House before he sit or vote therein.

“Because it disables every person to vote at elections of parliament that shall refuse to take the oaths in the said act mentioned; which we conceive would be a great security to the government by incapacitating Papists and other disaffected persons from sitting in parliament.

“Because this bill provides for the continuing of all officers, civil and military, in their employments six months after the death of his Majesty, or any of his heirs, or successors, unless such successor should, within that time, notify his pleasure to the contrary, which provision tends to preserve the publick peace of this kingdom, and keep inviolable the union and dependence of this kingdom on the crown and kingdom of England.

“Because, in our opinion, there is nothing in the said bill inconsistent with justice or equity, the like laws having been enacted both in England and in this kingdom, for the necessary defence of our religion and safety, and to distinguish Protestants from Papists by oaths and declarations prescribed by such laws, and changed by subsequent acts as occasion required, and the penalties in this bill contained can never be inflicted but by the joint concurrence of the majority of the justices of the peace, at their quarter-sessions, who must certify every conviction to the judges of

assize, that the same may be estreated into the exchequer, from whence process may issue, so as there seems no danger of the prosecution being hasty and severe, there being no obligation to put the said act in execution, but a discretionary power is left both in the justices of the peace, barons of the exchequer, and the government.

“Because the bill lodges in his Majesty full power to pardon and discharge all offences, forfeitures, and disabilities incurred by the said bill, under his royal signet or sign-manual, so as his Majesty’s clemency and the prudence and moderation of the justices of the peace and the government may well be intrusted with the power of putting in execution a law so necessary for our safety.

“Because the rejecting this bill may seem to discourage the execution of those penal laws which are already enacted against the Papists of this kingdom, who from hence may take occasion of condemning, as unjust and severe, the laws formerly made against them.

“Lastly, Because we think it our duty, by entering our dissent to the rejecting of this bill, to acquit ourselves before God and man, from being charged by our posterity as authors of the miseries which we fear may be the consequence of the loss of this bill.

“NARCISSUS DUBLIN.

W. CASHELL.

JO. TUAM.

MEATH.

INCHIQUIN.

ORRERY.

MOUNTRATH.

MOUNT ALEXANDER.

LOFTUS.

MASSAREENE.

POWERSCOURT.

BLESSINGTON.

MOUNTJOY.

BLAYNEY.”

As the session of the next year, 1698, was drawing on, the Bishop of Derry, by the advice of several friends, wrote letters on the 22nd of September to the Bishops of Down and Connor, of Limerick, and of Elphin, entreating their attendance in Parliament, in expectation of business of the greatest moment. In one of these letters, namely, that to the Bishop of Limerick, it is observed, “As to the bill for the

Further fate of
the bill.

preservation of the king's person, it is likewise of moment, and, I believe, may still bear debate: but I cannot say how it is, not having yet seen it." The statute-book, however, contains no such act: but in a letter of February 2, 1699, in which the Bishop of Derry gives a detailed account of all the bills that were rejected, there occurs a mention of this amongst the number, whence it appears that, having been again brought into parliament, it underwent the same fate from the Commons which it had undergone the former session from the Lords.

Of one act passed in this session, the only one of an ecclesiastical nature, being for the encouragement of the building of houses by ecclesiasticks, an account has been already given. A bill was also introduced for the building of churches; but "after having been committed in the House of Lords, it was by common consent called for no more," as stated in the letter of Bishop King, just cited. "This method of laying it aside," he proceeds to relate, was taken, because the House was willing to avoid giving an express negative to it. The exceptions against it, amongst many others, were, that it prescribed a new and impracticable way of calling vestries. 2ndly. That by mistake of the clerk a negative was added in one material clause, by which was enacted, that in applotments, if any *were not aggrieved*, they might appeal and have remedy, but if they were they had none. 3rdly. Only the inhabitants were obliged to contribute to repair churches, whereas, as the law is now and ought to be, all those that have lands or holdings in parishes are liable to such assessments: this was the more intolerable in Ireland, where whole parishes are stocked with flocks belonging to persons that are no inhabit-

Failure of bill
for building
churches.

Exceptions
against it.

ants. 4thly. The parishioners were enabled to transfer their church from one place to another without consulting the bishop or patron, which was judged too great a power to be lodged in them. And, lastly, all appeals were ordered to be made to the quarter-sessions and assizes, without any notice of the bishops, which was a fair way to destroy the ecclesiastical jurisdiction."

Another bill that did not pass in the House of Lords was for free schools, the design of which, as we learn from the above-cited authority, "was to reinforce the Act of 12th Elizabeth, chap. 1, for the erection of free schools. This went off as the former, for these, amongst other reasons: 1st. It enacted, that the school should be erected in the principal county of the diocese, but gave no rule for determining which was the principal county. 2ndly. It gave power to the grand jury of the principal county, not only to assess their own county, but likewise all other counties that were in the diocese, which was judged inconvenient. 3rdly. It took no care for the residence of schoolmasters, which in well-endowed schools begins to be a grievance in Ireland. 4thly. Whereas the bishops and clergy were to maintain these schoolmasters, yet the election of them was to be in the council and chief governor; and the very applotment of the salary on the clergy was not to be, as formerly, in the clergy, but was transferred to the judges. And, lastly, though it appeared that some dioceses had already more free schools than were useful, yet they were obliged by this bill to erect another, and it would happen sometimes to be in the same town where there was one already endowed."

Bill in favour of
free schools not
passed.

The other bills, of which there were several, re-

Bills rejected by
the Commons.

jected in this parliament by the Lords had no immediate reference to ecclesiastical affairs. But there were two rejected by the Lower House, on which a few words may be added.

One was a bill for reviving the act of union and division of parishes. "It came," says the Bishop of Derry, "from the Lords to the Commons, and was rejected—1st. Because Mr. Brotherick had, by his interest at the council-board, added a clause to the heads drawn at first by the Lords, that retrospected, and would have turned many good men out of their livings, and made way for bad. 2ndly. Because Mr. Brotherick, as was alleged, to serve his turn at Coraby, had put such a definition of residence in the bill as was not practical in many places. And, lastly, because it was of little use if it had past."

In the mean time the bill for the preservation of the king's person had been previously rejected by the Commons; being, in fact, the first that was rejected in that House. "It was mended," says the Bishop of Derry, "in some particulars, since it miscarried in the House of Lords last year; yet the reasons offered against it there made such impression in the generality of the kingdom, that it was thrown out by a great majority; and surely it had been so mischievous to the kingdom, that no man had been safe in it if it had passed, and it had been of no real advantage to his Majesty."

SECTION V.

Death of Bishop Dopping. Testimonial to his merit. Bishop King's solicitude concerning a fit Successor. His letters on the subject. Case of the Bishoprick of Meath. Recommendation of Bishop Foy. Translation of Bishop Tennison. Melancholy picture of the Church exhibited in Bishop King's correspondence. Act to encourage Building on Church Lands. Its utility. Measure for rebuilding Parish Churches. No Convocation in this reign. Breaches of liberty in Church and State. Causes of discontent. Rapid succession of Irish Bishops. Account of Bishop Huntington. His early death. Bishop King's diocesan Visitations. Metropolitan Visitations held by suffragan Bishops.

THE same year in which the acts just commented on were respectively passed and rejected, the year 1697, witnessed the removal of one of the bishops of the Church, concerning whom there has been already occasion to make honourable mention. To the merits of Anthony Dopping, bishop of Meath, in his episcopal character, testimony has been borne in earlier passages of this narration: and during the late calamitous season of tyrannical oppression, no member of his order appears to have been as resolute as he in resisting the iniquitous proceedings of King James and his pretended parliament, and in standing forward to protect the interests of the members of the Church. These things need not be repeated: but in evidence of his worth as a parochial clergyman, such as many of those whom the Church of Ireland has, at all times, had the happiness of reckoning among her sons, if less conspicuously, yet not less beneficially, known within their more limited

Death of Bishop
Dopping.

Testimonial to
his merit.

sphere of duty, it may be here incidentally noticed, that at his death, which is said by his biographer to have been much lamented by all ranks of people¹, a massy silver dish, given to him in testimony of respect by the parishioners of St. Andrew's, Dublin, of which parish he had been vicar, was devised by his will to the heir of his family, as an heir-loom to descend for ever in remembrance of his parishioners' kindness; his family arms being engraven on the margin, and on the bottom St. Andrew on the cross, surrounded with the original Greek of the apostolical precept, "Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour." The vacant see of Meath was filled by the translation from Clogher of Bishop Tennison, of whose episcopal character there has already been occasion to speak with respect.

Succeeded by
Bishop Tennison.

Bishop King's so-
licitude concern-
ing a fit successor.

The death of Bishop Dopping, who was highly esteemed by Bishop King as "a worthy and active prelate before his infirmities seized him," rendered desirable the appointment of "a prudent, knowing, and vigorous successor." A contrivance was suspected for bringing in the Bishop of Clonfert, concerning whom Archbishop Marsh, as we have seen, "praised the Lord that he had no hand in his consecration," and of whom Bishop King now spoke in a letter to Mr. Tollett, as "the weakest of the order, and as having no qualification to recommend him." This co-operated with his sense of the importance of the station to excite in him a special solicitude for a worthy successor to Bishop Dopping in the bishoprick of Meath: and he expressed this solicitude in three letters of the 29th of April, 1697, addressed respectively to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Salisbury, and Sir Robert Southwell. Of

His letters on the
subject.

¹ HARRIS'S *Ware*.

these I select the one addressed to Sir Robert Southwell as most illustrative, not only of the particular case before us, but of the condition of the bishoprick of Meath generally, and of other circumstances relating to the Church:

“ Sir,

L:derry, April 29th, 1697.

Letter to Sir Robert Southwell.
April 29, 1697.

“ I am very unwilling to give you any trouble except it be on necessary occasions, and I look on the present as eminently so. I understand by my letters from Dublin, which I left on the 20th instant, that since my coming from thence it has pleased God to remove the Bishop of Meath, a most useful and eminent pillar of our Church, before his late impairment by sickness, and in particular my friend and assistant, upon whose advice I would rely in matters of moment. 'Tis of the last consequence to the Church here, and to his Majesty's service, that that place be supplied with a proper person. I will therefore take the liberty to lay the case of the bishoprick before you, and doubt not but you will do in this, as I have ever found you do heretofore, I mean improve the intimations I give you to the best advantage.

“ The bishoprick of Meath is the first in the kingdom, as London is in England; and takes place next to the archbishops, but it is much inferior in value to many of them. The bishop is usually of the privy council, and resides in Dublin. We have at present these clergymen of the privy council: the Lord Primate, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Kildare, and Bishop of Cloyne; and the Bishop of Meath was likewise of it, and yet the Church interest was very weak there; for the Lord Primate is disabled, and never appeareth; the Bishop of Meath was under the discountenance of the government; and besides, by the infirmity of his hearing and other defects, could be but little serviceable for these last years; and the Archbishop of Dublin, (though an excellent person and scholar,) yet is too modest and unacquainted with the world to make a great bustle, without which I am informed little is done there. The Bishop of Kildare hath likewise his disadvantages; and the Bishop of Cloyne is seldom at the

Case of the
bishoprick of
Meath.

Board, and is not yet in so great authority as hereafter he will be, by reason of his age. So that upon this matter the Church interest at the council-table depends on the fit choice of a person to fill the bishoprick of Meath.

Necessity of a fit person to fill it.

Recommendation of Bishop Foy.

His high character.

“There are some such (as the Bishop of Clogher) that would be fit for it, but they are already in better bishopricks, and cannot, without imputation of imprudent ambition, accept it. If I might (between you and me) discover my sense, I think the Bishop of Waterford would do well in it; and Dr. Smith, dean of St. Patrick’s, that attends his Majesty, might be sent to Waterford. By the care and prudence of the present bishop that diocese is put in tolerable order, as I observed when there last summer; and it is a good testimony of the bishop’s prudence that he governed a parish in Dublin for fourteen years in very difficult times with the greatest love and highest approbation of his parishioners, and has now with the same success governed, for five or six years, his diocese. As to his affection to the government, I dare engage that his Majesty has not a subject in his kingdoms more cordial to him, more zealous or concerned for his interest or prerogatives; insomuch that the late Lord Capell depended upon him for stoppage of any attempts that might be offered in the House of Lords to lessen the king’s prerogative. I believe the Bishop of Kildare may put in for the succession; but he is already in council, and I question whether his successor in Kildare and Christchurch may have interest to get into it, and so we shall lose one vote.

“I have one consideration more to press for the putting the Bishop of Waterford into the post, and ’tis the great disorder in which the diocese of Meath is. ’Tis one of the largest in Ireland, consisting anciently of five bishopricks, at least sixty miles long, in an excellent country: but the lands were mostly made away or exchanged for tithes about the Reformation; the rest of the tithes are generally improper, and many parishes must be united to make a competency. The late bishop being infirm since the Revolution, was not able to look to the cures as was necessary; and there needs an active, vigorous, and skilful person to put them in order, such as the Bishop of Waterford; and I hope you will use your endeavour to place him or some

such there. I am now to beg your pardon for this trouble, but, lest I should increase it, I will conclude with my hearty prayers for you, and the humblest respects of,

“Sir, yours, &c.,

“W. D.

“To Sir Robert Southwell.”

From a subsequent letter of the Bishop of Derry to Sir Robert Southwell, he appears to have been well satisfied with the appointment to Meath. “As to the late disposal of the preferments in Ireland,” he says, writing from Bath, July 19, 1697, “they are better than I could have wished.” In fact, Bishop Tennison was translated from the more opulent see of Clogher to the more honourable post of Meath; he was succeeded in Clogher by St. George Ash, translated from Cloyne: and the bishoprick of Cloyne was filled by the consecration of John Pooley, dean of Ossory, and prebendary of St. Michan’s, Dublin. In his latter capacity, he is related by Mr. Harris to have used great labour, entreaties, and solicitations, and thus to have effected the repair of his church, which was almost in ruins, against a strong opposition from the sectaries, many of whom, nevertheless, he was successful in bringing over to the Church: and Bishop King mentions, that by his preferment to the bishoprick of Cloyne, “he made room for the division of St. Michan’s parish, which will make three, and I hope a short bill to that purpose will be transmitted.”

Translation of
Bishop Tennison.

Consequent pre-
ferments.

A few weeks after the date of the preceding letter, the following, from the Bishop of Derry to the Bishop of Waterford, present a melancholy picture of the condition of the Church:

Melancholy pic-
ture of the
Church.

"*Dublin, 28th Sept. 1697.*

Letter of Bishop
King to Bishop
Foy, September
28, 1697.

"My dear and very good Lord,

"I have read over yours of the 18th instant, with great grief and trouble of mind. I am sensible every word you say is most true, and that it is not possible our Church should subsist long in this languishing and crazy condition; but few regard or mind it, and those that are apprized of it are either afraid or wearied out with the ill treatment with which they meet. . . .

Evils of the
times.

"As to those steps of reformation you mention, they are necessary, but they must be obtained by union, perseverance, and industry; whereas I must profess I have not one to whom the proposal of them would be grateful. O, my Lord! we have fallen in evil times, in which it is a step to a preferment to the person that will give assurance, that, as soon as he is in it, he will disgrace or betray it: this is the fatal method has been taken since the restoration to destroy us, and is still prosecuted, though by different hands; in short, my Lord, we are not like to obtain one good law for the Church.

Difficulty of
procuring laws
for the benefit of
the Church.

"This sessions some of our own body, and a whole crowd of the inferior clergy, opposed the bill for building houses; and it was with much ado we carried it in the House of Lords. I laboured it near three hours; and had it not been that I got some of the lay Lords, it had been left there; but it miscarried in the House of Commons, as I told you formerly. We shall have no bill for unions; or, if we have any, it will be worth nothing. We pressed a bill of blasphemy, but it was said there was none in England, which carried it off. We have had no meeting this sessions at the Archbishop of Dublin's house as formerly, nor any committee for religion, at least very seldom. My own business has pressed me so hard, having the society of London and Lord Chancellor to deal with. I have been much diverted, and your absence has been of no good consequence. We did not meddle with Tolon, (*qu. Toland?*) because we could do nothing to him; but the bill of blasphemy was designed against him and his followers: the House of Commons made short work with him, but with

the ill precedent which you observe: but it cannot be helped: they that have power must use it, and will do it."

And on the 5th of October, he again wrote to his friend the Bishop of Waterford, in the same discouraging manner:

Letter of Bishop
King, October 5,
1697.

"My very good Lord,

"I am more sensible of the ill aspect that the generality of men cast upon the Church and churchmen: the faith of religion is very weak amongst all, and the sense of it almost lost; and the matter is laid deeper than most men are aware of. 'Tis come to a formed conspiracy; and agents and emissaries are employed to cry down the credit of religion in general, and instil profane maxims and principles into youth. My Lord, it is not credible what pains are taken this way, and how diligent some persons of great quality are to propagate irreligion. 'Tis hard for us to know what we are to do in these circumstances; if we appear openly and resolutely for our faith, we are twitted with the story of the Ephesian craftsmen; if we are silent and retire, then good men, if they get their bishopricks and benefices, and their ease, they are as indifferent as to religion as their neighbours: if we vote with the court in parliament, we are flatterers; if against it, ungrateful: in short, we are used as our Master was, and I can find no other comfort besides that consideration. I thank God I am willing to be at any pains, and to venture anything for Christ's sake, and do find a comfort and satisfaction in doing so; but I profess to your Lordship, that I am often at a loss to determine what is so, and having naturally a diffidence in myself, I need the encouragement and assistance of others to give me assurance; and I speak it with sorrow, I have not one friend near me, that I can with reliance and necessary freedom consult in these matters. I discourse severally, but 'tis with reserve, and without going to the bottom, you have given a good reason for it.

Ill disposition to
wards the
Church.

Difficult position
of churchmen.

"I own every one of those things you mention: they are in my thoughts, and I believe the laity might be brought to comply with us in most of them; but the clergy are

Necessity of a
Convocation.

resolute against them, and to struggle about them is to make that averseness publick. I own a Convocation necessary, and I had hot disputes about it in England; but all assemblies, that have been long chained up, prove unruly when first let loose; and I am afraid this would prove in our present juncture a reason of abrogating them altogether; which I am afraid will happen however, and if you have seen Dr. Wake's book against them, for so I reckon it that 'tis intended, you will be of the opinion that little less is designed. . . .

Peculiar situa-
tion of Bishop
King.

"As to my brethren, your Lordship knows they are jealous of me, and by no means approve my maxims. They have generally other thoughts and views than I have. This is a thing I cannot help, and dare not blame: not that I fear to offend them, but because I shall lose the little interest I have amongst them by unseasonably pressing them. If I be mistaken in this method, 'tis my weakness; for I do not decline any opportunity, where I do not apprehend more ill consequence than the good designed, if obtained, would amount to.

Difficulties in the
way of religious
improvement.

"I had particular cautions given me in England, as I told your Lordship formerly, not to innovate in anything; and, if possible, to prevent anything of religion to come on the carpet: for, said they, there are evil designs on foot against you, and if you give them opportunity by moving anything, whatever shape you intend for it, they will finish it into a monster: and I am well assured that nothing really for our good will at present pass the two councils and two houses, for our enemies have interest enough to obstruct or distort it in one or other of these places, as experience shows us. But though I think we are not to expect any good to the cause of religion in our present circumstances, yet I believe it is possible to prevent some evils, and I cannot be reconciled to your absence in such a difficult time; pray therefore think on it, and do as God shall direct you.

Want of consider-
ation of religion.

"One would think that the world were somewhat concerned about religion, for of three bills that past last, one was to prohibit marrying with Papists, and another to banish regulars, and the third, for damning the Articles of Lymerick, was on pretence of weakening the Popish inte-

rest; but after all, there is not the least consideration of religion at the bottom, and we must learn from this not to judge according to appearance.

“ My Lord, I have wearied myself sufficiently by this long letter, and can hardly excuse the ill jointing of it altogether. Your Lordship will believe, that my heart is very full, and my mind little at ease, whilst the ark of God is in so hazardous a condition. I can only add to my best endeavour my prayers and tears to support; I promise myself the concurrence of yours, and in particular for, my Lord,

“ Your most affectionate humble servant and brother,
“ W. D.

“ To the Bishop of Waterford.”

The following extract from a letter addressed by the Bishop of Derry to the Bishop of Down and Connor, may be added, as not an unsuitable appendix to the preceding. It is dated the 31st of May, 1698 :

Letter of Bishop
King to Bishop
Walkington,
May 31, 1698.

“ As to the building of churches, I see little expectation of an act for that or anything else that may benefit religion; more care seems to be employed towards settling a Jewish synagogue than a Christian Church, because Jews are traders. But in the general you may, where any church is already built, oblige the parishioners to put them in good repair, which I understand some of your churches want, being only thatched, which is scandalous; where several parishes are small, and one church will serve, you may force all the parishioners to contribute to that one; by this means, admonish each of them to build their own church, and let them know that if they do not contribute to that church you think most convenient to build, you will force them to build their own in good earnest; they may applot the quota you require for their parish church, and after it is raised, apply it by act of vestry to the church you intend. I practised this with good success. . . .

Means for effect-
ing repair of
churches.

“ I understand that the people of Belfast are very refrac-

Refractory con-
duct of the people
of Belfast.

tory, and do many irregular things; that they will not consent to enlarge their church, lest there should be room for all their people; that they bury in spite of the (law) in the church without prayers, and come in with their hats on; that they break the seats, and refuse to deliver their collection for briefs, according to the order of council, to the churchwardens. I think it is adviseable to observe as many of these insolent passages as you can: put them into affidavits duly sworn, and send them up here to me or Sir John Coghill, and we will see what may be done for you. ‘Tu ne cede malis,’ &c., is a good rule. I pray God direct and strengthen your Lordship. I recommend you heartily to God, and desire your prayers for your most affectionate humble servant and brother,

“W. D.

“To the Lord Bishop of Down and Connor.”

Act to encourage
the building of
houses on Church
lands.

But although no act for the building of churches was passed in the parliament of 1698, the session did not elapse without one statute, calculated to be, what in numerous instances it has subsequently proved, conducive to the Church’s welfare. It is chap. 6, of the 10th year of King William, intituled, “An Act to encourage building of Houses, and making other improvements on Church Lands, and to prevent Dilapidations.” The preamble set forth, “Forasmuch as the mansion-houses of several archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, have been ruined and destroyed by the frequent wars and rebellions that have happened in this kingdom, whereby residence is become very difficult, and is like to continue so, unless due encouragement be given them to rebuild and repair their former houses, and to erect new houses where it shall be convenient, and to keep them in good repair after they are built.” And the enactment in substance is, that ecclesiastical persons building, or making neces-

Its preamble.

Its enactment.

sary improvements on church lands, or purchasing houses or lands, for the residence of them and their successors, shall receive two-thirds of the sum expended from their immediate successors, on certificate from the chief governor in the case of an archbishop, of the metropolitan in the case of a bishop, and of the diocesan in all other cases; such successors being authorised to receive in turn one-third of the first disbursement. The principle of this statute was adopted in some succeeding reigns for enactments, in which an alteration was judged expedient in the amount of rate to be paid by the several incumbents. But the utility of the law was instantly perceived; so that in pursuance of this act, and within two or three years of its being enacted, advantage was taken of it for the building or improvement of their episcopal residences by the Bishops Pullen of Dromore, Ashe of Clogher, Cairncross and Pooley of Raphoe, and Foy of Waterford and Lismore². Its utility.

In 1699, also, another measure was effected, calculated to promote the efficiency of the Church in a very important respect. The act of resumption being then in agitation in the parliament of England, the bishops of Ireland took occasion to solicit a clause for applying the profits of all forfeited rectories, impropriate tithes, &c., for twenty years, on the rebuilding and repairing of such parish churches, as the chief governor of Ireland, with the consent of the bishop of the diocese, should appoint, and afterwards for the perpetual augmentation and endowment of poor rectories and vicarages. The negotiation of this affair was committed to Thomas Lindsay, who, in 1693, had accompanied Lord Capell to Ire-

Measure for rebuilding parish churches, 1699.

² WARE, 267, 191, 281, 543.

land, in quality of his chaplain, and been promoted to the bishoprick of Killaloe in 1696; and he happily had the address and influence required for the successful execution of his commission³.

No convocation
in this reign.

Together with the parliaments assembled in this reign, no convocation was holden: meanwhile taxes were laid by the House of Commons on the clergy without their consent; and a power of annulling Irish acts of parliament affecting the Church was assumed and acted on by the English parliament. In a letter from the Bishop of Derry to the Bishop of Worcester, on the 3rd of February, 1699, these breaches, as he esteemed them, of their liberty in Church and State are thus specified as being without precedent:

Letter of Bishop
King to Bishop
of Worcester,
Feb. 3, 1699.

“ First, we have had two parliaments in Ireland since the Revolution without any convocation, which is without example in Ireland. Secondly, in this session the clergy have been assessed by the Commons without their own consent, and were not allowed so much as a salvo to their right; there never was any tax in nature of a subsidy granted but in convocation before; all that we the bishops could do was, to enter our protestation against it in the Journals of the House of Lords, which they permitted the archbishops and bishops to do. Thirdly, since this Revolution, the parliament in England did, by an act, suspend an act, 17 & 18 Car. II., cap. 10, made in Ireland, disabling clergymen to hold livings in England and Ireland at the same time; and by that have assumed a power to repeal our acts, which is absolutely new to us, there being no such precedent before. Fourthly, they made an act 3 Gul. and Mariæ, obliging all persons to take the new oaths, and abrogating the oath of supremacy enjoined by an Irish act; and this under the penalty of forfeiture of freeholds and offices, with other grievous penalties; this is likewise new.”

Breaches of liber-
ty in Church and
State.

Causes of discon-
tent.

Several other instances of encroachment are

³ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 132.

added, but being not of an ecclesiastical nature, or specially affecting the Church or clergy, I refrain from specifying them. But "I will assure your Lordship," says the Bishop of Derry, at the conclusion of his enumeration, "these considerations are very afflictive and uneasy to the people of Ireland, and make them sensible that they are not like to be so happy a people as they promised themselves on the Revolution." Another ground of dissatisfaction is intimated by the bishop in a letter of January 31, 1701, to Mr. Annesley, where he says, "I suppose all our preferment, civil and ecclesiastical, will hereafter be filled from England."

In 1699, the bishoprick of Kilmore and Ardagh, formerly the see of the deprived Bishop Sheridan, again became vacant by the death of Bishop Smith. The nine years, immediately following the king's accession, had been remarkable for an unusual rapidity in the succession of the Irish bishops. "My Lord," the Bishop of Derry writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "we have, amongst other misfortunes, had a very great mortality of bishops since the Revolution; in so much that, when his Majesty has nominated a successor to the Bishop of Kilmore, now dead, it will be the twentieth he has named since the Revolution, besides removes; and most of them have died young men, that is under fifty. I hear that Dr. Downs and Dr. Harrison are named for the bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh; they are good men both; more particularly Dr. Downs is not only considerable for his gravity and prudence, but likewise for his learning, both in divinity, ecclesiastical laws, and other sciences. Perhaps it may be thought convenient to divide them; and, if both may be gratified, Kilmore is

Rapid succession
of Irish bishops.

Project concern-
ing Kilmore and
Ardagh.

much the better; the former bishop is alive, and forfeited by his absence, according to the ancient laws of this kingdom for absentees without licence, though he would fain pretend the new act, as if that had deprived him. I think the former bishop did privately return him something yearly, though, perhaps, he did not know it, and your Grace will consider whether that be proper to be hinted to his successors."

No division, however, took place of the vacant bishopricks, which were conferred on Bishop Wetenhall, translated from Cork and Ross, in which see he was succeeded by Dive Downs, so well recommended in the foregoing extract; formerly a senior fellow of Trinity College, and, in 1690, Archdeacon of Dublin.

Remarkable episcopal appointment.

No other memorable change occurred in the Irish hierarchy during the latter years of King William; but his last episcopal appointment was so remarkable for the circumstances, both those which had preceded and those which followed it, that it seems to require a few passing words of notice.

Account of Robert Huntington.

Robert Huntington, a native of Gloucestershire, and a fellow of Merton College, Oxford, having completed his course of philosophy in that university, devoted himself with delight to the study of divinity and the Oriental languages; and being thus prepared, accepted the office of chaplain to the English factory at Aleppo. Eleven years, passed abroad, enabled him to visit, not only that the stated scene of his duties, but Smyrna, Ephesus, Thyatira, Scanderoon, and Jerusalem; dread of the wild Arabs preventing him from gaining more than a distant view of the ruins of Palmyra. During this period, for procuring ancient manuscripts in the Arabick,

His travels,

And collection of MSS.

Syriack, Samaritan, Hebrew, and Coptick languages, in all of which he was remarkably skilled, he employed the agency of Jews, Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, Samaritans, and Mahometans, as well as of the Romish missionaries, scattered over the East; and with the same object engaged in epistolary correspondence with the inmates of the eastern monasteries, especially that of Mount Carmel, and with the Patriarch of Antioch, the Archbishop of Mount Sinai, and the Primate of Cyprus. The treasures of the Bodleian library bear witness to the extent and success of his labours.

Returning through Italy and France to Oxford, in 1682, he soon afterwards took his doctor's degree in divinity. And the provostship of Trinity College, Dublin, about the same time becoming vacant by the promotion of Narcissus Marsh to the bishoprick of Ferns and Leighlin, he was, much against his inclination, prevailed on by Bishop Fell to accept the charge, which he executed with remarkable wisdom and diligence; and was, at the same time, in conjunction with Bishop Marsh, instrumental in preparing for publication Mr. Boyle's edition of the Irish version of the Holy Scriptures. On the college being occupied by the soldiers of King James's army, he retired for security to England, whence he returned after the settlement; but in about a year withdrew from his office to the enjoyment of rural tranquillity and domestick comfort in the parish of Great Hallingbury, in Essex.

Made provost of
Trinity College.

Bishop Sheridan's deprivation being expected, Archbishop Marsh, as noted in his *Diary*, Jan. 23, 1692, wrote to Archbishop Tillotson and Bishop Burnet, to procure the bishoprick of Kilmore for Dr.

Declines the
bishoprick of,
Kilmore.

Huntington, who was, in consequence, appointed to succeed to the vacant see, but resisted every persuasion to accept the appointment. His objection could not have been on the score of the oath of allegiance, for he must have recently taken it on institution to his English benefice. Possibly he may have been unwilling at that period to accept any favour from the crown. Possibly he may have felt a generous repugnance to accept a preferment vacated by its former possessor, by deprivation for conscience' sake. That his objection did not extend to the acceptance of the episcopal office, and that it was not founded on an absolute predilection for parochial occupation in a private sphere, may be inferred from the sequel; for when, after an interval of about eight years, Bishop Cairncross, who, on Bishop Smith's translation to Kilmore, had succeeded to Raphoe, as before related, vacated the latter see by death, Dr. Huntington accepted the appointment, and was consecrated by his friend, the Archbishop of Dublin, on the 21st of August, 1701. "I think," says Bishop King, in a letter to the archbishop, a few weeks before the consecration, "Dr. Huntington will have as easy a bishoprick and as good a seat as any bishop in the north, if he can endure hearing Scotch and apply to business. I always took him to be an honest man, and for neighbourhood, I will endeavour to comply as far in everything as he desires."

Succeeds to Raphoe, Aug. 1701.

MS., T. C. Library.

His early death.

But twelve days completed his episcopal life; for, on the 2nd of September following, he died, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, when his remains were deposited in the college chapel, and his life, not long afterwards, was written and published by his friend, Dr. Thomas Smith. His successor was not

appointed till near the end of the next year; Bishop Huntington being the last Irish prelate advanced to that dignity in the reign of King William.

The following extracts from the Bishop of Derry's correspondence at this time will serve to throw light, not only on the character of the individual, but on the state of religion in the diocese under his charge. The first is dated Londonderry, July 20th, 1701; and is an apology to the Archbishop of Dublin for dilatoriness in answering a letter:

Extracts from
Bishop King's
correspondence.

"May it please your Grace,

"I came home Friday last from a parochial visitation through part of this diocese. I visited twenty-one churches, and confirmed in nine; it held me employed twenty-three days. I carried the consistory with me, and prescribed penance to near an hundred people, for one thing or another, and ended several causes. I have yet another circuit containing about thirteen churches, and had one before. I find this way of great use, and would recommend it to all my brethren. I had great crowds of dissenters everywhere, and entertained them with a discourse, generally showing the no-necessity of a separation on their own principles.

His diocesan
occupations.

"I presume to give your Grace this account to excuse my not answering your Grace's of the 28th of June last. It not being possible for me to get time to write; and truly since the 1st of June I have been every day more or less on horseback, excepting two or three days."

What follows relates to the same subject, being contained in a letter of July 25th to the Bishop of Clogher:

Parochial visita-
tion.

"I have had a most fatiguing summer of it, having gone a parochial visitation through two-thirds of my churches, and shall begin the last third next week. I intend, God willing, to be at Omagh August the 5th, and from thence

Letter to Bishop
of Clogher, July
25, 1701.

Making sects
sinful and unne-
cessary.

I go to Ardmagh, to visit for my Lord Primate. . . .
I have taken more than ordinary pains this circuit : made all my own tenants attend me, and many came with them, so that the churches were generally full. I made some very long discourses to them, insomuch that I had better have preached every day. The subject was the sin of making sects, and the no-necessity of it. I examined all their pretences, and showed them, if all true, they would not, according to Scripture, justify a separation. They heard with great attention. I find what I said had very good effect on many. Some time or other, God willing, I will put my thoughts into writing, and take your opinion. I found they were new to most that heard me. I confirmed in nine places, and found the churches in good order. I carried the consistory with me, and assigned penance to near an hundred criminals, and ended several causes. You know my gout seized me this time last year, and I was very apprehensive of it, but I thank God I am yet well."

Metropolitan
visitations held
by suffragan
bishops.

From a passage in the foregoing extract it should seem, that, at the date of these letters, in case of inability of the metropolitan to hold his diocesan visitation, his place was supplied by one of his suffragans. A similar instance occurs in Bishop King's correspondence, March 15th, 1705, when he, being at that time Archbishop of Dublin, and prevented by absence in London from holding his visitation, delegated the office by commission to the Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin.

SECTION VI.

Age and Infirmities of Primate Boyle. Laborious Occupations of Archbishop Marsh. Process of parliamentary Bills. Archbishop Marsh, one of the Lords Justices. His Disinclination for secular Business. His Library: Plan and Progress of it detailed in his unpublished Letters to Dr. Smith. Provisions for the Building and for Books. Purchase of Bishop Stillingfleet's Books. Opposition by certain Bishops to the Measure. Votes of thanks from Parliament and Convocation. Names of Opponents. Commendation by Archbishop King. Death of King William. State of Religion.

AT the period, at which the Bishop of Derry spoke, in one of the preceding extracts, of holding a visitation at Armagh, the Primate was above ninety years of age, and in a state of entire incapacity. His infirmities have been already noticed in extracts from Archbishop Marsh's letters, as well as the laborious occupations which in consequence devolved on him, especially with respect to parliamentary proceedings. These occupations are further mentioned by the archbishop in letters to his friend, Dr. Smith, at different periods about this time; from which I transcribe the following extracts, principally because they exemplify the method of proceeding in matters relating to the Church. On the 15th of November, 1697, he writes thus:

"The continued weighty business of our parliament, wherein I am more deeply concerned than any one man to provide for the necessities of the Church, which wants many good laws here that you have in England, hath hindered me hitherto from writing to you."

Age and infirmities of Primate Boyle.

Occupations of Archbishop Marsh.

His letters to Dr. Smith.
Nov. 15, 1697.

Dec. 17, 1698.

And on December 17, 1698: "I must beg your pardon for not answering your two last letters. The business of our parliament sate hard upon me, and some other bishops that are privy-councillors; because, the continuance of our session being uncertain, we are forced to push on the preparing of bills, especially for the Church, with all speed. And though we had a recess for eighteen days, yet there were twenty-five bills lay upon the council-board, to be read, examined, drawn into form of an act, engrossed, and transmitted to England, and to the council there, in order to their being remitted by the time of our next meeting, or at least before our parliament riseth, which must be soon. All which we despatched in little more than a week's time; though every bill is read twice at the council, then committed, and there read and examined nicely all over, and altered as occasion may serve; then reported to the council, read, and argued paragraph by paragraph, if there be need; ordered to be engrossed, the engrossment read, three of which are joined under a broad seal, which transmiss is signed by the whole board, packed up and sent away. This is the method of our proceeding on bills at the council-board, where I did attend upon this only business for ten or eleven hours every day; but am now got free, and therefore have time to thank you for both your kind letters."

Process of parliamentary bills.

Letter of January 6, 1700.

And on January 6, 1700: "'Tis long since I heard from you; but 'tis longer since, I may in a sense say, I lived. From the beginning of February until May I was a perfect recluse, though not wholly a clinick all that time. Then was I on a sudden drawn out of my chamber to the castle, to help hold the sword with my Lord Galway, in my Lord Duke

Archbishop
Marsh one of the
Lords Justices.

of Bolton's absence, until my Lord Bearkley came seasonably to ease me of that burden. And yet I am not hitherto wholly free from such worldly cares."

And again, on May the 4th, 1700, in the year preceding which he had been for a short time one of the Lords Justices, in conjunction with the Earl of Galway, and had been then relieved by the substitution of the Earl of Berkeley in his place; to which charge he alludes in the foregoing as well as in the following extract: "It must be a great goodness in you to pardon my neglects, which I do still confess, promise amendment, and then do worse. But all arises from an unhappy circumstance that I do usually labour under. Worldly business is that which above all things I do hate; and that the more, because the affairs of the Church, as things now stand, and during my Lord Primate's inability to act in his station, create me as much business as I can conveniently turn under. When I was dismissed last summer from the charge of the government, I hoped to be ever hereafter free from things of that nature. But Providence disposed of me out of one trouble into another. For our Lord Chancellor was no sooner summoned by the parliament in England, but I was appointed first commissioner for keeping the broad seal, which hath found me employment that I hope will be over in a few weeks, that so I may be at some liberty to write to my friends."

May 4, 1700.

His disinclination
for worldly business.

And on the 3rd of September, the same year, he refers to the stated occupations arising out of his metropolitan office: "I received your book; but was, at the time of its delivery, travelling over the province of Leinster in my triennial visitation; that is, my archiepiscopal visitation of my province. For

Letter of September 3, 1700.

our bishops here do visit each man his own diocese every year; and all this little enough to set and keep things in order.”

Episcopal visitations in Ireland.

The fact is, and it may be here convenient to be stated, that in Ireland provincial and diocesan visitations of the clergy are regularly holden; the former every third year, of all the dioceses in his province, by the metropolitan; the latter every year, when the provincial visitation is not holden, of each diocese by its bishop.

Archbishop Marsh's library.

Mention has been lately made of the library founded by the archbishop in Dublin. The circumstances are such as deserve and require detail in a history of the Church; and this seems the proper place for relating them.

Plan and progress of it.

The intention of establishing his library was formed by Archbishop Marsh, and begun to be carried into execution whilst he was Archbishop of Dublin; and continued to be advanced and was completed by him after he succeeded to the primacy, occupying altogether a space of about eight or nine years. The different stages in it are stated by himself in letters, of which the foregoing are extracts, addressed to the learned Oriental scholar, and the author of a Latin life of Primate Ussher, Dr. Thomas Smith; who, having been deprived of his fellowship of Magdalen College, Oxford, in 1688, by Dr. Gifford, the Popish president, “because he refused to live among the new Popish fellows of that house, he being then the senior bursar thereof;” and, after his restoration in the same year, being a second time deprived for refusing to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to William and Mary, lived afterwards in poverty and retirement, as a non-

Archbishop's letters to Dr. Smith.

Account of him.

juror, in Dean-street, Soho, London. Archbishop Marsh constantly entertained for him the greatest esteem and affection, as manifested by a confidential correspondence of many years in continuance, still preserved in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; and from which the following extracts contain the chief particulars relative to the archbishop's library.

The first intimation of his intention is expressed in the last-cited letter of May 4th, 1700, wherein the Archbishop, having sought Dr. Smith's assistance in "recommending to him choice books," thus opens the occasion of his wish:

"And now, Sir, that you may know the better what sort of books will best fit me, I must declare to you a secret, which is this, that by the blessing of God I do design to leave all mine Oriental MSS. to the Bodleian Library when I die; and for the rest of my books, I hope to dispose of them thus:

Need of a library
in Dublin

"The Archbishop of Dublin's house in Dublin, called St. Sepulchre's, though it may well be called a palace for the stateliness of all the publick rooms of reception, yet hath it no chapel nor library belonging to it, nor indeed any convenient room to hold an ordinary study of books, so that mine lay dispersed in three distant rooms. This consideration hath made me resolve to build both a chapel and library; which had been done by this time, if the title to the ground on which I am to build could have been cleared, which I hope will soon be done. The chapel is designed for the use of the archbishop's family, but the library for publick use; which will be of great use here, where is no publick library, (that of the College being open only to the provost and fellows,) and where the booksellers' shops are furnished with nothing but new trifles; so that neither the divines of the city, nor those that come to it about business, do know whither to go to spend an hour or two upon any occasion at study.

Archbishop's re-
solution in conse-
quence.

"In this library (if God shall enable me to go through with the work, in order to the building whereof I have laid

Provision for the
building,

by eight hundred pounds, which is the money that became due to me from the King whilst I was concerned in the government last summer), in this library, I say, my intentions are to lodge all my printed books when I die, having no relation to whom to leave them that I think deserves such a favour.

And for books.

“Sir, the design reacheth yet a little further. I have now 600*l.* worth of books lying ready in Dublin to be put into the library as soon as it shall be built, which is the study of a learned gentleman that will give them freely, provided the king will settle upon him 200*l.* per annum out of the first-fruits of this kingdom, as a salary for being library-keeper, (which he will attend,) until I or my successor can bestow upon him the chancellorship or treasurer-ship of St. Patrick’s in Dublin, on which are no cures, to be appropriated to that use for ever. The gentleman is Mr. Bouhereau, who published *Origines contra Celsum* in French, with learned notes, in Holland. He is a man as well qualified to be a library-keeper as any one I do know, being well skilled in critical learning, and one of great correspondence. The matter hath lain before the king some time, and now that the parliaments are over, I hope we shall have a gracious answer speedily, my Lord Galway being deeply concerned in it, because Mr. Bouhereau is his secretary, and hath been so for many years.

“I have near 200*l.* worth of books by me, that I would put into the library presently, were it built, and the rest when I die. And I hope, if my Lord Galway might continue in the government a little longer, to find a way by a removal, to get one of the fore-mentioned dignities for a library-keeper without being chargeable to his Majesty for anything but the first-fruits.”

The archbishop was by no means remiss in prosecuting his laudable and valuable design. On the 26th of January, 1703, he writes thus to Dr. Smith:

Description of the building.

“I have no news from this kingdom to requite you with, only that the library I have been for some time erecting for publick use, will, I hope, be finished by Midsummer, which had been by last Michaelmas, if Sir

William Robinson, who is my architect, had not stayed so long in London the last year. The whole pile of building is ninety feet long, and will contain a greater quantity of books than I shall live to see put into it. And when the upper part, that is contrived like the cross part of the Bodleyan Library, shall be filled with books, then the lower part under it, that is made like the upper, and is now made lodgings for a library-keeper, may be converted into a library also. The whole building will cost me about 2000*l*. by the time it is finished, which I pray God enable me to do: for which also I desire your prayers."

The furnishing of the library with books was the next object of the archbishop's solicitude, as noticed in the following extract from a letter of July 5, 1704, before which he had been translated to Armagh:

"The structure being nearly finished, my next care must be to get it well furnished with such books as may render it useful to all sorts of persons, I am indeed earnestly pressed to purchase Dr. Stillingfleet's library, but it will cost 3000*l*. before it can be brought over hither; and I fear, that if it should come, it would not fully answer my design, because there must of necessity be many *insignificant* books in it. Wherefore it being my design to furnish the small library that I have erected, which I conceive may be capable of receiving about 10,000 books of all sorts, with none but the most useful books in each faculty and science, my request to you is, that, as opportunity will serve, you will yourself think and advise with your friends, what books in each faculty and science may be most proper to be put into a library designed as mine is, as to Divinity, Civil and Common Law, Medicine and Anatomy, &c., History, Geography, Mathematicks, &c., and that you would draw up a catalogue of the authors and their best editions. Classical authors and poets also are not to be neglected."

Contemplated
purchase of
Bishop Stilling-
fleet's books.

On the 7th of September, the same year, he reverts to the same topick of Bishop Stillingfleet's library:

Doubts concerning it.

“I am very much solicited to purchase Dr. Stillingfleet (late bishop of Worcester’s) books; for which purpose the catalogue is sent me. The collection is great; but, as far as I can yet discern, is on some subjects superfluous and redundant; on others too deficient to form such a complete library. I desire your opinion of this collection, if you have seen it, whose price I fear will exceed the strength of my purse at present; and that it might be better for me to purchase none but those books, and those by degrees, as I can best spare money.”

Bishop Stillingfleet’s library, however, was eventually purchased, and appears to have exceeded the archbishop’s expectations, as recorded in a letter of Nov. 3, 1705:

Purchase effected.

“I did not answer your last sooner, because I had then a prospect of getting Dr. Stillingfleet’s library of books over hither very soon, of which I had a mind to give you an account; which now, by God’s blessing, are safely arrived, and I, with some friends, are very busy in looking them over and examining them. I am very well pleased with the purchase, there being very many excellent books amongst them, and most very well bound and of the best editions: and I am the more so, because by this means I may ease you of a great part of the trouble I was putting upon you, of giving me an account of what books and editions of books you think proper for a library. But though the greatest part of my care on that account is now over, yet the whole is not; for a library must be still increasing, as new books, or new and better editions of old ones, do come out. Besides that many good books in some faculties and sciences are wanting. I therefore do still desire the continuance of your favour in setting down such good books as you think fit for a library, as they occur to your mind.”

Satisfactory to the archbishop.

Steps for securing its perpetuity.

For the valuable institution thus made, the archbishop judged it prudent to take such steps as might secure its perpetuity under legislative au-

thority; but in procuring that authority he encountered unexpected opposition, which he reports to Dr. Smith in a letter undated, but evidently written near the end of the year 1707:

"I have no more to add at present," he observes, "but that I am endeavouring to pass my bill for establishing my library for future use here. Which bill, though it first passed the House of Commons here, as heads of a bill, and then the council; next the council in England (for this is our method,) with great applause, (if I may say so,) and now is come back to our House of Lords; I here find some rubs, and that from some who, of all men in the world, have the least reason to make objections against it, both on account of their profession and character. But I hope to surmount all those as I have done many other difficulties in this affair, having, I think, all the laity on my side, and to be able to do a publick kindness and confer a publick benefit on this unhappy nation, whether some men will or no."

Opposition to it

This subject is resumed in the next letter, dated Dec. 13, 1707:

"I wish I could deny or any way revoke what I formerly wrote to you concerning the opposition made by men of mine own coat to my bill for settling a publick library, which I would gladly do, though to mine own shame, to hide and cover theirs. But the opposition continued to the last, not levelled against me directly, or my design in it, but that the bill contained in it simony, sacrilege, and perjury, though not one of them proved. Notwithstanding all the exclamations made against it by two turbulent men on the above-mentioned accounts, all other the lords temporal and spiritual appeared very zealous for it, and it passed the House of Lords, and was sent down to the House of Commons, where it was very kindly and favourably received. In the mean time the dissenting lords entered their protestation against it, with such reasons as the House of Lords thought to be very reflective on them, and therefore at the next session immediately voted those dissenting

By certain
bishops.

lords should be sent prisoners to the castle, unless they would withdraw their reasons, which accordingly they did, and all was quiet.

Votes of thanks
to the archbishop
from both houses
of parliament,

“In the mean time the House of Commons passed my bill without any man’s opposing it, or, as they say, *nemine contradicente*, and presently voted that a committee of eight of their members should be appointed to give me the thanks of the house for the benefaction, which was accordingly done out of hand. The Lords, knowing this, presently voted the same, and pitched upon the dissenting lords to do it, for their mortification. But only one of them being at the time in the house, a temporal lord was joined with him; and that likewise was done openly in the House of Lords. Next, the Lower House of Convocation, which had been influenced by some others to declare themselves against the bill, which they had nothing to do with, voted likewise that thanks should be given me in the name of the inferior clergy for the benefaction, which accordingly was done by the prolocutor accompanied with six or seven of his assessors. And now you will think all rubs are over. I wish they were.

And by Lower
House of Convo-
cation.

“By this you will perceive how difficult a matter it is for a man to do any kindness to the people of this country. If he will be a publick benefactor, he must resolve to fight his way through all opposition of it; it being a new and unheard-of thing here, that certainly hath some secret design in it to subvert the Church, though they cannot tell what; and the reason of it is, ‘*Quia omnes, quæ sua sunt, quærunt.*’

Cost of the li-
brary.

“This library, with the books, hath cost me near five thousand pounds, Irish money; and I designed to expend near so much more about it, as soon as God should enable me. But I confess this opposition has struck a great damp upon my spirits. I beg your prayers, that God would please to strengthen and encourage me in my former resolutions, without whose assistance, yea, and enlivening grace, I can do nothing more.

“Rev. Sir,—Thus far I had written near a month ago, and have laid by my letter to cool upon it thus long, and finding no exaggeration of truth in what is before said, I

now proceed to tell you, that since that time I have placed all Bishop Stillingfleet's books in the said library, which I retained in my own house before the library was by act of parliament appropriate to publick use, and do find that they do very near fill up all the space that is yet prepared in it for the reception of books."

And repeating what is here said about the library being near filled, he adds, in a letter of Feb. 16, 1708:

"Until this matter be settled, and an additional building be raised, or the present be carried on, as is designed, I fear that I shall not find room in it to place any more books. Which does no more discourage me from prosecuting my design of rendering the library as beneficial to this kingdom as may be than the opposition made to the bill hath done; which hath only made me more zealous in the business, since it hath received the general approbation. But I must beg your pardon, if I cannot consent to leaving any marks behind me of the opposition made to the passing that bill, more than what of necessity must be entered on the journals of the House of Lords here. The opponents, some of them, are worthy men;

Archbishop's sentiments concerning his opponents.

. sed
Nescio quo fato, nec qua vertigine rapti, &c.

I forgive them, and I pray God every man else may: at least, nothing under my hand shall ever rise up against them."

These last remarks were drawn from the archbishop by a letter of Feb. 5, 1708, wherein Dr. Smith says:

"I give you my humble thanks for the communication of the affair of your library, transacted and at last settled by act of parliament. [The act is chap. xix. of the 6th of Queen Anne.] I am heartily glad for the common good of the Church and kingdom of Ireland, that after such violent opposition made by one or two of your own order,

Dr. Smith's observations, Feb. 5, 1708.

Thanks of parliament and convocation.

your truly heroick, pious, and Christian design, deserving so well, and at so great trouble, charge, and expense, not only of the present age, but of all posterity, is fixed and placed out of the reach of envy and malice, and that the two houses of parliament, together with that of convocation, who understood so clearly the wonderful good consequences of your benefaction, appeared so zealous in your behalf, and have given you their thanks and acknowledgments in so publick and solemn a manner, the Lords especially, who ordered those very men, to their great shame and mortification, to do it in all their names. I am amazed at the heavy charges laid against the bill by those very few bishops who were so violent against it, and cannot comprehend the reasons and grounds of them. But I hope this their outrageous proceeding will not discourage your Grace from finishing your excellent design, which cannot but be highly acceptable to all good men who are concerned for the honour and propagation of learning and religion; and, to be sure, when envy and ill-nature shall cease, all future ages will be just to your name and memory, and will honour you as one of the principal benefactors of that country, how ingrateful some men may be at this time. I doubt not but your Grace, while these things continue fresh in your mind, will take care to digest in writing all particulars relating to the fabrick, the books contained in it, and the troubles you have met with before its final establishment, which will make no inconsiderable part of the history of your life, which you have employed so advantageously for the good of that kingdom where Providence has placed you."

Honour due to
Archbishop
Marsh.

The foregoing extracts will have given a summary view of the particulars here specified. From these great honour appears due to the archbishop's prudence and benevolence; the rather, because, as Dr. Smith remarks in a former letter, of August 7, 1707, "this great city (London), to the great scandal of it, has not a library in it which deserves to be called by that name; so that, by your Grace's muni-

ficence and publick spirit, Dublin will infinitely exceed London in this particular."

The opposition which this munificent plan of Archbishop Marsh encountered proceeded from the Bishops Lloyd of Killala, Hartstong of Ossory, Lindsay of Killaloe, and Pooley of Raphoe, who, on the third reading of the bill, October 27, 1707, entered their protest on the Journals of the House of Lords; but on the 29th of the same month, by leave of the House, withdrew their reasons for the protest. Thus the cause of the opposition is not recorded; but the chief movers appear, from Archbishop King's MS. correspondence, to have been the Bishops of Killaloe and Raphoe. A pleasing antidote to this opposition was offered in a letter to the Primate from Archbishop King, July 21, 1705, on occasion of the purchase of the books being completed:

Names of the opposing bishops.

Commendation of the benefaction by Archbishop King.

"I understand, with great satisfaction, that your Grace has concluded with Mr. Stillingfleet for his father's library. 'Tis a noble gift to the Church; and as it will perpetuate your Grace's memory here, so it will, I hope, be plentifully rewarded by our common Master. I could not, on this occasion, forbear expressing the sense I have of it, and rendering my thanks to God on the behalf of your Grace, as well as my acknowledgments to your Grace. I am further to assure your Grace, that I am ready to join in an act of parliament to settle the library and gallery, as we agreed; and I hope it will be ready to pass next sessions."

Letter to Archbishop Marsh, July 21, 1705.

For the purpose of exhibiting this meritorious undertaking of Archbishop Marsh in a connected view, we have thus anticipated some of the dates of the succeeding reign, which commenced on the death of King William, the 8th of March, 1702, at the distance of about thirteen years from his acces-

Death of King William, March 8, 1702.

sion to the throne in England, and of about eleven years and a half from his actual sovereignty in Ireland.

Extent of the Re-
formation in
Ireland.

At this period, as we are informed by the author of *An Historical Review of the State of Ireland*, "In the higher orders the progress of the Reformation had latterly been much more rapidly extended than formerly. And the English, who were now domiciliated in Ireland, were, from plantations, forfeitures, and other causes, surprisingly multiplied¹." It appears, also, that the Reformation prevailed amongst the lower orders, especially with those of English importation or extraction, in a very considerable degree². But in the northern counties, from their vicinity to Scotland, Protestant sectarists abounded, if an inference may be drawn generally from the condition of the united dioceses of Down and Connor, as reported by a contemporaneous manuscript document, which states, "The inhabitants of both dioceses are mostly dissenters, and refuse to accept the office of churchwarden, whereby the churches go out of repair." If, however, such was the case in those dioceses, the evil was probably less abundant in Derry, and the other neighbouring parts, as reported by Archbishop King.

Encouragement
to dissent and
separation.

At the same time, the spirit of Protestant dissent and separation unhappily had derived encouragement at this period from the jealousy of England, which led to such commercial enactments as incidentally operated to the injury of the Irish Church. In 1698 additional duties were imposed on the exportation of Irish woollen cloths, to such an extent as to be almost tantamount to a prohibition. In this manufacture many of the English settlers, mem-

¹ PLOWDEN, p. 198.

² HARRIS'S *Bishops*, p. 367.

bers of the National Church of Ireland, had been engaged, but were now compelled to forsake the country, where the efforts of their industry were intercepted. In the mean time, the encouragement given to the linen manufacture supplied an additional inducement to the Scotch Presbyterians for forming establishments in Ulster. Thus an additional stimulus was given to Protestant sectarianism. And, with respect to the Romish schism, it can hardly be questioned, rather, indeed, it is matter of historical notoriety, that the large majority of the population, especially those of Irish lineage, were trained in the profession of their hereditary faith, though examples have occurred in our narrative of successful endeavours to impress them with purer views of Christianity. In these endeavours, however, the government of the country does not appear to have taken an active part; nor to have made adequate provision by material buildings for the Church's ministrations, though a recommendation of the Lord Deputy to the parliament, in 1695, shows that they were not insensible to the want or the advantage of supplying it; for which, at the same time, they had an admonition and an encouragement in the example of some individual bishops, as also, at a later period, of the episcopal body in general.

State of the
Romanists.

Insufficient pro-
vision for the
Church.

In the appointments to the episcopate, those who were especially intrusted with that important duty, of whom the queen herself, during her life, was probably in Ireland, as in England, the chief authority, seem to have acted for the most part with integrity and discretion. The nomination of one person, indeed, selected rather for his military than for his religious qualities, for his political than his ecclesiastical services, and to whom a marshal's staff

Character of the
episcopal ap-
pointments.

might have been a more characteristick compensation than a bishop's crosier, however commended at the time of popular excitement, may be well, by the judgment of the sober-minded Christian, deemed questionable at least, if not objectionable. If, on occasion of another nomination, there is cause to doubt its propriety by reason of a remark which it drew forth from Archbishop Marsh, as to the want of worthiness in the individual, the withdrawal of a third person, who had been named under an impression of his fitness, but who was subsequently set aside, on suspicion of his deficiency in moral qualifications, may serve to exempt the crown from the charge of a wilful dereliction of duty. Meanwhile the episcopal appointments in general were unexceptionable and commendable; and the names of Narcissus Marsh, successively promoted to the archbishopricks of Cashel and Dublin, of Tennison, and King, and Foy, and Foley, and Huntington, respectively translated or consecrated to the bishopricks of Clogher, Derry, Waterford and Lismore, Down and Connor, and Raphoe, reflect honour on those who recommended and appointed them.

Statutes passed
with relation to
the Church.

The statutes passed in this reign with relation to the Church testify, on the parts of the government and the legislature, their sense of the dangers from which they had escaped, and to which they were still exposed, from the unrestricted spirit of Popery. To represent these enactments as "the manifest effects of national hatred and scorn towards a conquered people, whom the victors delighted to trample upon, and were not at all afraid to provoke," as calculated to "harass and ruin a set of people who were looked upon as enemies to God and man, and, indeed, as a race of bigoted savages, who were a

Burke quoted by
Plowden, p. 195,
196, n.

disgrace to human nature itself," is language which may be employed for promoting the purposes of a political partizan, but is utterly at variance with the fact. They were calculated, indeed, to promote, not only the security of the Protestant, but the benefit of the Papist; especially that which had for its object to counteract the restless intrusion and domineering influence of Popish ecclesiastics. If the prudence which dictated that enactment had been followed up with corresponding wisdom, vigilance, and vigour in its execution, effective provision having been made withal for the ministrations of the clergy in a degree commensurate with the occasion, the deluded victims of a fond superstition might have been weaned from their blind attachment to a foreign religious dictator, and have become, by God's blessing, reasonable and enlightened members of the Reformed National Church.

CHAPTER II.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF

QUEEN ANNE	1702—1714.
MICHAEL BOYLE, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH	
AND PRIMATE	1702.
NARCISSUS MARSH	1703—1713.
THOMAS LINDSAY	1714.

SECTION I.

State of Sentiments on the Queen's Accession. Letter on the subject from Bishop of Derry. Dissenters and Non-conformists. Address from the Bishops. Condition and Practices of Presbyterian body. Death of Primate Boyle. Circumstances relating to him. Succeeded by Archbishop Narcissus Marsh. Correspondence with Dr. Smith. Bishop King made Archbishop of Dublin. State of the Diocese. Dean and Chapter of Christ Church. Parliament in 1703. Act for the Queen's Safety and Protestant Succession. Three Acts for security against Romish Clergy: for preventing Popish Priests: from coming into the kingdom: for registering Popish Priests: and for preventing further growth of Popery. Insertion of the Sacramental Test in the last. Its remarkable operation exemplified.

Sentiments on
the queen's ac-
cession, 1702.

QUEEN ANNE acceded to the throne on the death of King William, the 8th of March, 1702. The sentiments, with which the change of the sovereign were received in Ireland, are thus stated in a letter of March 24, from Dublin, by the Bishop of Derry to the Bishop of Clogher, who was at that time in London, whence he had communicated the intelligence of the king's death:

Letter from Bi-
shop of Derry to
Bishop of Clog-
her, March 24.

“ My very good Lord,

“ I return you my hearty thanks for yours of the 12th and 17th instant. I received them regularly, which

is not common of late, the winds having been contrary. I was not willing to be sudden in my answer on so great an occasion, and can hardly yet think what to say of it. My great benefactor, that took me out of prison and set me on the episcopal chair, is dead. And yet my loss is nothing to what all Europe feels in it. And God only knows what the consequence will be; yet I hope the best, and am well assured, if the queen will but keep to the laws, make the parliament her favourite, and sacrifice everybody to her peace when they mislead her in her councils, that she will reign as happy as any of her predecessors. As to us here, you know we universally loved King William, as our deliverer, and have a sense of it. But the dissenters are most cast down, and seem divided in their measures; some endeavour to ingratiate themselves by obsequiousness, and, in order to it, have already sent an address in behalf of their ministers in the south. Others endeavour to sow fears and jealousies, and to intimate suspicions of her ministers. None suffered more than our Lord Lieutenant, and you know what a party was against him; but his being anew declared has a little stopped their mouths.

Loss felt on King William's death.

Conduct of dissenters.

“ I am well assured that, with right application, a great deal might be done to compose our religious differences; for I do find at present, they rather lean on politick considerations than conscientious, and very few are so weak as to think it a sin to conform: one thing ought especially to be minded: I mean the pension here allowed the dissenting ministers; for this they themselves are trustees, and have the disposing of it amongst them, and they employ it most to set up new meetings where none was before, and it begets a dependance on the trustees, by which there is created a centre of union amongst them, and the government has no influence. Therefore, if it be thought fit to continue the fund to them, the government ought to keep the disposal of it in their own hands, and encourage those only by it that comply, as they would have them. By which means every particular minister would be at their mercy, and it might be so managed as to be an instrument of division and jealousy amongst them.

Causes of non-conformity political.

“ We sent last packet an address from the bishops in

Address from the bishops.

Dublin; it went to the Bishop of Killaloe; we hope all there will present it. We put it only in the name of the archbishops and bishops in Dublin, for we durst not venture to put other hands to it, nor thought it fit to stay for them."

It is remarkable, that neither in this letter, nor in one of the same date and similar effect to the Bishop of Killaloe, nor in a fuller communication of the 28th to Sir Robert Southwell, does Bishop King take any notice of the Papists, as affected by the recent change. But in his letter to the latter, in which he refers more particularly to different classes of men in Ireland, he thus enlarges on the condition and circumstances of the Presbyterian body:

"As to the dissenters of Ireland, they seem to be in great fear, and nothing could show more clearly the interest they thought themselves to have in his late Majesty's favour, than the dejection that appears amongst them at present.

"I believe good use might be made of this, if rightly managed; and that right methods now used might bring in many of them. I find that they are now in most places come to that pass, that they do not plead conscience for their nonconformity: but say they can't do it safely, their dependence being on that party who are able to ruin them, if they do not stick to them. The arts by which they keep up their party, are to take no apprentices that will not engage to go to the meeting with them; to employ none nor trade with any that are not of their own sort, if they can help it; to plant their land with such; and on all juries, and other occasions, to favour such more than justice: in all those they have been supported and countenanced, and he was looked on as disaffected to the government that formerly complained of them.

Letter from Bishop King to Sir Robert Southwell.

Arts of Presbyterians.

Their grant from the Treasury.

"You may remember that they had 1200*l.* per annum, settled on them out of the Treasury. Some of the most eminent of their ministers were trustees for it, which created a sort of dependence of the press upon them, and

enabled them to manage their affairs by joint councils: for these were a general committee and centre of unity for their whole body: they employed this money to settle meetings through the whole kingdom. And by this they maintained their emissaries, till they had seduced enough to support their teachers: by this means the most busy factious persons had the best shares. But I hope this will fail them for the future; or, if it be continued, it will be put in good hands that will give it the most humble, peaceable, and complying. And some good use may be made of such contrivance, if it must be continued.

“I may tell you that their insolence has much increased. They have insulted both the clergy and laity, and made our ecclesiastical offices more and more¹ every day; particularly in assuming to themselves the privileges of celebrating marriages. Nay, there is one instance very remarkable of their confidence. A clergyman had purchased a lease, on which there was a meeting-house; he refused to let them enjoy it gratis; on which they came in a body, broke it open, preached in it, and then pulled it down, and carried away the materials. The clergyman brought a constable, and a justice of the peace’s warrant, to quiet the riot; but they slighted both: and, when examinations were taken against them, they puffed the justices of the peace that took them, and gave out, that they cared not what they did against them, for they had employed their agent in England to obtain from his Majesty an order to stop proceedings. We hope that such actions as these will not be countenanced; for, though I believe they were not approved before, yet they believed they were; which had much the same effect.”

Their increased insolence.

From the date of these letters in the spring of 1702, until August 1704, an interval occurs in the correspondence of the Bishop of Derry, who during that period had been promoted to the archbishoprick of Dublin. For towards the close of the former year, on the 10th or 11th of December, died Michael Boyle,

Interval in Bishop King’s correspondence.

Death of Primate Boyle.

¹ A word omitted in the MS.

His pluralism.

Archbishop of Armagh and Primate. On the restoration of King Charles II., he had been promoted from the deanery of Cloyne to the bishoprick of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, and was one of the twelve prelates consecrated in St. Patrick's Cathedral, in January, 1661. It is related of him by Harris, in the *History of the Irish Bishops*, p. 569, that, "not content with those three bishopricks, he held possession of six parishes in the west of his diocese, as sinecures, under colour that he could not get clergymen to serve them. And that when Roger, earl of Orrery, Lord President of Munster, went down to his government about the close of the year 1662, or the beginning of the year 1663, he had it in commission to see that the bishops of that province did their duty. For this end he convened them together, and particularly admonished this bishop, who was nearly related to him, to provide clergymen for these vacant livings; and told him that, if he did not, he would sequester the profits, and apply them to the support and education of some students in the university: upon which reproof the bishop immediately fixed six clergymen in these vacant livings."

His preferments and offices.

On the 27th of November 1663, Bishop Boyle was translated to the archbishoprick of Dublin, where he left the more honourable memorial of having very much repaired and beautified the archiepiscopal palace of St. Sepulchre's: but beyond this no trace appears of his diocesan benefactions. In 1679, from Dublin was he again translated to the primacy. As Archbishop of Armagh, he continued to hold the office of Lord High Chancellor, with which he had been first invested in 1663, and which he had continued to administer till 1685, when he was removed from it on King James's accession to the throne, to

make room for one, who was deemed more likely to promote the lawless projects of that arbitrary sovereign.

In his disposition he is said to have been both liberal and publick-spirited: and a monument, erected by his son to his memory in St. Mary's Church of Blessington, commemorates, that, "among many other his merits to the Church and commonwealth, he founded and erected, at his own expense, this church of Blessington, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, together with the churchyard, to the glory of God, the decent administration of Divine worship, and the comfort and use of this parish: he also furnished the communion table and church with silver flagons, cups, and patins, and other ornaments; and added to the church an elegant steeple, with a ring of six musical bells. All these things he solemnly dedicated to God and religion on the 24th day of August, 1683." With this exception, however, and that of two donations of 200*l.* and 100*l.* respectively, for improving the buildings and increasing the collection of books of the college in his lifetime, and of twenty shillings apiece to thirty poor men by will at his death, his wealth, which was abundant, appears to have been not devoted to pious or charitable uses: an omission, as to which his biographer, who records the fact, seems to concur with an opinion which attributed it to the impairing of his hearing and eyesight for more than fifteen years before he died, and to the loss of his memory towards the end of his life, which was prolonged to his ninety-third year. Besides the office of Lord Chancellor, he held three times that of a Lord Justice, so that he was probably considered to be possessed of considerable legal and statesman-like qualities. But in what manner he

His character.

Built the church of Blessington.

His great age and infirmities.

His conduct
about faculties.

administered the affairs of the Church, and whether he was conducive to its improvement, I have not the means of judging, except that in one case which has come before us, as noted by Archbishop Marsh's *Diary*, namely, a question concerning "the abridging of the power of granting faculties, or rather a more moderate use of it than had been practised," the primate would not listen to the proposal, but was steadfastly opposed to an attempt which the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, (Francis and Narcissus Marsh,) and the Bishops of Meath, Derry, and Waterford, (Dopping, King, and Foy,) were making for the benefit of the Church, by controlling or abating the practice of giving dispensations for pluralities.

Narcissus Marsh,
primate.

The distinguished character of the Archbishop of Dublin, the laborious and responsible duties which had devolved on him in consequence of the infirmities of the late primate, and the services which he had rendered the Church, naturally indicated him as the fit person to occupy the vacant primacy, to which he was translated on the 10th of February, 1703. It is perhaps somewhat remarkable that, considering the confidential nature of his correspondence with Dr. Smith, he should, in a letter of January 26, 1703, have abstained from all mention of this event. But, having thanked his correspondent for his account of affairs both at home and abroad, he adds, "For those abroad I am not much concerned that they should be ended, though in their opinion, who think they have an infallible judge over them, it may be done at any time when he shall dare to give a definitive sentence therein. But ours at home do make a deeper impression on

His letter to Dr.
Smith, Jan. 26,
1703.

my mind, because those intestine divisions do give our enemies too great an advantage against us. Certainly there are greater things to be minded than those which have caused so many pamphlets of late to be written on both sides. I pray God to put a speedy and happy end to those unseasonable controversies, that are fomented by I know not whom. I have no news to requite you with, only," &c.; and then he passes on to the subject of his library, as before noticed in an extract of this letter, but makes no mention whatever of his intended translation, which was accomplished in fifteen days from the date of this communication.

His grief at intestine divisions.

The foregoing allusions refer to certain contentions then prevailing at Paris and Rome between the Jesuits and the Dominicans, and then to the disputes which had been mentioned by Dr. Smith as unhappily dividing the English clergy. "Little of solid learning," he had said, "has been printed here (in London) of late: most of the pamphlets, which spawned continually into the light, which they do not deserve to see, relating to the squabble arisen between the two Houses of Convocation. A melancholy stander-by sees great errors and great miscarriages on both sides. In the mean time heresy and fanaticism daily get ground, and heterodoxy and unsound points of doctrine, and loose and dangerous expositions of articles, escape uncensured, to the great prejudice and scandal of the episcopal order and government."

Dr. Smith's notice of divisions among the English clergy.

These extracts are introduced for the purpose of opening to the reader the new primate's mind on the internal condition of the Church: and for the same purpose is added another extract from a somewhat earlier letter, September 3, 1700: "I pray

Primate's anxiety for the Church.

God to preserve our Church from her secret as well as open enemies; and that holiness of life and purity of doctrine may be still countenanced, and shine gloriously amongst us."

King, archbishop
of Dublin.

The promotion of Archbishop Marsh to the primacy caused a vacancy in Dublin, by both the chapters of which the election of an administrator of the spiritualties of the see fell on the Bishop of Derry, who, on the 11th of March following was, by the queen's letters-patent, translated to that archbishoprick, for which he was doubtless recommended by the experience already had of his episcopal qualifications and services, as well as for his tried and conspicuous loyalty to the existing authorities of the state.

March 11, 1703.

Appointment not
of his own seek-
ing.

The intermission of the archbishop's correspondence here is much to be lamented. Of any particular circumstances connected with his appointment I find no record, except in a letter of his own to the Bishop of Norwich, Dr. John Moore, whence it appears that the preferment was not of his own seeking or his own choice. In this letter, dated August 15, 1704, he says:

"It is above a year since I was translated to this see. I was desirous to decline, if the commands of my superiors and importunity of my friends had not prevailed with me against my own opinion, to sacrifice both my ease and profit to their sentiments. My Lord, it was not without reason I was unwilling to remove to this station, for I had known the diocese thirty years, had governed it for some time, and knew that it was in worse circumstances (both in respect to discipline and attendance of the cures) than most others in the kingdom; the numerous appropriations and impropriations in it making the due service of cures and right order almost impracticable: however, I hoped that by the assistance of those whose interest and duty it was to help me, I should be able to do some-

His opinion of
the diocese.

thing towards a reformation, though I could not expect all that was to be desired. And I am heartily sorry to tell your Lordship that I find the greatest opposition from those that should in reason be most forward to promote my intentions."

The opposition to which he here alludes, was that which was made to his episcopal jurisdiction by the dean and chapter of Christ Church, which occupied much of his time and thoughts, and forms a prominent topick in his correspondence. To this subject there will be occasion to advert hereafter.

Opposition of the dean and chapter of Christ Church.

A parliament was holden in the autumn of this year, 1703, being the second of Queen Anne, before James, duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant. It was begun in Dublin, on the 21st of September; and in the course of its progress, several statutes were enacted, having reference to the state of religion and the Church.

Parliament in 1703.

Chapter 5 was intended for securing the safety of the queen's person, and the succession in the protestant line, and is intituled "An act to make it high treason in this kingdom to impeach the succession of the crown, as limited by several acts of parliament." The acts here alluded to were those of the English parliament, passed in the 1st year of William and Mary, and the 12th and 13th of William, whereby the succession of the crown, after the death of King William and Queen Anne, without issue, was limited to Princess Sophia, electress of Hanover, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants. Whilst citing these enactments, the Irish act moreover affirms, that "it most manifestly appears, that the Papists of this kingdom, and other disaffected persons, do still entertain hopes of disappointing the said succession, as the same stands limited;" and for prevention thereof, it enacts, that

Act for the Queen's safety, and Protestant succession, 2 Anne, c. 5.

Hopes of the Papists to dis-appoint the Protestant succession,

such attempt, by any overt act or deed, be adjudged and punished as high treason.

Act for security
against Romish
clergy.

Three of these statutes, namely, chapters 3, 6, and 7, were designed for greater security against the devices of the Romish clergy, who were indefatigable in endeavouring to operate upon the minds and actions of the Romish population of Ireland.

2 Anne, c. 3, to
prevent Popish
priests from
coming into the
kingdom.

Chapter 3 was “an act to prevent Popish priests from coming into the kingdom,” making every clergyman of that religion, so coming, liable to the penalties of the act of 9 William III. chap. 1; and founding itself upon the facts, as stated in the preamble, that “great numbers of Popish bishops, deans, friars, jesuits, and other regulars of the Popish clergy, do daily come into this kingdom from France, Spain, and other foreign parts, under the disguise or pretence of being Popish secular priests, with intent to stir up her majesty’s Popish subjects to rebellion: and, for that sufficient proof to convict them cannot be had, they have hitherto remained in this kingdom, contrary to the statute of King William.”

C. 7, for register-
ing Popish
priests.

Chapter 7, referring to the same statute of King William, and to the former enactment of Queen Anne, which “might be wholly eluded, unless the government be truly informed of the number of such dangerous persons as still reside among us;” for remedy thereof, enacted, that all Popish priests, then in the kingdom, should return their names, abode, ages, parishes, time and place of receiving orders, and from whom; and give security for their peaceable behaviour, and not to remove into any other part of the kingdom. This act also made provision, that “Popish priests, being convinced of the errors of the Romish church, might not suffer through want of maintenance, or other mischievous

Provision for
converted Popish
priests.

effects of resentment of bigoted Papists," by enacting, that every such Popish priest, being approved of as a convert, and received into the Church by the diocesan, and conforming himself to the Church of Ireland as by law established, and having taken the oaths, and made and subscribed the declarations, in such manner as the clergy of the Church are obliged to do, shall receive twenty pounds sterling, to be levied on the county, for his yearly maintenance, till he be otherwise provided for; such convert being subject to suspension or deprivation of the diocesan, as the rest of the clergy, and publicly reading the liturgy of the Church, in the English or Irish tongue, where and when the diocesan shall appoint.

Chapter 6 was, as its title imports, "an act to prevent the further growth of Popery." It was caused, as stated in the preamble, by "Romish emissaries, Popish priests, and other persons of that persuasion, taking advantage of the weakness and ignorance of some of her majesty's subjects, or the extreme sickness and decay of their reason and senses, in the absence of friends and spiritual guides, and daily endeavouring to pervert them from the Protestant religion, to the great dishonour of Almighty God; the weakening of the true religion, by His blessing so happily established in this realm; to the disquieting the peace and settlement, and discomfort of many particular families thereof: by many of the said persons, so professing the Popish religion, in further manifestation of their hatred and aversion to the true Protestant religion, having refused to make provision for their own children, for no other reason but their being Protestants; and also by their having, by cunning devices and contrivances, found out ways to avoid and elude the intents of the act for preventing Pro-

2 Anne, c. 6, to
prevent further
growth of Popery.

Motives to this
act.

testants intermarrying with Papists, and of several other laws made for the security of the Protestant religion. The remedy of these great mischiefs, and the prevention of the like evil practices for the future, were accordingly attempted to be effected by enactments, of which some may condemn the severity, and others may lament the necessity. And for the further prevention of Papists from having it in their power to breed dissension amongst Protestants by voting at elections for members of parliament, it was enacted, that no person professing the Popish religion should be capable of voting, without first taking the oaths of allegiance and abjuration.

Oath of allegiance to be taken at elections.

After the example of two English statutes, of the reigns of James I. and William III., the 25th clause of this enacted, that advowsons of churches, right of patronage or presentation to any ecclesiastical benefice, possessed by Papists or by Protestants, in trust or for the use of Papists, shall be vested in her Majesty, her heirs and successors, until such Papist shall take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and make the declaration against transubstantiation.

Advowsons taken from Papists.

The obligation of making this declaration, and subscribing the oath of abjuration, and of conforming to the Church of Ireland as by law established, was provided also by the 15th clause as qualifications for any person, to enable him to "take benefit by this act as a Protestant within the intent and meaning hereof." And by the 16th clause it was enacted, that all persons being in any place of office or trust under the crown, besides making the declaration and taking the oaths, "shall also receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the Church of Ireland, in some parish church, upon some Lord's day, immediately after divine service

Qualifications under this act.

and sermon." The English government are said, Lord Godolphin being then minister, not to have been favourable to the bill: they were the means therefore of annexing this condition. For, as Bishop Burnet relates, "It was hoped by those who got this clause added to the bill, that those in Ireland who promoted it most would now be less fond of it, when it had such a weight hung to it²." In fact, they calculated upon the opposition that was to be expected from the Protestant dissenters, who would thus be brought under the operation of the sacramental test. But the stratagem failed: for although, as appears from the Commons' Journals³, they petitioned against the bill, they afterwards withdrew their opposition, and it passed with the obnoxious clause, which was carried into execution in some of the succeeding years of Queen Anne's reign. In particular, it appears from the aforementioned Journals⁴, that, in 1707, upon the petition of the Dowager Countess of Donegal on behalf of her infant son, a question arose concerning a contested election for the borough of Belfast; and thereupon the Commons came to a resolution, "that, by the act to prevent the further growth of Popery, the burgesses of Belfast were obliged to subscribe the declaration, and receive the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of Ireland; and that the burgess-ship of the said burgesses of Belfast, who had not subscribed the declaration and received the sacrament pursuant to the said act was, by such neglect, become vacant."

Insertion of the sacramental test.

Operation of the clause.

Connected with the provisions of this act arose a curious case, affecting an individual bishop of the

Remarkable effect of this act on a bishop.

² *Own Times*, vol. ii. 214.

³ Vol. ii. 451.

⁴ Vol. ii, 564.

Church. Together with the oaths and declarations, appointed specifically by the Irish Parliament, this act required all publick officers to take, at the same time, the oath of abjuration appointed by an English act of parliament in the first year of the queen. Bishop Pooley was translated from Cloyne to Raphoe in September, 1702. Thereupon he took the former oaths, but, being ignorant of the latter, he omitted to take it within the limited period, and thus by strictness of law his bishoprick became void. For this omission he prayed the queen's pardon, which was granted by her act under the privy seal at Kensington, August 31, and by patent September 27, 1710; and on the 28th, in pursuance of the said act, he received a new grant of his bishoprick.

SECTION II.

Inveteracy of Popish Superstitions. St. Patrick's Purgatory. Enactment concerning it. Penalties. Mr. Richardson's Narrative of the Pilgrimage thither. Comment on the Narrative. Other places of superstitious resort. Similar instances innumerable. Popish Corruptions encouraged by Pilgrimages. Responsibility of Romish Church. Other Acts affecting the Church. For securing Church Property: for Exchange of Glebes: for Building Churches. Exertions of Primate Marsh and Archbishop King for the Benefit of the Church.

Inveteracy of
Popish superstitions.

THERE was in this act to prevent the further growth of Popery another very remarkable clause, which requires special notice, as exemplifying the inveteracy of the Popish superstitions, and the extreme difficulty, not to say the impracticability, of eradicating prejudices which have once taken possession of the Irish popular mind. Occasion has occurred

in the course of this narrative for adverting to the pilgrimages performed to St. Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Dearg. The Irish government, in the reign of King Charles I., had broken down, defaced, and demolished the place, had thus exposed the imposture, and were thought to have abolished the evil. But its influence had subsequently revived: and the practice of making pilgrimages to this place of pretended sanctity in particular, and to others of the like character, had grown to such an extent, that, having been long suffered to exist without publick animadversion, they were now thought fit to be solemnly reprobated and subjected to penalty by the legislature.

St. Patrick's Purgatory.

The 26th clause, therefore, of this statute contained the following enactment:

"Whereas, the superstitions of Popery are greatly increased and upheld by the pretended sanctity of places, especially of a place called Saint Patrick's Purgatory, in the county of Donegal, and of wells, to which pilgrimages are made by vast numbers at certain seasons; by which not only the peace of the publick is greatly disturbed, but the safety of the government also hazarded, by the riotous and unlawful assembling together of many thousands of Papists to the said wells and other places: be it further enacted, that all such meetings and assemblies shall be deemed and adjudged riotous and unlawful assemblies, and punishable as such, in all or any persons meeting at such places as aforesaid. And all sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other magistrates, are hereby required to be diligent in putting the laws in force against all offenders, in the above particulars, in due execution."

Enactment concerning it.

"For the more effectual preventing and suppressing all such superstitious, dangerous, and unlawful assemblies," the statute further enacts, "that every person convicted of meeting or assembling at Saint Patrick's Purgatory aforesaid, or at any such well or place contrary to this act, shall forfeit ten shillings, or in default of payment be publickly

Penalty of resorting thither.

whipped : and persons convicted of building booths, selling ale, victuals, or other commodities, shall forfeit twenty shillings, and in default of payment be imprisoned : and the magistrates are required to demolish all crosses, pictures, and inscriptions, that are anywhere publickly set up, and are the occasions of Popish superstitions.”

Superstitions
practised there.

Narrative by
Rev. John
Richardson.

If the reader is desirous of seeing a detailed account of these superstitions, at a period nearly contemporaneous with this statute, he may find such an account in a volume of 163 pages, published at Dublin in 1727, under the title of “The Great Folly, Superstition, and Idolatry, of Pilgrimages in Ireland; especially of that to St. Patrick’s Purgatory.” The author of this work, the Rev. John Richardson, rector of the parish of Belturbet, alias Annah, having given a description of St. Patrick’s Purgatory, and a history of the rise of pilgrimages in general, and of this pilgrimage in particular, cites the foregoing clauses of the act before us, and observes thereon : “But the Irish are so much under the tyrannical power of their guides, and are kept in so great darkness and ignorance by them, that notwithstanding all the means used to the contrary, this practice is continued still in Ireland, in its full height of superstition and idolatry, and nowhere more than at this place.”

Account of the
pilgrimage.

He therefore proceeds to give an account how this pilgrimage is now performed. And, as the book is scarce and curious, and as it exhibits an authentick picture of Popery, in one of its striking features, as represented in the conduct of the lower Irish at the time of which we are treating, I subjoin the following narrative :

Ceremonies on
reaching the
island;

“As soon as the pilgrims come within sight of the Holy Island, they pull off their shoes and stockings, and

uncover their heads, and walk thus with their beads in one hand, and sometimes a cross in the other, to the lake-side, from whence they are wafted over, paying every one six-pence for their fraught. After landing, they go immediately to the prior, or titular priest of the parish, and humbly ask his blessing; and then to St. Patrick's altar, where kneeling down they say one *pater*, one *ave*, and one *creed*. Rising up, they kiss the stone of the altar, and from thence go into the chapel, where they say three *paters*, three *aves*, and one *creed*. Then, beginning at a corner of the chapel, they walk round it and St. Patrick's altar seven times, saying a *decad*; that is, ten *ave Mary's*, and one *pater noster*, every round. In the first and last circuit they kiss the cross that is before the chapel, and touch it with their shoulders the last circuit. Next they go to the penitential beds, every one of which they surround thrice outwardly, saying three *paters*, three *aves*, and one *creed*. Then kneeling, they say three *paters*, three *aves*, and one *creed*. After which they enter the bed, and circuiting it thrice in the inside, they say three *paters*, three *aves*, and one *creed*: which done, they kneel and say again three *paters*, three *aves*, and one *creed*. All this must be done at each bed.

"Leaving the penal beds, they go into the water, and go round the metamorphosed stones, called Caoranach, thrice, saying the mean time five *paters*, five *aves*, and one *creed*, and then they lean upon the corner of one of them. After that, they go further into the water to *leac na mbonn*, and stand upon it, saying one *pater*, one *ave*, and one *creed*, with their hands lifted up.

In the water and
at the stones;

"From the water they return to the chapel, where they repeat the Lady's Psalter, (which consists of fifty *aves*, and five *paters*, and, according to some, of one hundred and fifty *aves* and fifteen *paters*.) and thus they finish one station, which must be performed thrice a day, about sun-rising, noon, and sun-setting; no other food but bread and water being allowed the pilgrims.

At the chapel;

"On the ninth day the prior puts the pilgrims into the cave, where they are shut up very close for twenty-four hours. During this time all manner of refreshment is kept

In the cave.

from them, and they are debarred the liberty of answering the necessities of nature: but above all things they are cautioned not to sleep, the prior telling them, that the devil will certainly carry them away, as he hath done two cave-fulls already, if he should catch them napping.

Ablutions.

“ While they are in the cave, they are bound to perform the same *tally* of devotions, as on the preceding days. On the tenth day they are let out at the same time of day that they entered: after which they go immediately into the water; and, being stark naked, they wash their whole bodies, and more particularly the head, to signify, ‘that they are entirely cleansed from their sins, and that they have broken the dragon’s head in the water, and have left their spiritual enemies drowned in the Red Lake, as Moses left the Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea.’”

Comment on the narrative.

Upon the foregoing narrative Mr. Richardson makes the following comment:

Place visited by the narrator.

“ If the great blindness and credulity of the Irish Papists, and the sway which their priests have over them, and the wrong use that they make of it, were not well known, one would hardly think it possible that they should suffer themselves to be deluded at this rate. And therefore that I might be able to give an exact account of this pilgrimage, I went to the place myself, and took a copy of the following instructions with my own hand; and, comparing the practice of the pilgrims with them, I found that they observed them very exactly. These instructions being kept there both for the direction of the pilgrims, and for their satisfaction as to the reasonableness and efficacy of the many foolish things imposed upon them, I shall set them down here at large.”

Other places of superstitious resort.

It is not, however, my purpose to follow our author through these instructions; but in further illustration of the clause of the statute, which led to the mention of the foregoing narrative, may be briefly noticed his account of some other places in the kingdom, at that time deemed sacred, and honoured with superstitious reverence by the Popish

population, to the emolument of the Popish priesthood.

St. John's Well, in the county of Meath, was a place of frequent resort to pilgrims. Its credit was derived from a legend, that the proprietor of the neighbouring land, being on a pilgrimage to Palestine, and bathing in the river Jordan, his staff dropped into the water, and was conveyed by a subterraneous passage into the well, and was cast up by an ebullition of the water on Midsummer-day, with an inscription announcing the great benefit which should be conferred on pilgrims resorting thither on the annual festival of St. John the Baptist. The well, therefore, at the appointed season, was the scene of various superstitious rites, like the former, performed by a large concourse of votaries, concluding with prayers to the Baptist for his help and intercession.

St. John's Well,
in the county of
Meath.

At Cranfield, in the county of Antrim, a spring of water, consecrated by St. Colman, attracted a multitude of pilgrims on the eve of May-day, to empty and clean the well in the twilight, to pass the night in its vicinity, repeating a certain number of *paters*, *aves*, and *credos*, and in the morning to collect from the bottom of the well small transparent pebbles of an amber colour, the growth of the past night, and the future preservative of all, who should bear them about their persons, from all injuries by fire or water.

St. Colman's
Well, in the
county of
Antrim.

Near Ardboe church, in the county of Tyrone, and on the brink of Lough Neagh, was a cross erected by St. Colman, being one of three brought from Rome by St. Patrick. Around this cross, engraven with the images of their saints, invested with peculiar sanctity, and communicating healing

St. Colman's
Cross, in the
county of
Tyrone.

virtues to the opposite water, pilgrims were wont to crawl upon their knees, telling their beads as they went, and bowing their heads on the west side of it. A piece of silver deposited on the pedestal, for the use of a family descended from St. Colman's clerk, pursuant to the Saint's directions, completed the devotions of his votaries.

St. Patrick's
Well, in the
county of
Monaghan.

A well, consecrated by St. Patrick, in the parish of Galloon, in the county of Monaghan; at the distance of about sixty paces, a small heap of stones, surmounted by one of a larger size, bearing on it a print of the Saint's knee; over all, a stone cross of the Saint's erection; and forty-nine paces from thence, an alder tree, which sprang up immediately on his blessing the ground where it now stands; gathered together a multitude of pilgrims, who, with a great variety of acts of veneration, saluting the Saint, perambulating these different memorials, making the circuit of them on their knees, at intervals rising up and bowing to the cross, the stone, and the alder tree, kissing the print of the Saint's knee, and putting into it one of their own knees, mingled a frequent repetition of *paters* and *credos* with these effusions of their superstition and idolatry. A quantity of the holy water, for the cure of their neighbours' sick cattle, was carried away with them at their departure.

Image of Gubi-
net, in the
county of Cork.

An image of wood, about two feet high, carved and painted like a woman, set up on the old ruinous walls of the church of Ballyvorny, in the diocese of Cloyne, and county of Cork, was the object of adoration, which caused the resort of numerous pilgrims on Valentine's-eve and on Whitsun-Thurs-day. To go round the image thrice upon their knees, and to repeat in the customary manner a

certain number of *paters, aves*, and *credos*, was the occupation of the worshippers, who added the following prayer in Irish, “O, Gubinet!”—for this was the name of the image,—“O, Gubinet! keep us safe from all kinds and sorts of sickness, especially from the small-pox.” And they concluded with kissing the idol, and making to it an offering, each according to his ability, generally amounting in the whole to five or six pounds. For one afflicted with that disease, the sacrifice of a sheep to the image, the wrapping of the skin about the sick person, and the eating of the sheep by the family, was also reputed a remedy for the disorder.

Add to these the following account “of the superstitious idolatry committed at a holy well, or rather a pond, called Loughslane, near the church of Urney, about mid-way between Belturbet and Cavan,” which was reported to Mr. Richardson, by Mr. Patrick Bredin, of Inismore, “a very grave and religious gentleman,” who, from the neighbourhood of his residence, had been for the most of thirty years past an eye-witness of what he described :

Holy well in the
county of Cavan.

“The first midsummer-eve after I settled here, my next neighbour, one Mr. Johnston, came to see me; and going to convey him part of the way home, we came near the said well or lough, being about mid-way between his house and mine. When we came near the place, we saw a great crowd of people—men, women, and children—about the said well or lough, and near to it a heap of stones, where I took notice of a considerable number of men and women, which I suppose might be twenty, all upon their knees, moving about the heap of stones, and each person, as he or she came about to one certain stone of the heap, upon which there was a face representing St. Brigid, they made a bow and kissed the said stone, at which I was a little surprised. I asked my friend what was the meaning of the abominable idolatry; who told me, that St. Brigid, who built the

Description by
an eye-witness.

Justified by a
priest.

Allowed by the
Romish church.

church, left that stone in that heap, and that they pay adoration to the stone in commemoration of the saint. I inquired of my friend, who was that man who stood over the people about the heap of stones? He told me he was the priest of the parish, and that he would make my acquaintance with him. This I refused; but said, that when I saw the priest conveniently, I would give him my thoughts of his mistake, which I did. Not long after, the priest came to see me, and I reproved him for suffering the ignorant people to worship a stone in his presence. He told me, that it was what their church allowed, to worship a relict in commemoration of the saint. They continue the same superstition to this day, though I have done what possibly I could to hinder their meeting at that place, both by drawing away most part of the water, and removing the heaps of stones; but all will not hinder their coming, till it please Almighty God to open their eyes, that they may see the things that belong to their peace."

Similar instances
innumerable.

Narrative of
another eye-
witness.

Mr. Richardson concludes his narrative, from which the foregoing is an abstract, of particular instances of these superstitions, by remarking, "It were endless to give an account of every place of this kind among us: but from these instances one may judge of the rest." Of his relation of the proceedings in Lough-Derg especially a confirmation may be found in the same volume, under the title of "A Description of St. Patrick's Purgatory in Lough-Derg, and an account of the Pilgrim's business there; by the Rev. Mr. Hewson, Rector of the parish of St. Andrew's, Dublin; and afterwards Archdeacon of Armagh." The writer introduces his account by stating, that "having heard much talk of this place, he went, in company of other Protestants, to visit it, and found as follows." And he concludes it by saying, that "from the prior and another priest he received some part of this relation, and saw and observed all the rest; and according

may credit be given to it." His narrative is dated August the 1st, 1701, about two years therefore before the act of parliament, which introduced our notice of these particulars, and between twenty and thirty years before the more copious narrative of Mr. Richardson, the dedication of which is dated October the 5th, 1727.

But before we quit this subject altogether, I am still disposed to advert to his preface, as containing an historical statement of the general prevalence, among the Irish Romanists, of that superstition, of which particular specimens have been now submitted to the reader :

General prevalence of pilgrimages.

"Everybody knows," he observes, "how excessively the Irish are addicted to pilgrimage, there being few parishes in the kingdom, in which there is not something or other, to which they frequently resort on a superstitious account. Of this the parliament thought fit to take notice, very justly and wisely observing, 'That the corruptions of popery are thereby greatly increased and upheld :' the invocation of saints, worshipping of relicks, the delusions about purgatory, works of supererogation, and transferring of the pretended merits of one to another, being apparently kept up and propagated by this practice. Their devotion at those places of imaginary sanctity is founded upon ridiculous fables and legends, and made up of many foolish and absurd rites, which are recommended to the credulous people as effectual means of salvation, and the whole is very much polluted with idolatry. The people are thereby put to needless expense of time and money, and their priests make no small profit by it.

Popish corruptions thereby encouraged.

"To prevent all this, pilgrimages are strictly prohibited by law; and all crosses, pictures, and inscriptions, that are anywhere publickly set up, and are the occasions of any Popish superstitions, are ordered to be demolished. But, notwithstanding this, pilgrimage is continued as much as ever. When any superstitious place is defaced or demolished, they repair it, and seem to be more inclined to

Popish obstinacy in maintaining it.

resort to it than formerly. They account it meritorious to adhere obstinately to a practice, prohibited by hereticks; and, if any punishment be inflicted upon them for it, they believe they suffer for righteousness' sake. . . .

Church of Rome responsible.

"Besides, pilgrimage is not a fond practice, springing up wholly from the superstitious humour and inclination of the people, but it is to be charged on the Church of Rome, as an established ordinance in their religion. There is an office in the Ritual for blessing of pilgrims, before they begin their journey to any holy place; and another to be used after their return: and there is a mass appointed in the Missal to be said for them. Pilgrimage also is pleaded for, and recommended by learned and eminent persons in that church, as 'tending to the honour of God and his saints, and to the increase of devotion.' And there are but few of their clergy, it is to be feared, who do not promote and encourage it, as well they might, were it as beneficial and edifying to the people as it is profitable to themselves and convenient for carrying on their own designs. . . .

Specifick instances samples of others.

"It had been an endless work to give an account of all the superstitious places and things in this kingdom, of all the lakes, ponds, wells, trees, stones, crosses, images, and relicks, in which the natives place a great deal of virtue and holiness, and to which they often go in pilgrimage, with a firm belief that they shall procure great blessings by bathing in the waters, or by bowing down to, kissing, touching, nay, the very coming near to, those trumperies. I have therefore mentioned only a few of them, from which any one may form a judgment of the rest. And I have insisted chiefly on that to Patrick's Purgatory, because it hath most votaries; and is the most remarkable in the kingdom, or perhaps in the whole world, for superstition and idolatry."

Other acts of 1703.

Some of the acts of this parliament had a more immediate bearing on the Church, and its ministers and ministrations.

By a statute of 10 William III., chapter 7, the estates and possessions, held by virtue of any letters-

patent, pursuant to the acts of settlement and explanation, had been confirmed to the patentees, and protected against all future claimants. And now, by chapter 9 of this parliament, intituled "An act for quieting ecclesiastical persons in their possessions," it was enacted that all archbishops, bishops, deans, and chapters, parsons, vicars, and all other ecclesiastical persons, many of whose writings and other evidences had been lost during the late war, should enjoy their possessions in such manner as any patentee, provided for by King William's act against all future claimants; and not be liable to be sued on pretence of any ancient incumbrance, before October 23, 1641, not now depending, or, if depending, not prosecuted, since October 23, 1691.

Chap. 9, for
quieting eccle-
siastical persons
in their posses-
sions.

In consideration of several glebes, lying at a great distance from the churches to which they belonged, and some in other parishes, thus causing the residence of the incumbents on their glebes to be either impracticable or less useful than was fitting; chapter 10 made it lawful for persons, having cure of souls, to exchange glebes at a distance from their parish churches, for lands of equal value near and convenient. And also made it lawful for any bishop or other dignitary, having land convenient to any church not already endowed with twenty acres of glebe, to grant a quantity, not exceeding twenty acres, to the incumbent, for a sum not less than the moiety of the present yearly rent.

Chap. 10, for
exchange of
glebes.

Chapter 11, intituled, "An act for building parish churches in more convenient places," authorized the building of two churches in the diocese of Cork, and two in that of Connor, the old churches being ruinous, and the situations very inconvenient for the parishioners to resort thereunto: and of a

Chap. 11, for
building
churches

In Cork and
Connor.

third in the diocese of Connor and the parish of Killead, "which, though very large and well inhabited, wants a parish church, and the situation of the old parish church cannot now be ascertained."

Consents required.

These churches were to be built with the concurrence of the several diocesans, incumbents, and parishioners, on sites granted for the purpose by the respective proprietors: who, in the instances of the Cork parishes, are not named, but in those of Connor were the Earl of Donegal, patron of Drumaul; Benjamin Galland, Esq., the proprietor of an estate in the parish of Fenvoy; and the Lord Viscount Massareen, patron of Killead. It authorises also the building of a new church at Ringsend, near Dublin; the inhabitants of which are stated to be "numerous, and at a distance from Donebrook, their parish church, which is so inconveniently situated, that the said inhabitants often cannot come to attend divine service in the said church, by reason of floods and overflowing of the highway by tides and waters: many of the queen's officers likewise belonging to the port of Dublin, and many strangers and seamen do frequent the said Ringsend, and are detained there on the Lord's-day; all which are deprived of the service of God for want of a church or chapel for publick worship near the said Ringsend." Lord Viscount Merion was accordingly empowered to convey a site for the church or chapel, not exceeding two acres, notwithstanding any settlement of the same; and the Archbishop of Dublin to "apply to the building 100*l.*, out of the forfeited tithes, appointed for the building the ruined churches of Ireland." Sir Lawrence Esmond, also, and Benjamin Mountney, Esq., having conveyed the site of the abbey of Arklow, for the place of a

At Ringsend,
near Dublin;

At Arklow.

parish church, instead of the old parish church, which was ruinous and inconveniently seated; the act authorised the Archbishop of Dublin, with consent of the incumbent and vestry, to constitute and erect the abbey into a parish church.

After the lamentable spectacle, which has again and again been presented to us, of dilapidated and ruinous churches, left in a state of hopeless desolation, it is gratifying in a degree to welcome one act of the legislature, giving effect to the good intentions of certain members of the Church, in their laudable desire to re-erect the houses of God in the land, though the examples be far from numerous. The act authorizes also the building of three other churches, namely, two in the diocese of Tuam, and one in that of Down. But the gratification to be derived from these undertakings is qualified by the circumstance, that in each case the building was to be accomplished by a perpetual union of three parishes into one, with the provision of only one parish church, which should be reputed the parish church of the three united parishes to all intents and purposes whatsoever. "All the old churches of the parishes being utterly ruined and inconveniently situated for the Protestant inhabitants," the erection of new buildings and in new situations is so far satisfactory. In what degree the union of the parishes, and the provision of a single church where three formerly existed, may have been required or justified by the particular cases, it may be difficult to determine; but generally such unions were evils, which, unless necessary, it were well to have avoided.

Union of
parishes.

The want of churches for divine worship, and of ministers for its celebration, appears to have been at

Exertions of
Primate Marsh

this time sensibly felt, and endeavours to have been made for its counteraction, by those who filled the highest stations in the Church of Ireland. Of the primate it is recorded by Harris, that “he repaired many decayed churches within his diocese at his own expence, and bought in many impropriations, and restored them to the Church,” which is also specified in the monumental inscription in St. Patrick’s cathedral.

And of Arch-
bishop King.

The same author relates more particularly and at large concerning Archbishop King, that, on his translation to Dublin, he found the Protestants greatly multiplied since the Revolution, and many new churches wanting in several parts of his diocese for the conveniency of the people to attend divine worship. He immediately applied himself with extraordinary assiduity to this pious work; and by application of the impropriated forfeited tithes, pursuant to an act passed in England the eleventh year of William III., by large benefactions collected by his discreet solicitations from well-disposed gentlemen, and by his own generous contribution, he procured fourteen churches to be repaired, seven to be rebuilt, and nineteen to be erected in places where no divine service had been performed since the Reformation. To supply these new churches with pastors, as the contiguous benefices, which often consisted of many united parishes, became vacant, he divided them and settled a resident clergyman in each. Most of these parishes being not endowed with glebe-land for the comfortable support of the incumbents, he took advantage of the statute, recently passed in the second year of Queen Anne, and apportioned to each out of the see-land a glebe

Additional
churches

And ministers.

of twenty acres, at a moderate reserved rent: and in parishes where the see had not any estate, he either purchased himself, or procured from the trustees of the first-fruits, when that act of royal bounty had been conferred upon the Church, an allowance to purchase glebes either in fee or at a small reserved rent; so that most of the vicarages of his diocese were supplied with convenient land.

Meanwhile the many divisions that he had made of unions, which formerly had produced a very considerable emolument to the incumbents of the united parishes, reduced the income of the clergy of the separate parishes, so as scarcely to suffice for their decent maintenance. To remedy this in some measure, as the prebends of St. Patrick's became vacant he annexed them to the vicarages, which were before separate, and in distinct persons. He purchased a large parcel of impropriate tithes, and vested them in trustees for the augmentation of small cures in his diocese, on the condition of the incumbent's constant residence. And as the leases of some appropriated tithes, scattered in different small parishes of his diocese, expired, he executed new leases to the vicars, many of whom thereby doubled the income of their benefices; the archbishop, at the same time, providing for the indemnity of his successors by purchasing an equivalent in lands near Dublin, and annexing them to his see².

Better provision
for clergy.

These, his methods for encouraging the clergy of his diocese to residence, are enumerated by Harris in his *Life of Archbishop King*: in addition to which another may be specified from a tract by Dean Swift, written after the archbishop's death, but illustrative of his conduct in the particular before

Archbishop's
method of pro-
curing glebes.

² WARE's *Bishops*, p. 367.

us. "When a lease had run out seven years or more, he stipulated with the tenant to resign up twenty or thirty acres to the minister of the parish where it lay convenient, without lessening his former rent, and with no great abatement of the fine: and this he did in the parts near Dublin, where land is at the highest rates, leaving a small chiefry for the minister to pay, hardly a sixth part of the value. I doubt not," adds my author, with the date of February, 1732, "that almost every bishop in the kingdom may do the same generous act, with less damage to their sees than his late Grace of Dublin, much of whose lands were out in fee-farms or leases for lives: and I am sorry that the good example of such a prelate has not been followed³."

Disposal of vacant preferments.

The archbishop's sentiments and practice, as to the disposal of vacant preferments, were about this time stated in a letter to one of his episcopal brethren, whose conduct seemed to require correction; and it may serve to exemplify a then prevalent abuse of patronage, and the consequent discredit and injury inflicted on the Church:

Letter from Archbishop King to Bishop Ashe, August, 1704.

"My Lord, *Dublin, August 17, 1704.*

"Dr. Ashe was with me yesterday, and showed me the letter you sent to my Lord Primate, and delivered yours of the 11th to me: by them I perceive that you design three parishes for him in your diocese, and those to be served by three curates; he to be non-resident, and to hold Finglass, in Dublin. I beseech you to consider this scheme well. I confess I did not understand it before, and, now I do, I must own to you I do not like it.

His sentiments on patronage.

"My objections are, 1st, that it is a breach of my own method, which is to put a good man in every parish that falls, and let him wait till a better falls, and then remove him.

³ *Swift's Works*, vol. viii. p. 429; edit. London.

“2dly. Where a dignitary has several cures, he ought to reside on one of them, and have an eye and regard to the other: in which way a due difference of degrees is kept up amongst the clergy, and the people are as well, if not better served, than if each had an independent minister.

“3dly. The people of the north have a peculiar aversion to curates, and call them hirelings: and the difference in point of success amongst them is visible, between a grave resident minister that lives amongst his people, and spends part of what he receives from them in the place, and a poor curate that is not able to keep himself from contempt.

“4thly. If your three parishes in the country can maintain three fit clergymen to serve them, and afford the better part to be carried to Dublin, what reason is there that the rest should not be spared to the publick? Your Lordship has heard this objection before.

“5thly. The people of the north do not grudge their tithes to the clergy, though they pay more than all the other provinces, because their landlords or the clergy must have them: the first must spend them in London or Dublin, whereas the clergy spend them on the place. And this very argument saved our 9*d.* per cow in our former parliament. But if the clergy live in Dublin, 'tis as good for the people landlords had the tithes.

“6thly. Though your brother be a very deserving man, yet if every such be indulged in four livings, there will be nothing but curates in the north, which will have fatal effects, as is too visible by former management.

“7thly. That humour of clergymen living near Dublin, and declining remote and barbarous countries, as they call them, is by no means to be indulged; for 'tis plain, that this is to prefer the clergyman's ease to the salvation of the people; and 'tis just as if one should refuse to send a good physician into a city, because there were many sick in it.

“In short, the world begins to look on us as a parcel of men that have invented a trade for our easy and convenient living; and till we show the world that we seek their good more than our own advantage, we are not like to wipe off the aspersion. And whether indulging your brother to live at his ease in Dublin, and keep three curates under him at

Clogher, be the way to blot out that prejudice out of men's minds, I leave you to judge. My hearty respects to my friend, &c.

“Bishop of Clogher.

W. D.”

Non-residence of
Bishops.

But it should seem, that the kind of defect, the evils of which are thus forcibly exposed, was not confined to parochial incumbents; for occasion of crimination was afforded to the enemies of the Church, and of sorrow and complaint to its friends, in quarters where better things might have been expected. Speaking of dissenters, in a letter to Mr. Annesley, of July 3, 1714, towards the end of Queen Anne's reign, Archbishop King observes, “My opinion is, that the best way to deal with them, is to take the methods I did at Londonderry; but I have had few followers. There has been but one bishop resident at a time in that province for several years: there are now two in it. But I can't count the Bishop of Derry resident, or any other that only goes there to settle his rents, or make a visitation. Though a bishop should not be of any great consideration as to his personal qualifications, yet his presence and dwelling amongst the people has generally a good effect.” How far this evil may have prevailed in other parts of the kingdom, I do not find; but the province of Armagh, to which the observation applies, comprised more than a third part of the Irish bishopricks.

SECTION III.

Assembling of Convocation in 1703. No Convocation soon after the Reformation. Convocations in the reigns of James I., Charles I., and Charles II., revived in Queen Anne's reign. Circumstances of its being assembled. Attempts for converting the native Irish. Archbishop of Dublin's jurisdiction opposed by Dean and Chapter of Christ Church. Letters relating to it. Endeavour to procure the First Fruits for the Clergy. Translation of Bishop Moreton. Consecration of Bishop Ellis; circumstances of it.

THE assembling of this parliament was accompanied with that of the convocation, of which no example had occurred for near fifty years preceding, as, indeed, it was not until a late period after the era of the Reformation, that it appears to have been assembled at all in Ireland.

Assembling of
convocation,
1703.

In the twenty-eighth year of the reign of King Henry VIII., when several acts of parliament passed vesting the supremacy in the crown, there are several reasons for supposing that there was no such body. Of any such there is no historical mention; and the clergy, in common with other subjects, were taxed by act of parliament only. The act, indeed, of that year, chapter 12, sets forth in its preamble, that "at every parliament begun and holden within this land, two proctors of every diocese within the same land have been used and accustomed to be summoned and warned to be at the same parliament;" but it adds, that they "were never, by order of the law, usage, custom, or otherwise, any member or parcel of the whole body of the parliament, nor have had of right any voice or suffrage in the same, but only be there as counsellors and assistants to the same,

No convocation
in the reign of
King Henry
VIII.

and upon such things of learning, as should happen in controversy, to declare their opinions." It adds, indeed, "much like as the convocation within the realm of England is commonly at every parliament begun and holden by the king's highness' special licence." But the likeness here noticed seems to have regard rather to the fact of their being summoned, than to their power when assembled; for, unlike the English convocation, there is not evidence of their having been in any way an independent, deliberative, legislative body; but they seem to have been assembled only as "counsellors and assistants to the parliament;" and the act denounces "their ambitious minds and presumption," for "inordinately desiring to have authority, and to intermeddle with every cause or matter without any just ground."

Nor of King
Edward VI.

In the fifth year of the succeeding reign of King Edward VI., the king sent an order for the liturgy of the church of England to be read in Ireland; and thereupon, the Viceroy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, before he issued his proclamation, called an assembly of the archbishops and bishops, with other of the then clergy, to propose their acceptance of the king's order. But this assembly had no appearance, nor does it bear the historical character, of a regular convocation.

Nor of Queen
Elizabeth.

In the second year of Queen Elizabeth, the parliament of Ireland passed the Act of Uniformity; but by the collective body of the clergy nothing was done in relation to that act. And when, in the following year, 1560, the queen signified her pleasure to the Earl of Sussex "for a general meeting of the clergy of Ireland, and the establishment of the Protestant religion through the several dioceses of the kingdom," the meeting, which was in consequence

assembled, presents no features of a regular convocation, and “soon after dispersed themselves¹.”

There were no other assemblies of the clergy during the rest of Queen Elizabeth’s reign, though before the end of it there were other parliaments.

And when, after an interval of twenty-seven years, King James I., in the tenth year of his reign, assembled his parliament in May, 1613, there is no contemporaneous assembling of a convocation: nor is there the appearance of such a meeting during the latter part of that year, or during the year following, nor until the subsequent year 1615, when the articles of religion were agreed upon by the clergy, according to their prefixed title. This appears to have been the first regular convocation of the clergy of the Church of Ireland, who assembled in their several houses; Jones, archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, being “Speaker of the House of Bishops in Convocation,” and “the House of the Clergy, also,” having their respective prolocutor. Of this we are informed by Dr. Parr, in his *Life of Archbishop Ussher*, p. 14, who also relates that the speaker and the prolocutor signed the articles agreed on, “in the names” of their several houses. In other respects, the mode of proceeding is not recorded, nor of the results are there any remains, except the aforesaid articles.

Nor of early part
of King James
I.’s reign.

First regular
convocation in
1615.

The next convocation, as well as the next parliament that met, was in the tenth of Charles I., 1634. It assembled about the same time as the parliament. Archbishop Ussher presided, and signed the Synodical Acts, Dean Lesley being the prolocutor of the Lower House. In this convocation the clergy, for the first time, taxed themselves: and it is further

Convocation in
reign of King
Charles I., 1634;

¹ WARE’S *Annals*, p. 4.

memorable for having received the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and for having constructed the Irish Book of Canons.

In 1639;

In 1639 a convocation again met, and granted subsidies to the king. Its sitting coincided partly at least, if not altogether, with that of the parliament.

And 1661.

And again, in 1661, the convocation met within two days of the parliament, and continued their sitting to the 29th of March, 1666.

None afterwards
till 1703.

In the interval, which elapsed between the last-mentioned date and the year 1703, no convocation had been summoned. But a desire being then conceived by the clergy to be allowed, what they esteemed their ancient right and privilege, it appears by extracts from the Journals of the Lower House of Convocation, that the deans and archdeacons, who happened to be in Dublin, availed themselves of the occasion of an approaching parliament; and in their own names, and in those of their brethren, implored the archbishops and bishops, who also were then there, to bring the subject before the viceroy; and to procure that the clause, which had formerly summoned the clergy to meet in convocation, but which had, from negligence or some other cause, been twice omitted from the parliamentary writs to the bishops, should now again be inserted.

Account of its
being assembled.

On the subject being in consequence brought by the Duke of Ormonde before the queen, certain questions were submitted to the consideration of the archbishops and bishops then in Dublin, and received answers, which were reported to the government to the following effect on the 5th of July in the same year.

Questions sub-

1. That the last convocation holden in Ireland was

after the restoration of the royal family in 1661: that it began with the parliament then called, and continued during the said parliament, namely, to the year 1666, and since which time, till the year 1692, there had been no parliament in Ireland.

mitted by Lord
Lieutenants to
the bishops.

2. That, as to the mode of summoning convocations, there had been some question concerning this in 1661, when the Lords Justices, being the Lord Chancellor Eustace, and the Earls of Orrery and Montrath, and the privy council, made an order for the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin "to meet and advise of, and return their opinions, how all things requisite in order to the convocation, and other things relating to the Church, may be done and prepared." To which order the two archbishops made report, "that they had considered the matter, and particularly made search for a form of writs to be issued as formerly, for convocating the clergy, and could find no other than what they annexed, which they conceived a sufficient form to be sent to every of the archbishops and bishops: "*Præmonentes Decanum, &c.*—premonishing the dean and chapter of your church of Armagh, and the archdeacon and the whole clergy of your diocese, that the same dean and archdeacon, in their proper persons, and the same chapter by one, and the same clergy by two, fit proctors, having severally full and sufficient power from the said chapter and clergy, be at the aforesaid day and place personally present, for consenting to such things as shall then and there happen to be ordained by common judgment."

Mode of sum-
moning convoca-
tions.

Form of sum-
mons.

3. To the question of the clergy's right to have a convocation on the summoning of parliament, they answered that it had been "the custom for a convocation to meet with a parliament in Ireland, and the

Right of clergy
to a convocation.

clergy had claimed it as a right. But in the two late parliaments, held in King William's reign, the ancient form of writs, directed to the bishops to appear in parliament, were omitted."

Authority to act.

4. To the question, "What authority the convocation when summoned have to act without the queen's licence authorizing them, and, if they have any authority, to what matters it extends?" it was observed that "the quære seemed best answered by the clause in the writ of licence directed to the convocation, and dated the 21st of March, 1661, which writ was again renewed after the death of Primate Bramhall, Nov. 10, 1665." This writ, which is cited in full, was addressed to the Archbishop of Armagh, and to the other archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and proctors capitular and clerical, and gave them free power to meet in convocation from time to time during the parliament; and to communicate, treat, consult, and conclude, concerning such articles, canons, rules ecclesiastick, &c., which should appear to them conducive to the increase of the honour and true worship of God, to the eradicating of heresies and evil customs from Christ's vineyard, to the procuring and preserving of the benefit and peace of the Church; and also to make ordinances and decrees, having the force of ecclesiastical canons and constitutions, in the premises, and to publish and promulgate the same, having first had and obtained the royal consent.

Right of taxation.

To this was added, that "the clergy of Ireland had likewise taxed themselves in convocation; and in the last parliament, when no convocation sat, the bishops protested against the parliament's taxing them in a land-tax, in order to preserve their right to tax themselves."

5. In answer to the question, "What are the rules and methods of their proceedings?" it was stated that "the convocation of Ireland was a national synod; that all the archbishops and bishops sat in an Upper House, the deans, archdeacons, and proctors of the clergy in a Lower House; that they were governed by the common rules of synods, each house acting and adjourning by itself; and that no canon or rule was made or obliging, but with the concurrence of both houses, ratified and confirmed by the royal assent under the great seal."

Rules of proceeding.

These answers were returned to the Duke of Ormonde by the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, and the Bishops of Kildare, Clogher, and Down and Connor, with a humble representation to his Grace, referring themselves to her Majesty's favour and wisdom for the time when the convocation should sit and act; but withal humbly insisting upon having the clause "*præmunientes*," or "*præmonentes*," inserted in the bishops' parliament-writs, as had been constantly practised in England, and likewise in Ireland, in all parliaments held before the late Revolution, and as they conceived it ought of right to be.

Answers of the archbishops and bishops.

The clause, above specified, was accordingly inserted in the writs which called the bishops to parliament on the 1st of the ensuing September. But the clergy being thus summoned by the royal writ, and the bishop's mandates thereupon, having assembled in Dublin, were of opinion that there should also be issued provincial writs to the several archbishops and bishops, together with the *præmonentes* clause in the parliamentary writs. The members of the Lower House thus expressed their views on the subject, in an address offered to the

The clause "*præmunientes*" inserted in the writs.

bishops for their co-operation in procuring what they esteemed “a full and entire convocation:”

Address of clergy
to bishop.

“We conceive that the clergy of this kingdom, when met in a perfect and entire convocation, do assemble in two distinct capacities, namely, in a civil and in an ecclesiastical capacity. In the first, we apprehend ourselves to be called together by her Majesty’s writ in the clause *præmunientes*; and that in virtue of this, we have a right to be formed into a regular body, to be attendants upon and counsellors to the parliament, in whatever may relate to the temporal rights of the Church, as interwoven with the state. In our ecclesiastical capacity, we look upon it as absolutely necessary to be summoned by the provincial writ, and your Grace’s metropolitical authority consequent upon that writ, which forms us into a national and truly ecclesiastical synod, to frame canons, to reform discipline, censure heresy, and to exert that jurisdiction which belongs to us in conjunction with your Lordships, as the representative members of a national church.”

Convocation con-
stituted.

The prelates concurred in these sentiments of the Lower House, and signified their approval by beseeching the Lord Lieutenant to move her Majesty to issue the provincial writs to the several archbishops. To this application a favourable answer was returned; and in a few days, the writs, so earnestly sought, arrived, thus constituting the clergy a perfect and entire convocation.

Opinion in favour
of Irish
preachers.

In the convocation, which was thus assembled together with the parliament of 1703, an opinion was expressed favourable to attempts for the conversion of the native Irish by means of Irish preachers. On the 3rd of March, the following resolution was sent from the Lower to the Upper House :

Resolution of the
Lower House.

“Resolved, that the endeavouring the speedy conversion of the Papists of this kingdom is a work of great piety and

charity; in order to which, it is the opinion of this House, that preachers, in all the dioceses of this kingdom, preaching in the Irish tongue, would be a great means of their conversion. And, therefore, that application be made to the most reverend and right reverend the Lords Archbishops and Bishops, that they take into their consideration what number of such preachers will be necessary in every diocese, and how they may be supported."

To this their Graces and Lordships returned for answer:

Answer of the
Upper House.

"We think, that endeavouring the conversion of the Papists is very commendable; and, as to preaching in the Irish tongue, we think it useful, where it is practicable."

It does not appear that any proceeding more specifick took place in this convocation, or that any publick or official provision for the proposed object was made in consequence. But it is related by the Rev. John Richardson, in his *History of the Attempts to Convert the Irish Papists*, that endeavours, similar to those which had been made in the former reign, were repeated in two or three instances at this period, and not without considerable success.

Attempts at con-
verting Irish
Papists.

With the advice and encouragement of the diocesan, Dr. St. George Ashe, at that time Bishop of Clogher, and with the assistance and countenance of Audley Mervin, Esq., one of the knights of the shire for Tyrone, the Rev. Nicholas Brown, rector of the parishes of Donacary, Dromore, and Rosorry, applied himself in 1702 to the conversion of the Irish, and persevered for some years in the undertaking with great zeal and assiduity. He was well qualified for the work, by a perfect acquaintance with the Irish language, and by a facility in expressing theological ideas in that tongue after a manner agreeable to the native hearers. By great kindness also, and humanity, and by works of charity among

Efforts of the
Rev. Nicholas
Brown.

the poor, he gained their hearts and affections. And thus he took advantage of the great delight which he observed in them at hearing divine service in their own tongue; and he accordingly sought them in their own dwellings; appointed with them publick meetings; attended at the places where they usually assembled to hear mass, taking care to be present when mass was just ended, and before the congregation was dispersed; and thus seized every opportunity of instructing them, administering to them the ordinances of religion, reading to them chapters of the Old and New Testaments in Irish, and reading the prayers of the Church out of an Irish Book of Common Prayer.

His success.

The people assembled in great numbers to hear him, whenever they received notice of his intention, joined devoutly in his prayers, and heard his instructions with thankfulness and satisfaction. On one occasion in particular, the Popish priest, being much troubled to see his congregation joining in the service of the Church with great attention and devotion, told them aloud, "That our Church had stolen those prayers from the Church of Rome;" to which a grave old native answered, "That, if it was so, they had stolen the best, as thieves generally do." The result was, that many of those whose parents and relations, and who themselves also, had previously gone to mass, were brought and adhered to the communion of the Church, notwithstanding the menaces and denunciations of the Popish priests; and that he impressed the generality of his Popish neighbours with a favourable opinion of the religion which he professed and taught, many of them declaring that they were always kept in the dark by their priests, but that this man showed them the

light, and said nothing but what was good, and what they understood.

The foregoing particulars, abstracted from Mr. Richardson's detailed narrative and documents, were established by the undeniable testimony of such as were eye-witnesses of Mr. Brown's labours and success: namely, the certificate of the provost, burgesses, and other inhabitants of the town of Eniskillin, and the deposition of a former servant of Mr. Brown, a respectable person, and known in that corporation. His career was interrupted by severe illness, which confined him to his house a long time before he died, and was at last terminated by a premature death. To a friend, who waited on him several times during his last sickness, and who has likewise reported his labours, as above specified, he frequently spoke of his former endeavours, and "communicated freely his thoughts about the conversion of the Irish, which he seemed to have a most tender concern for; and told his friend, that if the convocation would be pleased to take it into their consideration, and could prevail on the parliament to encourage the building of churches, and to establish Irish preachers and schoolmasters in every diocese in the kingdom, he did not doubt but the success would be great within few years; to which he thought the translation of some choice books in Irish would be conducive."

Testimonies
thereto.

Mr. Brown died in or about the year 1708, having exerted himself in thus doing the work of an evangelist from the year 1702, till incapacitated by illness. At nearly the same period the like work was strenuously undertaken by the Rev. Walter Atkins, treasurer of the cathedral church of Cloyne, and vicar of the parish of Middleton in that diocese.

His death.

Exertions of the
Rev. Walter
Atkins.

Being not altogether a stranger to the Irish language before his collation to his benefice, he immediately employed himself in acquiring a more competent acquaintance with it; and then proceeded to perform the offices of religion for the natives, in their own tongue; being for that purpose furnished by the Earl of Inchiquin with an Irish Common Prayer, and encouraged in his enterprise by his diocesan, Dr. Charles Crow, Bishop of Cloyne. He buried their dead according to the liturgy of the Church; and gave thereby so much satisfaction to the living, that they participated in the service with great devotion, and joined audibly with their voices in the Lord's Prayer, and in the previous responses: and, on occasion of a burial in the churchyard of the cathedral, one of them was heard to say, "That if they could have that service always, they would no more go to mass." In process of time his ministerial labours became so acceptable to the natives, that they of their own accord sent for him from all parts of his parish to baptize their children, to solemnize matrimony, to church their women, to visit their sick, and to bury their dead. These circumstances of Mr. Atkins's ministry, conducted by him after this manner for several years, and continued at the time of his relation with success, were communicated by that clergyman himself to Mr. Richardson. This example, and that of Mr. Brown, are all which he has adduced in illustration of his subject at this period. To what further information he affords, there will be occasion to advert at a somewhat later period than that with which we are now conversant.

jurisdiction arose between him and the dean and chapter of Christ Church, the deanery being at that time holden by William Moreton, Bishop of Kildare, in pursuance of a custom which had been long established by reason of the poverty of that bishoprick.

In Archdeacon Mathews's "Argument," to which there was a reference on a former occasion, printed in the year 1704, it is stated, that "All archbishopricks and bishopricks in Ireland are royal donatives, as all bishopricks in England were, until the reign of King John, (17 Eliz., c. 40); and all archbishops and bishops of this kingdom are regal commissioners for ecclesiastical causes, (2 Eliz., c. 4,) each of them having a particular commission from the king or queen, or the chief governor of Ireland, for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction within their respective dioceses: and upon the delivery of the commission or letters-patent to them, they may immediately exercise that jurisdiction before they be enthroned or consecrated, as hath been lately declared in a judicial debate between the present Lord Archbishop of Dublin and the Lord Bishop of Kildare." From the latter part of this statement it should appear, that the debate, to which allusion is here made, was a question of time only, regarding not the exercise of jurisdiction absolutely, but its exercise before enthronement or consecration. If so, it has a different bearing from that which is the subject of the following extracts from Primate Marsh's correspondence.

Litigated between the archbishop and the dean and chapter.

In a letter of May the 27th, 1704, the first after his translation to Armagh, the Primate had excused himself for not having written to Dr. Smith, on the ground that "the affairs of parliament, of the con-

Observations by the Primate on the subject.

vocation, and of his diocese and province, all which, except the first, being wholly new to him, had entirely possessed his thoughts the last year." And, after two or three intervening letters, he thus continues his correspondence on the 14th of December the same year :

Mode of investiture.

"I wish I had anything to communicate to you from this poor kingdom, worth your knowledge. But as poverty breeds strife, and naked walls contention in a family, so I fear 'tis in this kingdom: which is not worth while to trouble you with, only thus much; because I believe you have heard enough, if not too much, of the controversy betwixt the Archbishop of Dublin and the dean and chapter of Christ Church here. That upon a petition of the latter to the queen, setting forth that Christ Church, in Dublin, where the State goes to church, is the chapel-royal, the consequence whereof must be, that it is exempt from the archbishop's visitation, the queen referred it to the Duke of Ormonde to make report thereof. Whereupon a hearing was appointed by the duke about nineteen days ago, the Lord Chancellor and three chief judges, and all the bishops in town, being present. After a long hearing of about three hours, wherein many ancient charters, deeds, and records, were cited by the counsel on both sides, the duke ordered the Lord Chancellor and three chief judges to examine those records, which they have been upon from time to time ever since: and when the duke returns from Kilkenny, where he hath been ever since the day of hearing, I believe a report will be soon made to the queen, but containing a great many sheets of paper, as is thought; and then we hope the matter will soon be decided, and peace be restored to this part of our Church, to the joy of all good people: which I wish that I were able to tell you is done already, but that's a blessing which we must wait God's leisure for."

Interest excited by it.

The Primate makes no further allusion to this controversy: but Dr. Smith in his answer, dated

London, January 23, 1705, thus adverts to the subject :

“ I humbly thank your Grace for that compendious account you have been pleased to send me of the controversy between the Archbishop of Dublin and the dean and chapter of Christ Church, which has made a great noise here. I have read several papers, some communicated to me, and others purchased, relating to this unhappy contest, which has caused great divisions and animosities in the Church of Ireland. But I hope, that a sudden stop and period will be put to them, upon the appearance of both the contending parties ; Archbishop King being only here at present, and the Bishop of Kildare shortly expected. I wish and pray for peace and unity in your Church, which I am afraid is flying from us by the restless designs and underminings of the dissenters, too much countenanced, who are visibly carrying on their evil designs and machinations as did their predecessors formerly, under specious shews and pretensions of reformation, moderation, and godly zeal.”

That this dispute between the archbishop and the bishop had excited much attention in England as well as in Ireland, appears not from the foregoing letter only, but from one addressed by Dr. Swift, with the date of Trim, December 31, 1704, to the archbishop, who was then prepared for his voyage to England, and waiting “ the first opportunity of the wind.” The writer, who had been in England the preceding winter, reports the prudence and diligence with which the dean and chapter had endeavoured to support the cause they were engaged in, in the writer’s mind “ not otherwise to be supported,” and “ assures his Grace, which perhaps others may have been cautious in telling him, that they had not been without success.” An impression had been thus made on the general mind to the prejudice of the archbishop ; who, in his answer to Dr. Swift’s letter,

Opinion unfavourable to the archbishop ;

Communicated in a letter from Dr. Swift, Dec. 31, 1704.

on the 30th of the following January, soon after his arrival in London, thus confirms from his own observation the intelligence previously imparted to him. The foregoing extract from Dr. Swift's letter is copied from his published works; the archbishop's answer is supplied by his MS. correspondence in Trinity College Library:

“ Rev. Sir,

Archbishop
King's answer to
Dr. Swift,
January 30, 1705.

His cause misre-
presented.

“ I received the favour of yours of the 31st December last, and am very much obliged to you for the concern you took in my affair, of which I have had information from several hands. I am satisfied that great industry has been used to misrepresent me and my cause here; and that those employed to do me ill offices have not been altogether unsuccessful. It was so in Dublin till my cause was heard; but I think I left everybody possessed of another opinion, and believe it will quickly be so here. I reached London on the 13th instant, and have in effect been ever since confined by the gout, which has been a great hindrance to my affairs, but I hope it is near over. 'Tis no small misfortune for us in Ireland to have our causes judged here by persons that neither understand or regard our affairs. For an instance of this, I do find, that neither stationers' shops, nor publick or private libraries, can furnish so much as the statutes or canons of Ireland, though I have made a very diligent search for them; and I do now find that the reason my adversaries desire to be judged here, is in hopes their cause will never be understood; but that will not serve their turn. As to their prints, they have a very different effect on all I have discoursed, from what they designed. I shall be able to give a better account when my commission is returned and opened. I am not very fond of saying any thing 'till I have full vouchers, and then their falsehoods will turn to their shame.”

Archbishop's
right finally
established.

Without entering further into the particulars of this case, it may be sufficient to mention here, that the anticipations of the archbishop were ultimately realized: for that, after a long, most tedious, and

most vexatious contest, the question was decided in his favour, and his right of visiting the dean and chapter of Christ Church was established by the highest court of judicature, the English House of Lords. A similar claim to exemption from archiepiscopal jurisdiction, on the part of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, in 1703, is related by Mr. Mason²; but it appears to have led them no further than a protestation against the archbishop's right to visit them.

Claim of dean
and chapter of
St. Patrick's.

By Dr. Swift's letter above cited, we are informed, that an endeavour had been previously made to procure for the clergy of the Church of Ireland an act of bounty similar to that which the queen had conferred on the English clergy. "I would also beg of your Grace," he says, "to use some of your credit towards bringing to a good issue the promise the queen made, at my Lord Bishop of Cloyne's intercession, to remit the first fruits and tenths of the clergy; unless I speak ignorantly, for want of information, and that it be a thing already done. But what I would mind your Grace of is, that the crown-rent should be added, which is a great load upon many poor livings, and would be a considerable help to others. And I am confident, with some reason, that it would be easily granted, being, I hear, under a thousand pounds a year, and the queen's grant for England being so much more considerable than ours can be at best. I am very certain, that, if the Bishop of Cloyne had continued to solicit it in England, it would easily have passed; but, his lordship giving it up wholly to the Duke of Ormonde, I believe it has not been thought of so

Attempt to procure the first fruits for the clergy,

And the crown-rent.

² MASON'S *St. Patrick*, p. 217.

much as it ought³." In fact, this affair, important as it manifestly was to the Church and the clergy, had been, and continued to be, strangely mismanaged or neglected. The archbishop, in his answer, judged that it would be imprudent for him "as yet to meddle in it." It was nominally taken up, once and again, three or four years later than this period, as we shall have occasion to notice hereafter; but it was not till after the lapse of more than seven years, that the grant was finally completed.

Slowness of the
episcopal suc-
cession.

The reign of Queen Anne was almost as remarkable for the slowness of the episcopal succession, as that of King William had been for its rapidity; for whereas twenty bishops had died in the twelve years of King William's reign, nine only died in that of Queen Anne, which extended through about the same period; and of those nine, four occurred within the last twelvemonth of her reign. Of those which took place in the earlier portion of that period, next to Primate Boyle's death in 1702, was that of Bishop Tennison, in 1705. This made a vacancy in the bishoprick of Meath, which was supplied by the translation of Bishop Moreton, the vehement and pertinacious opponent, as Dean of Christ Church, of the Archbishop of Dublin's episcopal jurisdiction; and the vacancy thus made by him in the bishoprick of Kildare, and the deanery of Christ Church, was filled by Welbore Ellis, a native of England, and doctor of divinity of the Universities of Oxford and Dublin. He was promoted by letters-patent in September, 1705, and consecrated in the ensuing November; but Mr. Harris, who gives the date of his consecration, has omitted to state, that it was

Translation of
Bishop Moreton,
1705.

Bishop Ellis
consecrated by
the Primate.

³ SWIFT'S *Works*, ix., 46.

solemnized by the Lord Primate, in the absence of the Archbishop of Dublin from Ireland.

This is mentioned in a letter of thanks from the Archbishop to the Primate, whence I collect that an attempt had been made by the bishop elect to procure consecration from an English archbishop, but had been resisted by his future metropolitan. The letter commences thus:

“ Pall Mall, November 20, 1705.

Archbishop
King's letter,
November 20,
1705.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ I received your Grace's of the 13th instant, and return your Grace my acknowledgments for complying in my request to consecrate the Bishop of Kildare. I was unwilling to innovate any thing about our consecration, or to give an example that bishops would have found too many to follow it; besides, as I take it, our succession in Ireland is more clear and unexceptionable than our neighbours, and therefore 'tis best to stick to it.”

This is not a solitary example of the Primate officiating on such occasions for the Archbishop of Dublin; for instance, both of Bishop Ellis's predecessors, Dopping and Moreton, had received consecration from Primate Boyle. But the remarks made on the transaction by Archbishop King have caused it to be here mentioned. The metropolitan, in a letter of the same date as the preceding, conveyed to his new suffragan his congratulations “ on his accession to the episcopal order, and his wishes for many happy days in it, to the service of God, the good of the Church, and his own comfort.”

Such consecra-
tion not unusual.

SECTION IV.

Inefficiency of Parliament and Convocation in 1705. Letters of Archbishop King on the subject. Illness of the Primate. His laborious occupations. Correspondence between him and Dr. Smith, on the latter's Life of Archbishop Ussher. Restlessness of the Presbyterians. Attempts to remove the Sacramental Test. Antipathy to the Church. Sense of the House of Commons. Letters of Archbishop King and Dr. Swift. Repeal of Test recommended by Lord-Lieutenant; disapproved by Parliament and Clergy. Dr. Lloyd rejected from a Bishoprick. Brown, bishop of Cork: his Character. Death of Bishop Foy: his Bequests. Date of commencement of the year. Mills, bishop of Waterford.

Inefficiency of
parliament and
convocation,
1705.

IN the parliament which assembled February, 1705, and sat till the 18th of June, no act was passed, nor incident occurred, of special interest to the Church. The convocation also, which was holden during the same period, was equally inefficient, much to the dissatisfaction of Archbishop King, who, in a letter of March 15, 1705, thus urged the Bishop of Clogher to active exertions:

Letter from
Archbishop King
to Bishop of
Clogher,
March 15,

“ For God’s sake, endeavour to procure a few canons for the regulation of things amiss in our discipline; if we do so, all other things will come in course. We have our Saviour’s promise, ‘ Seek first the kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added to you.’ But if the convocation only mind the secular profit of the Church, or such things as the parliament must do for them, the world will look on all this as priestcraft and carnal interest, and we shall get nothing. I perceive the Lower House do their part pretty well; and if the bishops fail of theirs, they will fall under the same censure that some bishops do here.”

And to Arch-
bishop of Tuam,
April 17.

With the Archbishop of Tuam, in a letter of April 17th, 1705, he was no less urgent: pressing

on him the necessity of the Upper House of Convocation testifying a spirit, corresponding in some degree with that of the Lower House :

“ May it please your Grace,

“ I understand by several letters that the Lower House of Convocation have sent up several messages with ample matter for canons that would tend greatly to the reformation and restoration of discipline, but to the day of their adjournment they never had any answer from the bishops, or could find that they had taken those or any other affairs for the good of the Church into their consideration. Though I am so unhappy as to be obliged to be absent, yet I can’t but be deeply and sensibly concerned for the honour of our order and the good of the clergy in general. I therefore take the liberty to inform your Grace, that after the last sessions there was a project by some of the Lower House to print the proceedings. It was actually drawn up and ready for the press, and I was desired to peruse it, but I utterly refused it, and laboured with all my friends to prevent the printing it, apprehending it could not be for the advantage of the bishops that so many things were offered to them by the clergy, and they never vouchsafed to take so much as one of them into consideration : by much ado the persons concerned were prevailed on to let it lie to another session ; and now I am morally certain an account will be printed, and by what I can guess little to our advantage. I only desire your Grace to consider how it will look to have it published to the world, as I doubt it will be, that the Lower House applied themselves to the business of the Church, proposed so many things for her advantage, but that the bishops obstructed all, and never vouchsafed so much as to give the least answer to what was proposed, or so much as to signify that they had ecclesiastical affairs in their minds.

“ I am afraid this will be the turn will be given our management, if it continue; and therefore I beg of your Grace to lay the matter to heart, and to contrive some way that we may not be represented to the world in such a pre-

Upper House of Convocation inattentive to messages from the Lower.

Project for printing the proceedings.

Unfavourable view of the conduct of the bishops.

judicial manner. I dare not give my opinion at this distance, but surely our House may so far apply themselves to business, as to give an answer to what lies before them, and at least signify their approbation or dislike of what is proposed, and so show their concern and readiness to comply with what may be useful and advantageous to the Church. I propose this with all deference to your Grace; and if I be mistaken, I entreat you to impute it to my zeal and not to any singularity. I pray earnestly for your Grace and for all my brethren, and desire your Grace to remember me in yours.

“My Lord, &c.,

“Archbishop of Tuam.

W. D.”

Archbishop
King's letter to
Bishop of Cloyne.

And at the close of the convocation, he adverted again, in a letter of June 26, addressed to the Bishop of Cloyne, to the probable publication of the proceedings, not without an implied censure on the influence which he supposed to have been employed for repressing a disposition to greater activity:

Business in the
Upper House
obstructed.

“As to your convocation, I have letters already intimating a resolution of some to print your proceedings: it is from the Lower House; and, if care be not taken, I am sure it will not be for the honour of the Upper. I am of opinion that if it go on, your Lordships ought to have a hand in it, and publish your answers, &c., so far as may be for your justification. It will do much better if it come out with consent. Care was taken that you should do as little as possible, but even what is done will be for your honour. There is providence in everything; perhaps there was one in my absence, though I cannot tell how, yet I believe God doth all things for the best. I should have spoken my mind, and how far that would have pleased some, God only knows.

“Some men are very dexterous at doing nothing; I wish those of that temper would keep out of places that require something to be done. You have had a session without one clause to the good of the Church: if all had done their

parts, I fancy it might have been otherwise. I will add no more but my prayers for your Lordship, and desire a return for, my Lord,

“Your Lordship’s truly affectionate brother
and humble servant,

“To the Bishop of Cloyne.

W. D.”

No distinct explanation has fallen in my way of the allusions contained in the latter part of this letter. But perhaps we shall not err if we suppose that the more fervid temperament of the Archbishop of Dublin was not met with corresponding ardour in the Lord Primate; and that he saw cause for censuring an inaction, which he regarded as detrimental to the character, and an hindrance to the improvement, of the Church.

Probable cause of complaint.

The same subject was resumed and prosecuted by him in a letter of the 4th of July to the Archbishop of Tuam, who appears to have partaken of his feelings of mortification, and whom he addressed in the following language of condolence:

Second letter from Archbishop King to Archbishop of Tuam.

“May it please your Grace,

“I was honoured with your Grace’s of the 25th of June, and have read it often with great concern. ’Tis an uncomfortable thing, that all assemblies of men come to some conclusion and agreement, only clergymen: that all that have controversies can write with temper and humanity, only they treat one another with passion and bitterness. Sure it is time for us to be sensible of those defects, and consider both the causes and remedies of it; I do perceive that it has troubled your Grace to the heart, but the way is not, I conceive, to wish to be out of a world so shocking, but to use our endeavours to reform it. I hope your Grace will yet live to promote such reformation; and, though your success be hardly sensible, yet such efforts have been the means to preserve what religion is in the world hitherto. Our Saviour and his apostles had reason to complain of an untoward and perverse generation, yet their successors, though like a little leaven, have leavened a great lump; and though

Discomfort of dissensions among clergymen.

Publication of
the proceedings
to be expected.

what you have done in convocation be in your eyes little, especially when compared with what might have been done, yet it is not nothing, and will have its value. I expect that those that were stopped last time from printing, will now infallibly publish their proceedings; if this must be printed, as, I am of opinion, it can hardly be prevented, I wish it were under the review of some of our order, otherwise I am afraid we shall not have equal treatment. There are, I doubt, fewer of the humour of Shem and Japhet, that covered their father's nakedness, than of Ham's that exposed it, and therefore I hope some care will be taken in this point: it concerns the whole Church, and will do mischief, if discretion be not used, to the whole clergy, even to them that contrive it, and, therefore, either there should be no printing, or else the act ought to be with common consent.

Its danger.

"Perhaps your Grace may expect some account of matters here from me, but I do protest I am more a stranger to them than when at Dublin. Great struggling has been for parliament men; but to what purpose is a mystery that I never could be let into, but I believe it may open itself next session.

Objection against
Ireland.

"I had no particular account of any one thing done by the convocation, only what was printed. And I confess I wondered at those resolutions, or what could occasion them. The great objection against Ireland has been their value for King William, and why you should declare it at this time, except it be to make yourselves suspected that you are not so, I can't tell. I writ to a friend to unfold the matter to me, and he answered that one Monck, a clergyman, had said something in a coffee-house that fired the Commons, and that obliged the convocation to concur; but sure coffee-house talk could not influence a parliament or convocation."

Illness of Primate
Marsh.

It has been already noticed, that in the parliament of 1705 no legislative or other proceeding occurred of special interest to the Church. But in preparation for that which was convened in 1707, the primate was seized with illness, which he communicated to his friend Dr. Smith in an apologetical letter from Dublin, of September the 17th:

"I humbly beg your pardon for being so slow in answering your last obliging letter of August 7, 1707: and I fear that I shall ever hereafter be forced to begin my future letters to you, as I do this, with begging pardon for not answering in due time, which I hope you will not take amiss, it proceeding not from negligence or want of due respect, or not being sufficiently sensible of the great favour you do me by them. As to the present, a lazy indisposition seized me that day at dinner whereon my Lord Lieutenant landed, which was June 24th, which rendered me unable to walk or stand without help. 'Twas a benumbness in my limbs, that is not yet quite worn off, nor can it be, until I have liberty to ride and walk and stir about, which the business of parliament, convocation, and council hath hitherto denied me; especially the council, which, since the recess of parliament, which is to meet again September 20th, hath seldom sate, either itself or in a committee, less than eight or ten hours every day, to prepare, adjust, and dispatch bills to the council in England for their approbation, that they may be returned hither time enough to be passed in our parliament, when it shall meet. This is our method. So that when I returned home at night, I have been still more inclined *ad dormiendum quam ad scribendum*. But, God be thanked, my distemper, as the doctors tell me, is only the scurvies, not a touch of the palsy, as I at first apprehended. And the forementioned business being now for a few days over, I have time to think of my friends and of books."

His letter to Dr. Smith, Sept. 17, 1707.

His laborious occupations.

Meanwhile Dr. Smith had been employed in writing his Latin *Life of Primate Ussher*, concerning his composition of which he had thus spoken in a letter of May the 14th, 1707:

Dr. Smith's *Life of Archbishop Ussher*.

"In the *Life of Archbishop Ussher* I have had frequent, just, and necessary occasion of mentioning and accounting for the state of the Church of Ireland, especially in his time; and should be glad, when the great weight of the civil government, now incumbent upon you, as well as ecclesiastical, shall permit, to know your Grace's opinion of it."

And explaining afterwards, October 21, more fully what he meant :

“ When I formerly made your Grace a present of my Latin book of lives, my humble request was that you would be pleased to signify your opinion about what I have written in the *Life of Archbishop Ussher*, concerning the two convocations of the Church of Ireland, the one held 1615, the other 1634, about which I have said nothing, but what I have used my utmost care to collect out of authentic memoirs and letters, and have aimed at truth, which is sacred and most essential to history, and not in the least biassed by partiality or prejudice one way or other. This was my pure design and endeavour ; but, as to what concerns the performance, your Grace and others, who are so well versed in the records of your Church, are the best judges. This was the only request I made to your Grace in the letter you are pleased to refer to : being no way concerned to inquire after the present state of the Church of Ireland in general, or any of the four provinces : this consideration never entering into my thought.”

Correspondence
between the
primate and Dr.
Smith on the *Life*
of Archbishop
Ussher.

This last extract was in reply to an inquiry of the primate, who seems not to have clearly apprehended the purport of Dr. Smith's request for his opinion about the state of the Church, and who had, in consequence, asked for an explanation

“ In a former letter,” he observes, September 17, 1707, “ signifying that you had sent me Primate Ussher's *Life*, &c., you mentioned your desire to know the state of the Church of Ireland, when I should have perused the said *Life*. I suppose you meant the different state of the Church now from what it was then.

“ What the state of the Church was then, I cannot so readily and positively tell : nor of that of the whole kingdom now, because it is under four archbishops of the four provinces, whereof but that of Ulster is under my immediate care.

Actual state of
the Church.

“ 'Tis true I was Archbishop of Cashel, and had then Munster under my charge ; but it was presently after the

late Revolution, when all things were out of order, and I was removed to Dublin before things could be rectified. When Archbishop of Dublin I had the province of Leinster under my jurisdiction, and can give a pretty good account of that. But the best account I can give is of Ulster, which is now under my immediate jurisdiction, and all which I visited last year, and do very well know the state of the Church in that province, where are many dissenters, and but few Papists. And if it be this you would have, I shall be ready to give it you when you please to desire it."

Dr. Smith's request, as explained in the foregoing extract from his letter of Oct. 21, had no such drift as the primate here supposes, nor did he intimate any desire that the primate's offer of information should be realised. Had he so done, the result would probably have assisted our present inquiries with much valuable information, a portion of which may, however, be gathered from another quarter. But in the mean time it may be proper to observe, that the testimony of the primate was borne to the accuracy of the account which Dr. Smith had given of the affairs which it had been his business to narrate :

Primate's testimony to Dr. Smith's accuracy.

"'Tis but lately that I could get time to read over Primate Ussher's Life, as written by you, which I find very exactly done. What you say there of the transactions in convocation at that time, is true according to the accounts we have of it; and the English Articles being then introduced into this Church, those they call the Irish were from that time quite laid by and forgotten, few men knowing anything of them, till about six or seven, or a few more years ago, they were privately reprinted by I know not whom, and exposed to sale. The Canons of our Church are mostly the same with those of the Church of England, and do differ only in such things as peculiarly relate to this kingdom, so that the Church of England and Ireland is one and the same Church."

Irish Articles antiquated and forgotten.

Restlessness of
the Presby-
terians.

The members of the Presbyterian body were now beginning to show a dissatisfied and restless spirit under the restraint which the law imposed upon them. Formerly it had been a subject of complaint with them, that they were not permitted to serve God in their own way. They professed not to repine at the employments of churchmen; but thought that all men, who lived peaceably, ought to have liberty of conscience, and permission to assemble as they would for publick worship. This was allowed at the Revolution, and for a while they acquiesced in the restriction of the sacramental test, with which they now manifested their discontent, and aimed at removing it.

Attempt to re-
move the
sacramental test.

For accomplishing their object, they sought countenance and support, especially in England; and they put forth such arguments as these:—1st, that when the clause, enacting a sacramental test, was put into execution, half the justices of the peace throughout Ireland had laid down their commissions; 2nd, that, by means of that test, dissenters had been persecuted for their religion; and, 3rd, that their meritorious services in the late war, for the benefit of the nation, entitled them to an exemption from all disabilities.

Their arguments
answered.

On the other hand, it was contended, that of the justices of the peace who had laid down their commissions, as alleged in proof of their disapprobation of the test, the number was confined to twelve or thirteen, men, in general, of inferior property and understanding, and some of them superannuated; that the stories of the persecutions of dissenters were false or exaggerated; and that one case in particular, so misrepresented, had been under the cognizance of the Lord Primate, and determined

according to law and discretion; and that, however willing churchmen were to give a toleration to dissenters, the Church of Ireland was the national church, and the only church established by law, and, if the sacramental test were repealed, there would be no established church remaining, or rather there would be as many established churches as there were sects of dissenters. Besides, if Protestant dissenters were admitted, admission might likewise be claimed for Papists to publick offices. And it was contended, moreover, that the consequence of the projected repeal would be an entire and no distant alteration of religion in the kingdom. For the Irish Presbyterians had brought with them from Scotland, together with a strong affection for each other, and an exclusive national intercommunion, a devoted predilection for their own religious peculiarities, and withal, a sentiment of antipathy to the Church, which they regarded as no better, if not worse, than Popery itself; and were fully possessed with the spirit which had influenced them to abolish episcopacy at home, and the influence of which, if accompanied with corresponding power, was calculated to produce similar evil to the Irish church. Indeed, this inclination, not inexperienced previously in Ireland, had latterly manifested itself in a distinguished advocate of the Presbyterian cause, who, during the session of a former parliament, had insolently shaken one of the Irish prelates, Dr. Lindsay, at that time Bishop of Killaloe, and afterwards Lord Primate, by his lawn sleeve, and told him, in a menacing manner, "that he hoped to live to see the day when there should not be one of his order in the kingdom." Of this person, supposed to be Alan Broderick, Esq., it was only a consistent

Antipathy to the Church.

Manifested in a distinguished advocate.

part, that at the time, with which we are now engaged, being Speaker of the House of Commons, he should have solicited in person several members of both houses of the English parliament to effect a repeal in that parliament of the Irish act.

Letter from
Archbishop King
to Mr. Annesley
August 16, 1707

A letter from Archbishop King to Mr. Annesley, of the 16th of August, 1707, reports the condition of things with respect to the test, "which was like to embroil" the parliament; but which, now near the close of the session, he observes, "we have got over pretty easily:"

Sentiments in
parliament on
the test.

"The matter was so contrived, that it seems the ministry in England was of opinion, that we were wonderfully fond of repealing that clause in the bill against Popery, that obliged all in office to take the sacrament. And we here were held in hand, that this was the design of the ministry, and that we could not oblige her Majesty by anything more effectually, than by complying in it. But, upon trial, it proved that nothing was more averse to the universal inclination of the parliament here. I believe some few might be for it; but it was their interest to make things go smoothly in parliament, and they found this was the way to obtain it; and, therefore, they came in with the rest, and have really gained great reputation by being so. You can hardly imagine what a healing measure this has proved, and how far it has prevailed to oblige those that were in great animosities against one another, to comply in all reasonable proposals; whereas, if the repeal of the test had been insisted on, it would have broken all in pieces, and made them form parties on principles which before were founded only on personal quarrels."

Archbishop
King's letter to
Mr. Southwell,
November 8, 1707.

And in a subsequent letter, of November 8, 1707, to Mr. Southwell, he relates:

"The test got a parting blow; for, on a disputed election for Belfast, it was found, that only four burgesses of thirteen were at the election; and on an inquiry, the reason was given, that the other burgesses durst not act, having

not taken the test. The question then came in, very naturally, whether they were obliged to take it or no? and, on a fair division, the house resolved that they were. This is looked on to be a fuller declaration of the sense of the house, than all that happened before; for they were under no necessity to make any such declaration, and it was pressed hard, when it was very late, to adjourn the debate; but, on division, they were resolved to go on with it, and made the aforesaid declaration."

Declaration of
the sense of
House of
Commons.

The exertions of the dissenters, and the support received by them from the Speaker, as well as the efforts judged requisite for resisting them, are thus stated in a letter from Dr. Swift to Dr. Stearne, at that time dean of St. Patrick's, and afterwards bishop of Clogher, dated London, April 15, 1708:

Letter from Dr.
Swift to Dr.
Stearne, April 15,
1708.

"The dissenters have made very good use here of your frights in Ireland upon the intended invasion; and the archbishop writes me word, that the address of Dublin city will be to the same purpose, which I think the clergy ought to have done their best to prevent, and I hope they did so. Here has the Irish Speaker been soliciting to get the test clause repealed by an act here, for which I hope he will be impeached when your parliament meets again, as well as for some other things I could mention. I hope you will be of my opinion in what I have told the archbishop about those addresses. And if his Grace and clergy of the province send an address, I desire I may present it, as one of the chapter, which is the regular way; but I beg you will endeavour, among you, that the Church of Ireland gentlemen may send an address to set the queen and court right about the test, which every one here is of opinion you should do, or else I have reason to fear it will be repealed here next session, which will be of terrible consequence, both as to the thing and the manner, by the parliament here interfering in things purely of Ireland, that have no relation to any interest of theirs.¹"

Activity of the
dissenters.

On the 12th of June, 1708, the Archbishop of

Letter from

¹ *Works*, x., 53.

Archbishop King
to Dr. Swift,
June 12, 1708.

Dublin thus expressed his sentiments on this subject to Dr. Swift:

“As to the test clause, if the repeated votes of parliament be not sufficient to show the sense of the people as to that point, I can’t tell how it shall be known. Great industry has been used, and great art, to drop something tending that way into three or four addresses. These have been industriously printed, and all others excluded. For my own part, I can’t have so mean a soul as to stoop to such artifices. I have had the comfort to see many such defeated, and their fine-spun webs, that had cost much time and pains, swept away at one brush. I hope the like success will follow the like endeavours.”

Letter of
Archbishop King
to Dr. Swift,
Nov. 20, 1708.

The same views and purposes of the dissenters are thus commented on by Archbishop King, in a letter to Dr. Swift, from Dublin, November 20, 1708:

Presbyterians an
object of fear to
other dissenters.

“I understand some dissenters from hence will apply to the parliament of England this session, to obtain a repeal of the test, and for a toleration on a larger foot than in England; and that a fund is raised, and agents appointed to solicit their affairs, by the presbyters of the north. I have had some intimation, that all dissenters are not of a mind in this point: the other sects, if I am rightly informed, being as much afraid of them as of us; and that they would rather be as they are, than run the hazard of coming under the *jus divinum* of presbytery. Something pleasant enough is said to have happened on this occasion. A certain person endeavoured to comfort them, and remove their jealousy, by telling them they needed not to fear; for, that the greatest friends to dissenters, and who would be most zealous for toleration, never designed to establish any church, but only to destroy that which had the protection of the laws. Whether this will give them satisfaction, I can’t tell; but am certain, that, if any have so wicked a design, they will fail in it.

Ill-grounded fears
for religion.

“I am often alarmed with the fears of some good men, who would persuade me that religion is in danger of being

rooted out of the hearts of men; and they wondered to see me so sanguine in the cause. But I tell them that I believe it is with religion as with paternal affection: some profligate wretches may forget it, and some may dose themselves so long with perverse thinking, as not to see any reason for it; but, in spite of all the ill-natured and false philosophy of these two sorts of people, the bulk of mankind will love their children. And so it is, and will be, with the fear of God and religion: whatever is general has a powerful cause, though every one cannot find it out.

“ But I have forgot my dissenters. The reason of their applying in Great Britain is because they see little reason to hope for success here; and if I can judge of the sense of gentlemen that compose the parliament, they never seemed to be further from the humour of gratifying them.”²

Notwithstanding, however, the little reason which appeared to hope for success, the experiment of effecting the repeal of the sacramental test was made with the Irish parliament. In November, 1708, from among the party most opposed in England to the prosperity of the Church and the clergy, the Earl of Wharton was chosen for the chief government of Ireland, with the supposed purpose of effecting the repeal. At least, in the opening of the session of parliament in May, 1709, he pressed on both houses the serious consideration of supplying any defect for preventing the growth of Popery, and “the evident necessity of cultivating and preserving a good understanding amongst all the Protestants of the kingdom. What the most proper methods are to compass so desirable and so necessary an end, you yourselves, who have the opportunities of knowing the uneasiness that any of your fellow-subjects lie under, are fittest to judge.”

This intimation of the desirableness of repealing

Experiment for
repeal of the
test, November,
1708.

Recommended by
Lord Lieutenant,
May, 1709.

² SWIFT'S *Works*, x., 67.

Clause in act to
prevent further
growth of Popery.

the sacramental test, evidently intended by the foregoing allusion, did not, however, produce the desired result; whilst in an act, explaining and amending the former act, "to prevent the further growth of Popery," a clause was inserted, enacting that no convert from the Popish religion should be deemed a Protestant, within the meaning of the acts, unless, within six months, he should, among other qualifications, "receive the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the order of the Church of Ireland."

1709.

Reasons for the
clause.

This act, which was not passed till the 8th of Queen Anne, 1709, appears to be the same as a bill alluded to by Archbishop King in a letter to Mr. Southwell, of September 2, 1707: "You will find," he says, "in the bill to prevent the further growth of Popery, a clause to oblige all persons to take the sacramental test. It was drawn by a hand that you would least suspect in the world: but it was found necessary, because several converts have taken the oaths, and made an abjuration of Popery, but do not come to church, but pretend to be dissenters, and are believed to be still Papists. And it was doubted whether a man's professing himself to be a Protestant be a sufficient proof that he is so; or, if he can incur the penalty of relapsing before he has received the sacrament, according to the order of the Established Church. And, after all, 'twill be hard to fix a certain criterion of Protestantism any other way. And I hope this will show people some necessity to continue the sacramental test in Ireland."

Lord Lieutenant's
recommendation
disapproved by
parliament and
clergy, 1710.

Thus, notwithstanding the intimation from the throne at the opening of the session of 1709, the sacramental test was retained, and, in a particular

instance, re-enacted. The intimation of the desirableness of repealing it was repeated to the like effect by the Lord Lieutenant on opening the succeeding session in May, 1710. But his suggestion was received with no corresponding feeling on the part of the parliament or clergy of Ireland. This result had been anticipated by Dr. Swift, in a *Letter concerning the Sacramental Test*, published in December, 1708, in the character of a Member of the Irish House of Commons, wherein he set forth the temper with which the project would be encountered. According to his anticipation, in the Commons, a very large preponderance of the House was opposed by a small minority, including something less than twelve professed dissenters; and the Presbyterian party having, on a former occasion, with great industry, mustered their forces, and endeavoured, on a hint in Lord Pembroke's speech, to introduce a debate about repealing the sacramental test clause, could not produce more than one to four against them. In the Lords, the bishops were understood to be unanimously opposed to the repeal, constituting, as they did, by reason of the absence of many temporal peers, nearly a moiety of the house, and of the lay lords but a small proportion was found on the other side. The whole body of the clergy, meanwhile, was utterly hostile to the repeal; their influence with the laity also was great, and their opinion much respected; the rather because they had no immediate personal interest in the question, and were thence believed to be impartial in their judgment, and to be guided only by their concern for the welfare of religion and the prosperity of the community; for the repeal of the sacramental

Bishops opposed
to the repeal.

Whole body of
clergy opposed to
it.

act would only qualify a layman for a civil office, and not a Presbyterian or other dissenting minister for an ecclesiastical benefice. In fact, several members of the House of Commons, being aware of the projected alteration, consulted all the distinguished clergy of their acquaintance, and desired to be informed of their sentiments. The result was a very remarkable unanimity, from which there appeared only one exception, in an individual, who afterwards stood alone in the convocation, of which he was a member, very little to his credit, but, as he hoped, very much to his interest.³

An individual
exception.

This individual was a Dr. Lloyd, fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, who, being in consequence recommended by the Speaker, an earnest advocate, as we have seen, of the same opinion, ingratiated himself with the Lord Lieutenant, by whom he was received into a great degree of favour, and became memorable for his marriage with a disreputable female in the vice-regal household. Soon afterwards, on the see of Cork and Ross becoming vacant, he was selected by the notoriously profligate Earl of Whar-ton for the bishoprick, partly as a provision for his former favourite, and partly with the intent of bringing discredit on the Church and degrading her episcopate. But the selection was esteemed so infamous, that both the English Archbishops, especially the Archbishop of York, interposed with the queen to hinder so great a scandal to the Church. The queen was accustomed to reserve all the great appointments in Ireland for her own patronage, though she was often guided by the recommendation of the chief governor, which upon this occasion she

Lloyd rejected
from a bishop-
rick.

³ SWIFT on the *Sacramental Test*.—*Works*, iii., 132—145.

rejected: and Dr. Brown, provost of Trinity College, Dublin, being then in London, she nominated him to the vacant bishoprick⁴.

Appointment of
Dr. Brown.

In his personal character “austere, retired, and mortified,” the Provost of Dublin College, Peter Brown, was eminent among his contemporaries and brethren for many valuable qualities: for profound learning and critical skill in the Greek and Hebrew languages; for consummate ability in explaining the beauty, energy, and sublimity of the sacred writings; for a just discernment and correct style of composition, founded on the best models of antiquity, and calculated to introduce an improved taste into his society; for a solemn, graceful, and impressive elocution; and for a spirit of earnest piety, which, animating his own heart, was communicated to the hearts of those who heard him preach or pray, breathing in purity and fervency from his whole air, manner, and tone of voice, whether in the pulpit or at the altar; commanding the most awful attention in all who heard him in the former, and causing every one to feel and confess, when he officiated in divine worship, the inimitable beauty and excellency of the liturgy, and especially of the communion service of the Church⁵. His delivery of his sermons, indeed, was so much admired, as to be commemorated in an anecdote, which I cite, with no purpose of commending the application which it contains of holy writ, that when the bishop preached before Queen Anne on the text, “Never man spake like this man,” the queen applied these words to the preacher⁶.

His character.

In the year 1697, when Toland, who “had been

⁴ SWIFT'S *Character of the Earl of Wharton*. Works, vol. iii. 314, 315.

⁵ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 571.

⁶ CAMPBELL'S *Philosophical Survey*, p. 421.

Bishop Brown an
opponent of
Toland.

educated from his cradle in the grossest superstition and idolatry," had from Popery taken refuge in rationality, and published his treatise, intituled *Christianity not Mysteriorious*; among the divines of the Church of England and Ireland who came forward to refute it, was Brown, at that time a bachelor of divinity, and a senior fellow of his college. Prompted to the undertaking by Narcissus Marsh, at that time Archbishop of Dublin⁷, who set a high value on the performance, he continued ever afterwards to enjoy the archbishop's patronage: and having previously, by his procurement, been promoted to the provostship of the college, was indebted to the same recommendation for his elevation to the episcopate; so that Toland, as reported by Harris, used jestingly to say, that it was he who had made Brown bishop of Cork.

His activity in
behalf of the
Church.

In the discharge of his episcopal function his name stands in honourable, but no unfriendly rivalry with those who were most zealous in endeavouring to supply the necessities of the Church. By his generous encouragement, and, although not entirely at his own expence, yet principally by his contributions, the full amount of which his most intimate friends could seldom discover, several parish churches in his diocese were rebuilt or repaired, and a handsome publick library, with a large room for a charity school, erected near his cathedral. On his residence at Bishop's Court, in Cork, as well as on a country-house, built by him for a summer retreat, in the neighbourhood, and left to his successors, he expended large sums of money without any charge for his remuneration. The want of convenient glebes and habitations for his clergy, in

⁷ HARRIS'S *Writers*, pp. 274, 296.

which his diocese was more defective than most others in the kingdom, he earnestly lamented; and remedied, at no small expence, to the best of his opportunities. Where the means of residence existed he was strict in obliging his clergy to reside in their parishes: otherwise, as near as possible to their parish churches. Amongst these commemorated claims to the grateful recollection of the Church, Bishop Brown is still perhaps more generally known as the author of a discourse delivered to his clergy, *Of Drinking in Remembrance of the Dead*, published at Dublin in 1713, and followed by three or four other tracts in vindication of the former. On this occasion he was engaged in controversy with a brother prelate, Edward Synge, bishop of Raphoe, and subsequently Archbishop of Tuam: and it may be noticed as somewhat remarkable that Synge, as well as Brown, had been engaged in combating the principles put forward by Toland's publication.

His discourse of drinking in remembrance of the dead.

The vacancy in the see of Cork and Ross had been preceded the year before by one in that of Waterford and Lismore, occasioned by the death of Bishop Foy, a very meritorious clergyman and prelate, as hath already appeared on more than one occurrence in this narrative, especially from the high testimony borne to his character in Archbishop King's MS. Correspondence concerning the supply of the bishoprick of Meath. He was diligent throughout his life in maintaining the truth of the Gospel, as professed in the Church of Ireland, for which he had been a confessor during the arbitrary rule of King James II.; and he made provision for perpetuating it among the rising generation by considerable legacies to the city of Waterford, to be

Death of Bishop Foy.

His character;

And bequests.

employed in the education of the children of the inhabitants. Of his will, Mr. Harris specifies one remarkable bequest of five pounds to his kinsman, Thomas France, “for preaching his funeral sermon, on condition he spoke nothing of his person, good or ill, only signifying to the auditory it was his express will it should be so: and he ordered that the charge of his funeral should no way exceed thirty pounds.”

Letter of Archbishop King, concerning Bishop Foy,
April 20, 1708.

Another order, given by Bishop Foy at his death, not noticed by Harris, is to be collected from the following letter in Archbishop King’s MS. Correspondence. It is dated April 20th, 1708, and addressed to Mr. Thomas France, Waterford, apparently the kinsman to whom the preaching of the funeral sermon was committed, though his profession is not designated, according to the archbishop’s usual practice, by the compellation or by the address :

“ Sir,

“ I have before me yours of the 17th instant. I can, in answer to it, only tell you that I have had several discourses with my good friend, the late Lord Bishop of Waterford, about his papers, and he seemed very zealous to have them all burnt, and obliged me to look out for all his letters written to me and destroy them; in which I intend to obey him. None can have a more hearty and kind regard for his memory than I have; and if the case were my own, I should certainly think it a justice to him to dispose of his papers as he has ordered, and should be very uneasy if I thought the person on whom I laid such an injunction would make any scruple of performing it. I doubt not but he has left many useful discourses behind him, which deserve very well to be preserved: but whosoever has printed anything knows how necessary it is that what is offered to the publick should have the author’s last hand. The want of which, which cannot be had to posthumous works, generally speaking, makes them very injurious to him to whom they are ascribed. I am, therefore, in my

His directions for burning his posthumous papers.

own judgment, positively against printing any of my dear friend's; but preserving them for your own use, or others who value his memory, is another matter, though I cannot encourage even this disobedience to his dying mandate. You may be able to judge from several circumstances that happened to your knowledge in his life-time, what his settled opinion was in this case; and I doubt not but you will have regard to it, and act accordingly. I pray God direct and guide you in all things, which is the prayer of,

“Yours, &c.,

“W. D.”

The death of Bishop Foy was only the third which had occurred amongst the Irish prelates during the space of almost six years, which had elapsed since the accession of Queen Anne in March, 1702. Mr. Harris having stated him to have died on the 1st of January, 1708, afterwards marks it as a mistake, which he begs the reader to correct; observing that “it is true, reckoning the year to commence that day, but 1707 according to the usual calculation.” Occasion is hence taken for apprising the reader, that throughout the present work the year is considered to commence with the 1st of January, so that all the dates which are given by Sir James Ware, Mr. Harris, Archbishop King, and other authorities, on the calculation of its commencing on the 25th of March, are adapted to the former supposition.

Date of commencement of the year.

Bishop Foy was succeeded in the sees of Waterford and Lismore by Thomas Milles, a native of Hertfordshire, educated at Wadham College, Oxford, Vice-Principal of Edmund Hall, and Queen's Professor of Greek in that university; and editor, in 1703, of a folio edition of *The Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem*. In April, 1707, he attended Thomas Herbert, earl of Pembroke, to Ireland, as his Excellency's chaplain; and early in 1708 was promoted

Milles, Bishop of Waterford.

Obscure allusion
of Archbishop
King.

to the sees vacated by the death of Bishop Foy. "As to Dr. Milles's preferment," observes Archbishop King to Dr. Swift, in a letter of February the 28th, 1708, "you will not expect from me any account how it relished here. Some say, if General Laureston had been primate, it would not have been so. I did not ask what they meant." Although the archbishop did not ask the meaning of the remark, he may possibly have understood it. But from the obscurity of his language the allusion at this time seems unintelligible.

Speaking of the same prelate, in a letter of January 7, 1720, to Dr. Charlet, he observed, in a style of the like obscure allusion, "I do not wonder at the Bishop of Waterford's appearing among the Sorbonne doctors. I do not hear that he showed his crucifix. That he wears continually at his breast. He is one you sent us, and you must answer for him."

SECTION V.

Incidental notices of Ecclesiastical Matters in Archbishop King's MS. Correspondence. Mutual Conduct of Bishops and their Clergy. Irregularity in conferring Holy Orders. Erroneous View of some of the Prelates. Subterfuge to escape the Canon. Detection of an Impostor. Irregular Bishops called Ordainers. Examination of Candidates. Difficulty of maintaining Ministers. Providing new Churches. State of the Dioceses of Dublin and of Ferns. Confirmations. Consecration of Churches. Form of Consecration. Disposal of Benefices. Provision for Converts from Popery. Converts from the Popish Priesthood. Form of Abjuration. Method of dealing with Papists. Laxity in executing the Laws.

Incidental notices from Archbishop King's

SOME incidental notices on the state of the Church at this time, scattered over Archbishop King's MS.

Correspondence, may be thought not unworthy of the reader's attention, and are accordingly brought together in this place with less regard to chronological order than to the nature of the subjects.

MS. Correspondence.

Greater care than formerly seems to have been now taken by the bishops in superintending the conduct of their clergy. A clergyman had misconducted himself towards his diocesan, who consulted the Archbishop of Dublin on the subject, and received the following answer of September 10, 1706: it contains only an obscure allusion to the facts, but is cited for the sake of the general observations:

Mutual conduct of bishops and their clergy.

“ I do own the clergy are altered as to their demeanour towards their bishops of late, of which several reasons may be given; one particularly is, the bishops being altered towards them. Time was, when they were left to themselves, and might do, or not, their duty as they pleased. But of late, some bishops have begun to look more narrowly into their practice, and to press their duty on them. This makes them recoil and become very uneasy. Mr. Bury would never have threatened your Lordship, if you had let him alone. All people readily submit to power that they think will be executed. If your Lordship can prove those threats, they are cause of deprivation, and I would have your Lordship go about it effectually. You must make commissaries, because you are a party.”

The conferring of holy orders appears on some occasions to have been conducted in a manner independent of ecclesiastical discipline, which was made to give way before the easy disposition and remiss practice of some of the bishops of the Irish church. This is noticed, with merited censure, by the Archbishop of Dublin, in a letter to the Bishop of Bangor, Dr. John Tyler, dated November the 29th, 1707:

Irregularity in conferring holy orders.

Letter of Archbishop King to Bishop of Bangor,
Nov. 29, 1707.

“ My Lord,

“ I do remember, when I had the honour to wait on your Lordship in London, you told me of several that had been refused orders in England, and obtained them in Ireland, without letters-dimissory, and such recommendations as the canons of the Church require. I find that there appears too great reason, on inquiry, for your Lordship’s complaint, and that two such have here so irregularly stolen into orders; and I am not sure but there may be more. But I am well assured, that some pretend here to orders that never had them. Amongst others, there is one James Doggerill, a blind man, who petitioned me for orders, and was refused both by me and his own bishop. He was of the diocese of Ossory; but he returned last summer from England, and pretends that your Lordship ordained him. I thought myself obliged to inform your Lordship of his pretences, and do intreat your Lordship to certify the falsehood of them, that I may be able to prosecute him for his wickedness. I have spoken to most of my brethren about their easiness in conferring orders, and do endeavour to give them the best example I can, and do hope my brethren shall have no reason to complain of this diocese.”

An impostor pretending to holy orders.

Mistake of the Irish prelates.

The following letter, written somewhat earlier, namely, December 24, 1706, to Bishop Hartstong of Ossory, discloses an erroneous view entertained by the Irish prelates at the time, and under which they acted in some of these irregular ordinations:

Letter to Bishop Hartstong,
Dec. 24, 1706.

“ I received the favour of your Lordship’s of the 21st instant. As for Mr. Close, he was with me, and desired orders from me. He told me he had no title, but had a fortune sufficient to maintain him till provided, which answers the canon. That, therefore, was not the exception. If I remember right, I showed or directed him to my method of examination of candidates for orders. I suspect he did not like it, and therefore did not come again. I know some to take caution from those they ordain that they will not trouble them for a maintenance; but your Lordship will be well advised before you venture on such a practice;

for I am told it is void, as being a simoniacal contract. I have ordained near thirty since bishop, and have provided, thank God, for all but one, and have something in view for him. They every one of them answer my expectation, and some out-do it. I understand a thousand have been ordained since the Revolution, and all the livings in Ireland will not employ six hundred. This matter ought to be well considered, for it may have ill effects. I wish we could come to some conform methods of examining, and then people would not run from one bishop to another."

The practice here censured, whether simoniacal or not, was an evident subterfuge to escape the provisions of the canon which was framed as a safeguard to prevent the Church and the ministry from being overburdened with supernumerary and unoccupied clergymen. In one particular, however, the archbishop committed a mistake in his comment on the canon, which prescribes the proper "titles for such as are made ministers." And this mistake he ingenuously acknowledged in another letter to the Bishop of Ossory, of the 7th January following:

"I did, when I writ to your Lordship, believe, that if any one were qualified with proper personal abilities, and able to live of his own charge, a bishop might ordain him; and therefore I said in my letter, that, if he had a fortune sufficient to maintain himself till provided, it answered the canon. But, on inspection into the thirtieth canon, I find it is except he be a master of arts of five years' standing, that liveth of his own charge in the university. I am willing to come as near to the canons as I can, and do heartily wish that all of us would make them our rule."

The imposition noticed above, as having been attempted to be practised by the person named Doggerill, was afterwards proved by the inquiries and perseverance of the archbishop. "He shuffled with us for a long while," as his Grace wrote on the

Subterfuge to
escape the canon.

Archbishop
King's misapprehension of the
canon.

Detection of the
impostor.

11th of May, 1708, to the Bishop of Bangor; "but when he found that he could not escape us, he at last came to the within confession, the original whereof I have entered in the registry. If the like care were taken, and a little better correspondence among bishops, many such wicked practices would be detected and punished. He is to do penance for his forgery, which is all we can do to him."

Laxity of bishops
called ordainers.

In the confession here spoken of, the Bishop of Ossory was not mentioned, and it should seem that he had expressed some dissatisfaction at the omission. Such at least is the interpretation which I put on the answer to two letters of the bishop, of which Archbishop King acknowledged the receipt on the 4th of August, 1708. It is less, however, on account of the individuals concerned, than of the irregularity complained of, that the following extract is inserted: "I did not mention your Lordship," says the archbishop, "in the confession of Doggerill, the blind man, out of pure respect to your Lordship, because it was to be a publick thing, and lie in registries, and I did not think it proper to mention your Lordship in such an affair without your leave; for I considered, that there are several easy bishops, that are here called ordainers, not with a design to honour them, for commonly the refuse of the world creep into orders by them, and whoever counterfeits orders, he will be sure to pass them under the name of some such bishop. Now, lest any, that had not the honour to know your Lordship, might, when they saw your name, imagine, from his boldness with you, that you might be such an easy and uncautelous man, I therefore thought fit not to name you. I assure your Lordship this was the reason of that omission. I will not defend the

goodness of it; but your Lordship will believe that I meant for your honour."

The allusion in a foregoing extract to the archbishop's "method of examination," may excite a reasonable curiosity to be informed on that subject; and the letter last cited affords a seasonable opportunity for gratifying it: "The method I take," he observes, "when I am to ordain any, is this:—First he applies himself to me in private, and I examine him. I never ordain any that I have not known personally for some time. If he give me satisfaction as to his life, title, and learning, then I summon four or five of the clergy, according to the canons, to assist me in the examination, which lasts publickly four days. Each takes such part as is agreed. The candidates exhibit all their testimonials, titles, &c., and the registrar enters a brief of it. If any come from another diocese, or be to be preferred in it, I do not admit him but at the request of the bishop; for I think it reasonable that every bishop should have the examination of those that are to serve in his diocese. By this method, I have had some trouble, but have avoided all importunity and surprise about conferring orders, though I have been a bishop eighteen years."

Examination
candidates.

The mode of providing for the maintenance of ministers when ordained, has been at all times one of the difficulties which the Church of Ireland has had to encounter. As an example of this at the period now under investigation, I submit the following extract from a letter of Archbishop King to Mr. Southwell, bearing date the 2nd of September, 1707: "The great thing wanting is a fund to main-

Difficulty of
maintaining
ministers.

tain ministers. I want maintenance for ten or twelve; and except a table of tithing be settled, 'tis impossible to supply the diocese with ministers. I have not above fifty in the country, and of those not above five are worth 100*l.* per annum. Of the others, above a dozen have not 40*l.* per annum. Several have nothing at all certain; and some have but 10*l.* or 16*l.* per annum. This account is true; and perhaps, if her Majesty knew how low the clergy is here, she would not grudge them their first-fruits and twentieth parts."

Providing new
churches.

The same letter exemplifies the archbishop's energy in providing churches for his diocese at this juncture: "I have been very busy since I came to Ireland. I have got Arklow church finished, Stillorgan, Kilgobban, Ringsend, and Glassnevin. Another is going on in the country, and I have got a fund for it. St. Nicholas within the Walls is pulled down, and in a pretty forward way of reparation. We have a bill gone over to finish it. If I live to see the three new churches erected in the city, and four or five more in the country, I shall think I have done pretty well for my time."

In further illustration of the condition of the Church, as to the provisions for its ministrations, two other extracts from the archbishop's correspondence may be here fitly inserted, of a date little removed from the preceding; one having reference to his own diocese, the other to another diocese in his province, namely, that of Ferns. Concerning the former, he thus wrote, on the 13th of October, 1713, to Mr. Wentworth, from whom he was desirous of making a purchase of some impropriate tithes:

Letter to
Mr. Wentworth,
Oct. 13, 1713.

“ Amongst several other matters, I thought to discourse you about some tithes in the parish of Newcastle, which I understood you were willing to part with for the better service of the cure. I thank you, and hope God will reward you for what you have already done for the accommodation of the minister there; his endowment is very small, and I do not see how he could have lived without your kindness. I have inquired, and find the tithes you are willing to part with are about 40*l.* per annum in value. I have purchased in some already, and have been assisted by charitable persons; and am willing to strain myself, as far as I can, towards so good a work.

State of diocese of
Dublin.

“ You are sensible in what a miserable condition the Church is in this diocese, in respect both of churches and maintenance for the cures; insomuch, as we have not half maintenance for the ministers we have, nor half ministers enough to serve the people. I have made a shift since I came to this diocese, which is about ten years, to get seventeen churches built and rebuilt, and as many repaired, of which nine are where there has been no service or church, that I can find, since the Reformation. I want yet twelve, to have the diocese tolerably served. This, with my repairing my mansion-house, purchasing some impropriations, and assisting to the repairing of seventeen old churches, has not been without considerable charges; so that I can at present but ill spare money. Yet I am unwilling to lose this opportunity, and would willingly deal with you for those impropriations that you condescend to part with.

Its improvement.

“ You may guess what condition the Church is in from Wicklow and Arklow; the one has ten and the other eleven parishes to make a competency, and 'tis generally so through the diocese; each of those ministers has two churches to serve, and at considerable distance. I hope, if these things were duly and fully represented to pious and charitable men, it would prevail with them to take the matter into consideration, and seriously apply their charitable endeavours towards a remedy; for I find charity is not lost out of the minds of men. . . . Give me leave to deal with you as I have done with other gentlemen, to

Destitution of
churches.

lay before you the misery of this poor Church and kingdom, and leave the rest to your own goodness and charity."

Diocese of Ferns.

Concerning the diocese of Ferns, the information to which I alluded is contained in a letter addressed to Mr. Annesley, from Gory, June 7, 1712:

Letter to Mr.
Annesley, June
7, 1712.

"I have finished my triennial visitation, and intend to visit the parts of my own diocese that lie between this and Dublin, and shall confirm, God willing, in ten or eleven places before I go home, and consecrate a new church on Monday. I can't forbear, though perhaps you may not think it pertinent, to represent to you the miserable state of this diocese of Ferns. There are in it one hundred and thirty-one parishes: of these seventy-one are impropriate in lay hands, twenty-eight are appropriated to the bishop, dignitaries, and prebendaries of the cathedral, and thirty-two in the hands of the clergy that serve the cures, and generally these are the worst, for the monks seldom troubled themselves but with the best. There is neither bishop, dean, nor archdeacon residing in it. There are only thirteen beneficed clergymen in it, and nine curates, and these very poorly provided, about 30%. per annum to a curate, and very few of the beneficed clergy have 100%. per annum: I cannot reckon five.

"The bishop has the bishoprick of Leighlin united to this. He resides on the latter: and, considering the impropriations and appropriations with the crown and lay patronages, I do not see how he could order the cures better than he has done."

Confirmations.

Letter to Bishop
of Clogher, Oct. 4,
1720.

In the foregoing extract the archbishop speaks of his confirmations. From a passage in a letter of October 4, 1720, to his friend the Bishop of Clogher, it incidentally appears to have been his practice on such occasions to address the assembled congregation. "As to my business," he says in that letter, "I have gone through my diocese, and confirmed in twenty country churches, in each of which I made a

discourse, except at Kildrought, where you were so kind as to ease me, for which I return you my hearty thanks; and on the account and in consideration of that favour, do acquit and release your Lordship all suits, claims, or demands, to which I may be entitled, by reason of any injuries, affronts, abuses, or contempts, designedly or by accident, done to me by your Lordship."

The archbishop also mentions his purpose of consecrating a new church. The forty-third canon ordered, that "as often as churches were newly built, where formerly they were not, they shall be dedicated and consecrated;" but it authorised no form of consecration. No information on the subject has occurred to me under the date of the present reign, but I find it noticed a few years later. It is to be presumed that when new churches were built, they were set apart by a formal rite to the honour and service of Almighty God, in pursuance of the law which prescribed it: whilst the mode of setting them apart was probably determined by the judgment of the individual bishop. This appears to have been the case with the Archbishop of Dublin, who thus speaks of his practice in a letter of June 6, 1715, to the Bishop of Carlisle: "I have consecrated or restored," he says, "near forty churches, and some in a crowd of dissenters; and yet so managed the matter, that they seemed very well satisfied with what was done: and, in truth, great care ought to be taken to make the form unexceptionable. We have a form in Ireland, but without any authority, and I altered it to my own mind, which I reckoned myself as a bishop empowered to do, because the canon requiring bishops to consecrate churches, but prescribing no form, leaves the form to their discretion."

Consecration of
churches.

Letter to Bishop
of Carlisle, June
6, 1715.

Form of consecration.

The archbishop's form here spoken of appears intended by him to have been brought into use amongst his brethren, if, when completed to his satisfaction, it should receive their approbation. To this effect he writes to the Bishop of Clogher, on the 8th of September, 1718: "As to the form of consecrating and restoring churches, I have finished the preface I designed, and all the prayers, only one for the desecration of churches, which I have not yet well considered. My homily before the consecration is too long, almost as long as a sermon: and yet I cannot see how to make it shorter. I think to put it in the disjunctive, as that in the Visitation of the Sick; but to be sure I will print nothing till I have the Archbishop of Tuam's approbation and yours, and, if advisable, that of my clergy. It is a pretty nice matter; and, as I am informed, was laid aside by the convocation in England because they could not agree about it. 'Twill only be for my own diocese, and if my brethren do not like it, they may make each one for themselves."

Forms agreed on in England.

In a letter to the same correspondent, November 27, 1718, the Archbishop of Dublin thus adverts to the same subject: "I can find no copies of the forms of consecrating churches agreed on in the convocation of England, nor indeed that they did agree on any. We had lately a letter from the secretary in England, requiring the government here to inquire how the forms in the last Common Prayer Book, of receiving penitents, consecration of churches, &c., came to be composed, printed, and annexed to the Common Prayer Book, and by what authority used. To which we returned the best answer we could; and after all the annexing them to the Common Prayers appeared to be the printer's work without any authority."

The archbishop's form was published not long after, namely in 1719, under the title of "A Discourse concerning the Consecration of Churches; showing what is meant by Dedicating them, with the Grounds of that Office:" the form having been previously agreed to at a synod and visitation of the diocese of Dublin, held in the cathedral church of St. Patrick's, Dublin, April the 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1719.

The course which the archbishop prescribed to himself, and followed, in the disposal of the benefices of which he had the patronage, as communicated in a letter of April 23, 1720, to the Bishop of Derry, may be here conveniently brought forward, in connection with other episcopal functions:

Disposal of benefices.

"The method I have taken ever since it pleased God to advance me to the office of a bishop, in filling vacant livings in my gift, and which I still observe, is this: never to give a benefice to any one of whom I have not had some experience, either by his serving a cure, or his assisting some grave man in the service of his: for I could not think it reasonable to trust the government of a parish with a person that had no trial of himself, or knowledge of the matter with which he is intrusted: nor could I conceive how any man, just come out of a college, and unacquainted both with mankind and himself, should be able to conduct a parish with that prudence and application that is necessary to do good in it.

Given to experienced clergymen;

"2ndly. When any good benefice becomes void, I consider what clergyman in a lesser has behaved himself well, gained on his people, and promoted conformity, unity, and piety amongst his people; inform myself the best I can about it, and then, without any application, I remove him to the better benefice. And if I find another that has a less benefice than his, I take the same course with him; and have several times made three, and sometimes four removes on a vacancy.

According to merit.

Advantages of
the method.

“ I find great advantages from this practice. 1st. It eases me of many solicitations : for deserving men know that they will be taken notice of in their turns, and, if not deserving, they know it is in vain to make application.

“ 2ndly. I find it a great motive to stir up clergymen to be diligent in their duty, and approve their conduct to their bishop and their people. And, besides, removals are a great ease to them in the performance of the great office of preaching : for having made several sermons on the great mysteries of our religion, on which they are obliged to preach, they must either preach them over again, or make new ones, which is not so easy for a man after he has exhausted his subject ; whereas, when he is removed, all his discourses are new to his parishioners, and he has time to apply himself to other studies, and for laying a fresh stock of knowledge. In short, I found great advantage in a removal when a private clergyman, and great advantages in this method to my diocese, which though I have practised hitherto, yet I am far from prescribing it to my brethren.”

Provision for
converts from
Popery.

The providing for persons converted from Popery to the Church was a matter of difficulty to her governors. “ We have abundance of converts every day from Popery,” says Archbishop King to Mr. Southwell, Nov. 8, 1707: “there is one hardship happeneth from that, I mean, necessity of maintaining them ; for their friends are so malicious, that they put them out of their former way of living.”

Converts from
the Romish
priesthood.

A question sometimes offered itself to the Irish bishops about this period, concerning converts from the Romish priesthood to the faith of the Church : the following letter, though bearing date April 11, 1723, is cited in connection with the preceding topicks, being in all likelihood equally applicable to this, as to the exact year in which it was written. It is Archbishop King’s answer to some inquiry put to him by the then Bishop of Kilmore :

“ My Lord,

“ I had the honour of your Lordship’s of the 27th of March on Saturday last. I have not seen Mr. Cox since he was recommended to me, I think by the Bishop of London. When I came to examine him, I found he pretended to be ordained by a Popish bishop in this kingdom, but could produce no certain proofs of either his own orders or of his ordainers. Now, my Lord, surely I would not take less evidence of such an ordination, than I would from one ordained in our own Church: and I must declare that such proofs as he produced, which is only his own saying, would not be sufficient for me to admit any one into the Church as a clergyman. If a man be ordained in a settled regular church, where a registry is kept, to which I can have access, and witnesses can be produced, the Communion of Saints, I think, obliges me to own one so ordained as a clergyman: but such ordinations as his, the certainty of which I have no way to come at, are of different consideration, and till I have the resolution of my brethren on the question, I hope I shall be excused if I admit none such to officiate in my diocese. I have followed hitherto this rule, and therefore when any applied to me, I refused to do anything for them. ’Tis an easy thing for people in England, when they are not willing to maintain a man, or know not what to do with him, to send him here: for, as I found by several, they thought anything would pass on us; that we have no discipline or rule amongst us. I hope we shall not justify this surmise of theirs, and therefore I have sent back half a dozen worthless clergymen recommended to my provisions, and several deserving ones, and gave this reason for it, that I had forty curates in my diocese, most of them very good men, laborious, and regular, and I had not ten benefices in my gift of value to gratify them; and if any of those chanced to fall, I thought those who had laboured in the Church were best entitled to them.

“ Your Lordship’s observation is just: seldom any priest or Presbyterian minister who comes over to us does us any service, whereas, when any goes off from us, he is immediately a top-man among them, which, I think, shows our way of education to be much better than theirs. I send your

Letter of Archbishop King to Bishop of Kilmore, April 11, 1723.

Evidence of the ordination of Papists.

Inducious applications from England.

Form of abjuration.

Lordship the form of abjuration I use in my diocese, which was drawn up at a visitation, with the assistance of my clergy. If it be not too particular, I think it has no other fault. I discourse the converts on the several articles, and then make them sign it, and on the back give the direction your Lordship sees, to the minister of the parish to receive them. On their reading this abjuration in the church in time of divine service, for which some of the prayers in the common form are added by the minister, I give them a certificate. After this he is to receive the holy sacrament, and take the oaths as the act prescribes. When he swears, he produces the certificate I subjoin, together with that of the minister and churchwardens."

Method of dealing with Papists.

The general method of dealing with the Papists about this time is set forth in a letter of Archbishop King to the Earl of Sunderland, soon after his appointment to the vice-royalty. The letter, indeed, was written after the accession of King George I., and is dated the 21st of January, 1715. But whilst it seeks for information as to the future intentions of the then government, it reports the character of the proceedings in the previous reign; and, on account of that, its retrospective bearing, it is inserted at this period:

"I think it necessary to acquaint your Excellency with something relating to the Roman Catholicks of this kingdom, that seems to me to require a serious consideration.

"By law they are allowed a priest in every parish, which are registered in pursuance of an act of parliament made about ten years ago. All bishops, regulars, &c., and all other priests then not registered, are banished, and none allowed to come into the kingdom under severe penalties. The design was, that there should be no succession, and many of those then registered are since dead; yet, for want of a due execution of the laws, many are come in from foreign parts; and there are in the country Popish bishops concealed, that ordain many. Little inquiry of late has been made into these matters.

Laxity in executing the laws.

“But now it has pleased God to place his Majesty on the throne ’twill be necessary to know what measures are intended to be taken with them, before any one will here think of calling for a vigorous execution of the laws. For, if the design be effectually to execute them, a strict inquiry must be made to find out what registered priests are dead; whether any, and who, have come in their places; and all possible care taken to drive them out of the kingdom, as law requires. But if the same mild hand be designed to be continued over them that they are under at present, it seems to me best to make no noise about them: for inquiries or orders tending that way, when no consequence follows, only make them more secure and daring.

Question proposed in the next reign.

“I thought it necessary to apprise your Excellency of this as of a matter, in my judgment, of great moment, and of which only those that are in confidence of his Majesty’s intentions can be judges. There is an expectation in the kingdom that something should be done, and, if it do not begin from the fountain of power, or be not supported and prosecuted with resolution and steadiness from thence, instead of doing good I am afraid it will do a great deal of hurt, discourage the Protestants, and animate the Papists, as has frequently happened formerly on proclamations against them, which came to be considered no otherwise than as copies of the government’s countenance, and mere feints to amuse people.

“And therefore I am humbly of opinion that this ought to be well considered and adjusted, that it may be gone through with if once begun.”

SECTION VI.

Restoration of Churches. Supply of Funds. Legislative Enactments for changing Sites. Examples of new Parishes, and of new Churches on new Sites. Conversion of Native Irish. Convocation of 1709. Resolutions for Printing the Bible and Liturgy in Irish, and for employing Irish Preachers and Catechists. Exertions in Trinity College. Divine Offices celebrated in Irish, and attended by the People. Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant, referred to the Archbishops and Bishops. Petition to the Queen. Missionaries in Armagh and Derry. Aid given by Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. Mr. Richardson's efforts. Sentiments of Archbishop King. Proceedings of Convocation in 1711, and of Parliament. Methods agreed on by Lower House of Convocation. Abrupt termination of Mr. Richardson's Account. Other Business in Convocation. Failure of Mr. Richardson's Project, and its probable Cause. Canons of 1711. No subsequent Convocation in Ireland, though one in contemplation. Confirmation of the Canons. Forms of Prayer, agreed on in 1711, inserted in the Book of Common Prayer.

Restoration of churches.

ABOUT this period there are indications of a growing disposition in different parts of the country to restore the ruined churches, and to place them, as occasion seemed to require, in situations better suited to the wants of the inhabitants.

Supply of funds.

The funds for the purpose were supplied by parochial assessments, aided in some instances by the contributions of benevolent individuals; and it should seem not improbable, that such individuals may in the outset have advanced the money for building, for no publick fund hitherto was in existence, from which such aid could have been derived. Legislative enactments were necessary to authorise

a change of situation in the cases where such change was judged desirable. Of these, there were the following kinds:—1st, where the site of the ancient church was remote from the dwellings of the principal portion of the inhabitants; 2ndly, where cause existed for the formation of a new parish; 3rdly, where two or more parishes, previously united by statute, and possessing one parish church for the union, were deemed fit to be disunited, in such manner, that each separate parish should possess its own provisions for publick worship; and, fourthly, where, from their smallness or poverty, or other urgent cause, it was thought expedient that two or more contiguous parishes should be formed into a single union, and thus provided with a parochial establishment most commodiously settled for the general benefit of the whole.

Cases in which
change of site
was authorised
by law.

With such views as these, in 1703, the second year of Queen Anne, had been passed an act, of which some account has been already given. And now, in her eighth and ninth years, 1709 and 1710, two other acts, with similar views, were enacted; the former “for dissolving the union of the parishes of Tynan and Derrynoose, and for building several parish churches in more convenient places in the diocess of Armagh;” the latter with no diocesan restriction, but generally “for uniting several parishes, and building several parish-churches in more convenient places.”

Acts of parliament,
8 and 9 of
2 Anne.

1709.
1710.

By the former of these it was enacted, that the two parishes recited in the title, which had, by the 14th and 15th Charles II., c. 10., been constituted one entire rectory and parish, should now be disunited, the cure having become, “by the late increase of Protestant inhabitants, too great to be

Examples of new
parishes.

discharged by one minister, and the parochial church being not large enough for the parishioners of the united parishes, and also at too great a distance from the inhabitants of one member of the union;" for remedy of which, a second church and minister were to be provided. The same act ordained also the rebuilding, on new sites, of the churches of Killevy and Arboc; and the creation of a parish, and the erection of a parish church, in the territory or precinct of Tartaraghan, tithes having been conveyed for the service of the cure of souls, and vested in the rector of the new parish, by Mr. Francis Obre of Clantlew, William, lord viscount Charlemont, and Arthur Brownlow, of Lurgan, Esq.

New churches on
new sites.

The latter of the two acts, namely, that of 9 Anne, c. 12, enacted the building of twenty-two new churches on new sites, in twelve several dioceses: namely, five in Elphin; four in Cloyne; two each in Kilmore, Dromore, and Meath; one each in Leighlin, Ferns, Waterford, Killalla, Tuam, Clogher, and Clonfert. One of these, in the diocese of Cloyne, was accompanied by the advantage of the division of an union, which had consisted of four parishes, so that in future, instead of one, they should form two unions, consisting of only two parishes each. On the other hand, authority was given for forming two or more parishes into an union, in three of the cases in the diocese of Elphin, and in one case in each of the dioceses of Leighlin, Ferns, Cloyne, Killalla, Tuam, Meath, and Clonfert; ten unions in the whole. The act also recognised a new church, built near forty years before, about a quarter of a mile from the old parish-church of Castle-bellingham, in the diocese of Armagh, and then consecrated, and made use of for divine service

ever since, as the lawful parish-church of the parish. And it also enacted, that the ancient sites of all the parish-churches should be kept inclosed and apart from profane uses, by sufficient fences, at the charge of the parishes; and that the materials of the ancient churches might be removed and made use of towards the building of the new-intended churches, and for no other use whatsoever.

Whilst these proceedings were going on in parliament, the convocation was not altogether inactive; but measures were taking there, in parliament also, and elsewhere, for the improvement of religion in the country by the conversion of the native Irish from Popery, in pursuance of Mr. Richardson's former enterprise¹.

Conversion of
native Irish.

On the assembling of convocation in 1709, the Upper House sent a communication to the Lower to this effect, that

Convocation of
1709.

“ This House, considering with great compassion the condition of the recusants of this kingdom, and conceiving great hopes, from the present juncture of affairs, that many of them may be prevailed upon to join themselves in communion with the Established Church, do think themselves obliged to thank God for putting such a favourable opportunity into their hands, and to use more than ordinary endeavours at this time to improve it.

Message from
Upper to Lower
House.

“ This being a matter of great concern to all Protestants, and particularly to the clergy of this kingdom, requires the united application of them all, and highly deserves the most serious thoughts of the convocation.

“ And, therefore, this House hath thought fit to call in the assistance of their brethren of the Lower House, for which they have more than ordinary occasion at this time, the bishops being at present so engaged by their constant attendance in parliament.”

¹ RICHARDSON'S *History*, p. 39.

Resolutions for
printing the
Bible and liturgy
in Irish ;

This was readily complied with by an order of the Lower House, on the 1st of June; and, amongst other resolutions, it was agreed:

For employing
persons to preach
and catechise in
Irish;

“ That the Holy Bible and Liturgy of the Church be printed in the Irish language, in the English character; that some person be appointed to prepare a short exposition of the Church Catechism, particularly fitted for the instruction of the Popish recusants, and that the same be printed in Irish and English; that fit persons be provided and encouraged to preach, catechise, and perform Divine service in the Irish tongue, by the direction of the ordinary, and with the consent of the incumbent; that such clergymen in each diocese, as are qualified by their skill in the Irish language for this work, and are willing to undertake it, have the preference, not only in their own parishes, but in any other parts of the diocese; that priests converted from the Popish religion, and judged qualified by the ordinary, may be employed in the work, and encouraged by an addition to the allowance already settled on them by act of parliament; that to supply the cures of clergymen employed in this work, or to perform it where there are no beneficed clergymen nor converted priests qualified for it, one or more ministers be provided in each diocese, who shall be engaged in the service of no particular cure; that the ministers of each parish be required to return the number of Popish families within their respective parishes to the bishop, in three years; that to defray the charges of pursuing the foregoing measures, the parliament be applied to for necessary provision; and that application be made to her Majesty for granting letters-patent to erect a corporation, capable of receiving and disposing charitable contributions, for promoting the conversion of Papists in this kingdom.”

For seeking aid
from parliament,

and from the
queen.

Similar exertions
in Trinity College.

In concurrence with these projected means, the College of Dublin was employed in the same cause. The vice-provost, Dr. Hall, supported, at his own charge, a person qualified to teach Irish privately to such of the scholars as desired to learn that lan-

guage. Under the patronage of the Archbishop of Dublin, and with the consent and approbation of the provost and fellows, a professor was employed in the college to teach it publickly. A small allowance was settled in the House for a few natives. And many of the students attended the instruction given in that language, and made in it considerable progress.

In 1710, by declining the oath of abjuration, most of the Popish priests had rendered themselves liable to heavy penalties, if they exercised their function; they forbore, therefore, for the most part, to perform any religious offices, so that their people attended no publick worship, and many of their children were unbaptized. To supply this defect, some clergymen of the Church applied themselves to the conversion of the Irish, and performed divine offices for them with good success. Many of the people readily attended, and expressed much satisfaction at the prayers, delivered, as they were, in their own language, commending the forms of worship of the Church, and declaring their preference of Irish over Latin prayers, and their disapprobation of praying in an unknown tongue. By the reading, also, of the word of God, they were highly pleased and affected; and two men, of thirty years of age, are said, by Mr. Richardson, to have been so much taken with it, that they bought primers, and learned to read, that so they might be able to search the Scriptures themselves.

Encouraged by this good beginning, one of the fore-mentioned clergymen bought a font of Irish types in London, in order to print the Bible, the Liturgy, and other books necessary or useful for the purpose; and a proposal to that effect was

Divine offices
performed for the
Irish by clergy-
men of the
Church.

Ready attend-
ance of the
people.

Font of Irish
types purchased.

received with the approbation, and offered to be assisted by the subscriptions, of several noble and worthy persons in Great Britain and Ireland.

Suggestion of
Mr. Annesley.

But a firmer foundation and a wider sphere was soon instituted for this enterprise, on the recommendation of the Honourable Francis Annesley; and in conformity with his opinion, that an undertaking of such publick benefit as the conversion of the Irish, should be executed at the publick charge, it was determined to seek, in the first instance, vice-regal support and intercession, in order to its being further patronised and cherished by royal countenance and encouragement.

Memorial to the
lord lieutenant

A memorial, comprehending the various particulars deemed requisite for the conversion of the Irish, was accordingly framed; and having received the approbation of the Earl of Anglesey, and bearing the sentiments of several of the nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ireland, the Bishop of Kilmore, Edward Wetenhall, being the only person individually named, was presented to the Duke of Ormonde, the lord lieutenant. The document is so important an illustration of the actual state of Popery, as well as of the expectations entertained from the projected measure, that it seems to require insertion in this narrative:

“To his Grace James, Duke of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland,

From the Bishop
of Kilmore and
others.

“The humble Memorial of several of the nobility of Ireland, the Lord Bishop of Kilmore, and several of the gentlemen and clergymen of that kingdom:

Importance of
converting the
Popish natives.

“Whereas nothing tends more effectually to promote the common welfare of Ireland, than the conversion of the Popish natives to the Protestant religion, whereby the

English interest would be better secured, trade and industry increased, and both the spiritual and temporal good of the Irish themselves advanced in that kingdom. And whereas, in order to obtain these happy ends, several laws have been lately made in Ireland, to discourage and weaken Popery in that kingdom; and one statute particularly hath been enacted to prevent the succession of Popish clergy, by virtue whereof the number of Popish priests is already sensibly decreased in it; and it is probable, that in some counties, the whole succession may be extinct within a few years. And whereas the natives, where trial hath been made, have expressed great satisfaction upon hearing divine service performed in their own tongue. And, lastly, whereas there are no printed books of religion (except a very few Bibles and Common Prayer Books) now extant in Irish, therefore, that our pure and holy religion may be propagated among them, by evangelical and religious means, and that so many souls may not be abandoned to utter ignorance, infidelity, and barbarity, on the one side, or left a prey to deceivers, on the other, it is humbly proposed as followeth:

Proposals for
converting them

“1st. That some numbers of New Testaments and Common Prayer Books, Catechisms, and expositions thereon, *Whole Duty of Man*, and select sermons upon the principal points of religion, be translated and printed in the Irish character and tongue; in order to which, the only set of Irish characters, now in Britain, is bought already; and that those books be distributed in the Irish families that can read, but especially be given to such ministers as shall endeavour to convert them, and to give them a true and practical sense of religion.

By printing books
in Irish;

“2nd. That the whole nation may in time be made both Protestant and English, that charity-schools be erected in every parish in Ireland, for the instruction of the Irish children, gratis, in the English tongue, and the catechism and religion of the Church of Ireland.

By erecting
schools;

“3rd. That in order to the carrying on the foregoing designs, in the preceding or any other methods that shall be thought requisite to promote the same, a charter be sued out from her Majesty, constituting an incorporated society of the well-disposed to so good a work, consisting of the

By incorporating
a society;

Lord Primate of all Ireland as president, the archbishops and bishops, some of the nobility, clergy, and gentry of Ireland; empowering them to take subscriptions, receive benefactions, make purchases, and hold courts and consultations for the more effectual promoting of the same.

By petition to
her Majesty.

“4th. That such of the lords archbishops and bishops of Ireland, as your Grace thinks fit, be consulted about this proposal; and if they approve of the same, that with their advice and concurrence, a petition be drawn up and presented to her Majesty for constituting such an incorporated society for converting the Irish Papists.

“May it therefore please your Grace to countenance and encourage this undertaking, in such manner as in your great wisdom your Grace may think fit.”

Memorial re-
ferred to the
prelates.

The duke received the memorial with kindness, and promised all reasonable encouragement. And being at the time in England, he dispatched it immediately to the lords justices with a letter in its favour, desiring that it might be submitted to the lord primate and the archbishops and bishops then in Dublin, for their opinion of the usefulness of the work and of the fit manner for proposing it to her Majesty. The prelates expressed themselves in approbation of the undertaking, but intimated that it would require the advice and assistance of the parliament and convocation. In order, therefore, to prepare it for their examination, the Duke of Ormonde procured her Majesty's licence for the convocation to consider, amongst other things, and agree upon the most proper and effectual methods for the conversion of the Irish. And it was thought advisable that the whole affair should be laid before the queen, in the hope of procuring her Majesty's countenance and authority, and thus more effectually promoting the design, and causing it to be generally adopted throughout the kingdom.

A petition was accordingly presented to the queen, but embracing, as it did, the same topicks as the memorial to the lord lieutenant, and corresponding with it for the most part in substance, though with a diversity of expression, to recite it here might be superfluous; and more is not requisite to be added, than that it was signed by seven temporal peers, by John Hartstong, bishop of Ossory, and by forty-seven others of "her Majesty's most loyal and most dutiful subjects."

Petition presented to the queen;

The subject was recommended to the queen's approval by the Archbishop of York and the Duke of Ormonde. She received it very graciously, and ordered the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to report upon it. At the same time to obviate objections it was thought expedient to defer any further progress in the affair, till the sense of the convocation should be known, and whether the parliament would sanction and encourage it.

And graciously received.

In the interval, the lord primate and his clergy united in a subscription for maintaining two missionaries to preach in Irish to the Popish inhabitants of the diocese of Armagh; and the Bishop of Derry and his clergy did the same for that diocese. Mr. Richardson also, under the patronage of the Archbishop of Dublin, was diligent in soliciting the printing of Irish Bibles, as also of the Liturgy, an *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, and other useful treatises in Irish. For this purpose he applied to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, of which he was a corresponding member: and which, in consequence, directed an edition to be printed of 3000 copies of his *Short History of the Attempts to Convert the Popish Natives of Ireland*, with a view of obviating objections, and preparing the publick mind

Missionaries in Armagh and Derry.

Aid given by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

for the encouragement of the undertaking, part of which was the erection of charity schools for the gratuitous education of Irish children in the English tongue. Subscriptions were accordingly opened for the purpose at the Society's house, in Bartlett's Buildings, and the consequence was an edition of 6000 copies of the Book of Common Prayer, the same number of the Church Catechism, with the Irish alphabet and elements of the Irish language, for the use of the charity schools, and 6000 copies of LEWIS'S *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, translated by Mr. Richardson, and dedicated by him to the excellent Mr. Nelson. All these were printed in the English and Irish languages, in parallel columns, and were distributed partly in Ireland and partly in the Highlands of Scotland.

Exertions of Mr.
Richardson.

In these endeavours, during his visit to London, Mr. Richardson was assisted by the services of Dr. Swift, out of respect for the archbishop², who, however, looked forward with some mistrust to the approaching parliament and convocation. In a letter to Dr. Swift, of July 28, 1711, he says :

Sentiments of
Archbishop King.

“ We shall, I believe, have some considerations of methods to convert the natives ; but I do not find that it is desired by all that they should be converted. There is a party among us that have little sense of religion, and heartily hate the Church : they would have the natives made Protestants, but such as themselves ; are deadly afraid they should come into the Church, because, say they, this would strengthen the Church too much. Others would have them come in, but can't approve of the methods proposed, which are to preach to them in their own language, and have the service in Irish, as our own canons require. So that, between them, I am afraid that little will be done³. ”

Opinions divided
on the conversion
of the Irish.

² SWIFT'S *Works*, x, 175.

³ *Ibid*, p. 204,

In a letter of September 1, the archbishop writes thus:

“As to our convocation, a letter came from her Majesty to give us licence to act; but it nowise pleased some people, and so it was sent back to be modelled to their mind, but returned again without alteration. It came not to us till the day the parliament adjourned. I was at that time obliged to attend the council, there being a hearing of the Quakers against a bill for recovering tithes. In my absence, they adjourned till the meeting of the parliament, without so much as voting thanks or appointing a committee. The things that displeased some in the licence were, first, that my lord primate was not the sole president, so as to appoint whom he pleased to act in his absence. The second was the consideration of proper methods to convert the natives, against which some have set themselves with all their might. The third is what concerns pluralities and residence, which some have not patience to hear of. The Lower House seem to have the matter more at heart; for they have appointed committees during the recess, and are doing something⁴.”

Proceedings in
convocation,
1711,

It appears, indeed, from Mr. Richardson's narrative, that as soon as the convocation met, the Lower House entered upon the question of the conversion of the Irish; but although the end proposed was highly approved by every one, the opinions about the means were very various and different. And this occasioned so much delay, that the time for making application to parliament for carrying on the work was almost exhausted. On the motion, however, of a well-wisher to the design in the House of Commons, a committee was appointed to consider the subject; and the report being favourable, a series of corresponding resolutions were agreed to, and a bill agreeable to the resolutions was ordered to be prepared, but too late to allow of its being trans-

And in parliament.

⁴ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., p. 215.

mitted to England, so that no further step could be taken by the parliament in that session.

Methods agreed
on by Lower
House of
Convocation.

The House of Commons, however, having given such demonstration of their readiness to countenance and promote the undertaking, the Lower House of Convocation, after a long and full consideration of the several methods proposed, agreed, on the 25th of October, to a set of resolutions, in addition to those of the former session, containing "methods for converting the Papists of Ireland to the Established Church." They also agreed to the "heads of a canon to be framed for regulating the assistants in the conversion of the Irish." And on the following day, the 26th of October, they agreed, moreover, to the "heads of a canon to be framed for regulating charity-schools." And, in obedience to an order of the House, the prolocutor immediately waited on the lords of the Upper House, and acquainted them with the proceedings of the Lower House, and laid the several resolutions before them, for their Graces' and Lordships' concurrence.

Abrupt termina-
tion of Mr.
Richardson's
account.

Of the sequel of this business, Mr. Richardson's narrative gives no information; it terminates somewhat abruptly, with the account of the resolutions of the Lower House being carried to the Upper, and adds no mention of the manner of their reception. From this silence, it appears to be the obvious inference, that the resolutions were not adopted. And that inference is confirmed by two letters, at this season, from the Archbishop of Dublin to Dr. Swift, one dated October 27, 1711, the day after the resolutions of the Lower House of Convocation were laid before the archbishops and bishops, the other dated November 10, the day after the close of the session. The following extracts are introduced,

Letters from
Archbishop King
to Dr. Swift.

not only as authorities on this particular question, but as serving to illustrate some other proceedings of the convocation :

“ Reverend Sir,

Dublin, Oct. 27, 1711. Letter of Oct. 27.

“ I have before me yours of the 1st instant, but have been so employed with attending parliament, convocation, and privy council, that I could neither compose my thoughts to write, nor find time. Besides, our business is all in a hurry ; and I may say, in fine, that things admit of no perfect account.

“ As to the convocation, I told you formerly how we lost all the time of a recess, by a precipitate adjournment made by five bishops, when the Archbishop of Tuam, and as many of us as were of the privy council, were absent, attending at the board, upon a hearing of the Quakers against the bill for recovery of tithes. Since the meeting of the parliament, after the recess, we have attended pretty closely, have drawn up and agreed to six or seven canons, and have drawn up a representation of the state of religion, as to infidelity, heresy, impiety, and Popery. We have gone through likewise, and agreed to a part of this ; but I doubt we shall not be able to finish it. We have also before us the consideration of residence, and the means of converting Papists. This last sent up from the Lower House. But I reckon it not possible to finish these things this session. I need not tell you, that my Lord Primate’s indisposition is a great clog to despatch ; but he is resolved none else shall have the chair. So we dispense with many things, that otherwise I believe we should not. We had only two church bills at this time ; one for unions, which was thrown out in our house ; and another for recovery of tithes, which I understand will be thrown out by the Commons. Our session draws near an end, and everybody is tired of it.

Other business in convocation.

Effects of Primate’s indisposition.

“ WILL. DUBLIN.⁵”

⁵ SWIFT’S *Works*, x., p. 231.

And again :

Letter of Nov. 10. " Reverend Sir,

Dublin, Nov. 10, 1711.

" Perhaps it will not be ungrateful to you to know our session of parliament ended on Friday last. . . .

Protest against
the proceedings
in convocation.

" As to our convocation, those who had loitered and done nothing before last week, pressed on the representation of the state of religion, as to infidelity, heresy, impiety, and Popery ; it will in some time be printed. I had many reasons, but insisted only on two ; first, to imputing all vices to us, as if we were the worst of people in the world ; not allowing any good among us. Secondly, not assigning it a cause of the natives continuing Papists, that no care was ever taken to preach to them in their own language, or translating the service into Irish. You will find the matter in HEYLIN's *Reformation*, 2nd Eliz. 1560, page 128. I was forced to use art to procure this protest to be admitted, without which they would not have allowed me to offer reasons, as I had cause to believe.

Supposed motives
for such
proceedings.

" Both the parliament and convocation have been so ordered, as to make us appear the worst people in the world, disloyal to her Majesty, and enemies to the Church ; and I suspect, with a design to make us appear unworthy to have any countenance or preferment in our native country. When the representation is printed, I will, if you think it worth your while, send you my protest. We agreed likewise on some canons, of no great moment, and some forms of prayer, and forms of receiving Papists, and sectaries ; which, I think, are too strait. I brought in a paper about residence ; but there was no time to consider it, nor that which related to the means of converting Papists. I did not perceive any zeal that way. A great part of our representation relates to sectaries ; and many things, in the whole, seem to me not defensible. I told you before, how we lost six weeks during the adjournment of the parliament ; and since it sat, we could only meet in the afternoon, and I was frequently in council ; so that I was neither present when it was brought into the house, when it passed for the most part, or was sent down in parcels, in foul rased papers, that I could not well read, if I had an

opportunity; and never heard it read through before it passed.⁶"

Thus the measures, proposed by the Lower House, were not adopted by the Upper House of Convocation, partly for want of time, and partly, as should seem, for want of zealous affection to the undertaking.

Failure of Mr. Richardson's plan of converting native Irish.

Mr. Richardson's subsequent "Proposal for Converting the Popish natives of Ireland," failed after the like manner and from the same cause. The truth appears to be, that the subject was neither put forward nor cordially espoused by the governing powers; and that Mr. Richardson, highly meritorious as he was for his zeal and his exertions, was not qualified to carry the enterprise into effect. The proper solution of the problem is in all probability furnished by a letter of Archbishop King, addressed to Mr. Annesley on the 13th of November, 1712, and to be found in his MS. Correspondence :

"As to that part of your letter, which relates to my opinion concerning Mr. Richardson's project about the Irish tongue for converting the natives of Ireland, I confess to you, if I could have helped it, it should not have been Mr. Richardson's, or any private man's. But I desire you to distinguish between the matter itself, and as it is undertaken by him. As to the matter itself, I have had many thoughts about it, which in my own justification I communicated at large to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of York. I suppose you are well acquainted with his Grace; and, if you will give yourself the trouble to discourse him on this subject, I persuade myself his Grace will give you full satisfaction.

Letter of Archbishop King, Nov. 13, 1711. His opinion of the undertaking.

"As to Mr. Richardson's undertaking it, I may put you in mind, that when a thing is proper and fit to be done, and they, whose duty it is to do it, neglect or refuse to concern themselves, others that are zealous, and not so

Insufficiency of Mr. Richardson for the undertaking.

⁶ SWIFT, x., p. 236.

wary, will generally intermeddle with it. The case was so in the Reformation: and God sometimes blesses such endeavours. But there are always, when the case is thus, great irregularities and imperfections in the performance, and the work often miscarries; and the evils become worse than they were, and more desperate. If the bishops of Ireland had heartily and unanimously come into this work, and the government had given it countenance, certain methods might in my opinion have been taken, that, with due encouragement from the parliament, would have had great effect towards the conversion of the natives, and making them good Protestants, and sincere in the English interest. But what success it may have in the hands of a private man, without such evident encouragement, nay, under the manifest disapprobation of most of those who are able to give it life, I believe it not difficult to guess."

Cause of his failure.

In the end, nothing was effected towards the accomplishment of Mr. Richardson's project for the conversion of the Popish natives of Ireland to the Protestant faith. Whatever might have been his own wishes and efforts, and however they may have been aided by other individuals, they did not receive the cordial support of those in authority. And it is a remarkable opinion, which was expressed by Archbishop King in an unpublished letter of the date of July 21, 1724, applicable to this, as well as to other cases: "It is plain to me by the methods that have been taken since the Reformation, and which are yet pursued by both the civil and ecclesiastical powers, that there never was nor is any design that all should be Protestants."

The canons of 1711.

With respect to the other measures of the convocation of 1711, the canons, which are mentioned as having been agreed to, relate chiefly to proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts, and have no special reference to the conduct of the clergy in the dis-

charge of their ministerial function. They are five in number, and are appended to the canons of 1634, in the larger editions of the Irish Book of Common Prayer. These are the last acts of the Irish convocation, which has, since that period, had no licence to meet and deliberate, although, from some correspondence of Dr. Swift with the Archbishop of Dublin, Archdeacon Walls, and Dr. Synge, in October, 1713, when a project was in agitation for electing him prolocutor, it seems that a meeting of the convocation was expected⁷.

No subsequent
convocation.

That a meeting of convocation was at that time contemplated, appears also from a letter of the archbishop, dated September 22, 1713, and addressed to Sir John Stanley, on occasion of the Duke of Shrewsbury's appointment to be lord lieutenant. "I believe," says the archbishop, "it may be of use to put his Grace in mind of our convocation, which it is expected will sit with the parliament; and what is to be done about it. In the last convocation, in obedience to her Majesty's licence, we agreed on several canons, and on several forms of receiving penitents, and other matters, which were returned to his Grace the Duke of Ormonde, to lay before her Majesty for her confirmation; but we have not yet had any account of them. Now, it may not perhaps appear very congruous that a new convocation should sit, and go upon business, before her Majesty either approve or disapprove what was done by the last. I believe, therefore, it would be very grateful, if her Majesty's pleasure might be known as to what is past, before the convocation fall on anything new. Mr. Southwell, I am of opinion, can give you the best light on this affair." But the expectation of a

Convocation con-
templated in
1713.

Not assembled.

⁷ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., 337, 340.

convocation seems not to have been encouraged; since, in a letter of November 14, the same year as the above, Archbishop King writes to Mr. Southwell, "as to our convocation business, I despair of it, for the reasons you gave me."

That, however, is especially remarkable which the archbishop says in his letter to Sir John Stanley, concerning the Queen's non-confirmation of the canons of 1711, and of the several forms of prayer, at the same time agreed on.

Confirmation of
the canons of 1711.

As to the canons, they have been annexed in the Book of Common Prayer to those of the reign of King Charles I., with the title "Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishops and Bishops, and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland, and agreed upon by the Queen's Majesty's licence in their Synod, begun and holden at Dublin, anno domini 1711, and in the tenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady Anne, &c." And this, *mutatis mutandis*, is a copy of the title of those of 1634. And whereas there is annexed to this title, and prefixed to the canons of 1634, the royal assent and ratification of King Charles; those of 1711 are prefaced by Queen Anne's royal approbation, to which, however, no date is affixed in the ordinary modern editions of the Common Prayer Book. From the foregoing evidence, supplied by Archbishop King's Correspondence, this approbation must have been given at a date subsequent to the 22nd September, 1713; were it not that conflicting evidence is supplied by a folio Prayer Book printed by Grier-son, in Dublin, 1721, in which is contained Queen Anne's formal approbation of them, dated in 1711. It is strange that the royal approbation, if given at

that time, should have been unknown, two years later, to the archbishop.

Authority of
forms of prayer
then agreed on.

As to the forms of prayer agreed on by the convocation of 1711, they are three: one for "the visitation of prisoners" in general; one for "prisoners under sentence of death;" and a third for "imprisoned debtors." These, which are inserted in the Irish Book of Common Prayer, after the occasional national forms, have a title corresponding with that which is prefixed to the canons; but in the ordinary editions they have no declaration of royal approbation. It appears, however, from the same folio Common Prayer Book, Dublin, 1721, that this addition was approved, not by the king, but by the lord lieutenant and council, in 1714, after the following manner:

"Shrewsbury.

"Ordered, that the form of prayer for the visitation of prisoners, treated upon by the archbishops and bishops, and the rest of the clergy of this kingdom, and agreed upon by her Majesty's licence in their Synod, holden at Dublin, in the year 1711, be printed and annexed to the Book of Common Prayer, pursuant to her Majesty's directions. Given at the Council Chamber, in Dublin, the 13th day of April, 1714.

"THO. ARMAGH.

CON. PHIPPS, Canc.

KILDARE.

MOUNT ALEXANDER.

ABERCORN.

W. KILDARE.

EDW. DOWN & CONNOR.

CHA. FIELDING.

RICH. COX.

ROBT. DOYNE.

ROB. ROCHFORT.

P. SAVAGE.

THEOPH. BUTLER.

J. STANLEY.

W. STEUART."

SECTION VII.

Revival of the Business of the First-Fruits. Negotiation of Dr. Swift with Mr. Harley. His Memorial. Petitions to the Queen. Account of the Crown-Rent. Success of the Memorial. Grant of the First-Fruits. Merit of it due to the Queen. Grant confirmed by King George I. Influence of Dr. Swift. His exclusion from an English Bishoprick. Impediments to his preferment. Made Dean of St. Patrick's. Dean Stearne made Bishop of Dromore. Dean Swift's Conduct in the Deanery. Character of Bishop Stearne. Archbishop King's high esteem for him. Notice of Dr. Parnell. His promotion to the Archdeaconry of Clogher. Archbishop King's early patronage of him. His Life, by Goldsmith and Johnson. Commendation of Bishop Stearne, by Archbishop King and Dean Swift.

Revival of question concerning the first-fruits.

IN 1708 the question of giving the first-fruits to the clergy, which had slumbered since 1704, was revived, but still failed for a considerable time of being satisfactorily adjusted, through the passiveness, as should seem, and indisposition of the lord treasurer, the Earl of Godolphin, who was discontented with the result of the former similar grant to the English clergy, or through the indifference and want of energy of the Earl of Pembroke, the lord lieutenant of Ireland¹. Lord Pembroke, indeed, being about to quit the chief government of Ireland, in November, 1708, care was taken to remind him of the business before he went out of office: but it was at the same time said to be needless, for his Excellency had it at heart, and the thing was reported to be done². Of this he sent immediate notice to Dr. Swift, who communicated the intelligence to the Archbishop of

¹ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., pp. 57, 58.

² *Ibid*, p. 70.

Dublin in January, 1709³. The archbishop, likewise, in his answer of February the 10th, says: "I had a letter from my Lord Pembroke, wherein he told me the first-fruits and twentieth parts were granted, and that my lord lieutenant," meaning his successor, the Earl of Wharton, "will bring over the queen's letter for them. I returned him my thanks, and as soon as the order comes, he will have a publick acknowlegment⁴."

But in a subsequent letter of March the 12th, Progress of the business. the archbishop says :

"The business of the twentieth parts and first-fruits is still on the anvil. We are given to understand, that her Majesty designs, out of her royal bounty, to make a grant of them for charitable uses ; and that it is designed this grant should come over with his Excellency the lord lieutenant. The bishops in this town (Dublin) at present thought it reasonable to apprise his Excellency of the affair, and to address him for his favour in it, which accordingly is done by this post. We have sent with this address the representation made at first to her Majesty about it, the reference to the commissioners of the revenue here, and their report, together with the memorial to the Lord Pembroke. In that there is mention of the state of the diocese of Dublin, as a specimen of the condition of the clergy of Ireland, by which it will appear how much we stand in need of such a gift⁵."

As to the grant, which Lord Pembroke had alleged to have been passed, "and afterwards took the compliment Dr. Swift made him upon it," it appeared, on the doctor's inquiry at the treasury, that there were never any orders for such a grant: and his Lordship's only explanation was, "that he had been promised he should carry over the grant when he returned to Ireland⁶." "It is wonderful,"

Strange conduct of Lord Pembroke.

³ SWIFT's *Works*, x., p. 74.

⁴ *Ibid*, p. 82.

⁵ *Ibid*, p. 87.

⁶ *Ibid*, p. 94.

adds Dr. Swift, in relating this explanation to Archbishop King, "that a great minister should make no difference between a grant and a promise of a grant." Such a failure, however, of their hopes having been ascertained in that quarter, the only resource appeared to be with the new lord lieutenant. But neither the address of the bishops, nor a personal solicitation from Dr. Swift on behalf of the clergy, produced any better effect, than a cool expression of a favourable disposition, followed by a hasty and abrupt breaking off of the discourse⁷.

Two bishops appointed to negotiate the affair.

And so the matter rested till the 31st of August, 1710, when the bishops in Dublin being of opinion that a convenient opportunity had arisen for renewing the application in a more auspicious quarter, and the Bishops of Ossory and Killaloe being at the time in London, a request was conveyed to them by the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, and Cashel, and the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Killala, "to take on them the solicitation of that affair, and to use such proper methods and applications as they in their prudence should judge most likely to be effectual." With them Dr. Swift was associated, in persuasion of his "diligence and good affection;" and to him was committed the management of the business, if the two bishops should have left London before it was effected.

Application of Dr. Swift to Mr. Harley.

This proving to be the fact, Dr. Swift determined on applying to Mr. Harley, by whom all affairs in the treasury were said to be governed: and accordingly procured an interview, which led to his succeeding well-known familiarity with one whom he has described as "the nation's great support."

Their interview.

This interview will be most satisfactorily reported

in the narrator's own language, as contained in a letter from London, October 10, 1710, addressed to Archbishop King :

“ As soon as I received the packets, I went to wait upon Mr. Harley. I had prepared him before by another hand, where he was very intimate, and got myself represented (which I might justly do) as one extremely ill-used by the last ministry, after some obligations, because I refused to go certain lengths they would have me. This happened to be, in some sort, Mr. Harley's own case. He had heard very often of me, and received me with the greatest marks of kindness and esteem, as I was whispered that he would; and the more, upon the ill-usage I had met with. I sat with him two hours among company, and two hours we were alone; where I gave him a history of the whole business, and the steps that had been made in it, which he heard as I could wish, and promised with great readiness his best credit to effect it. I mentioned the difficulties we had met with from lords lieutenants and their secretaries, who would not suffer others to solicit, and neglected it themselves. He fell in with me entirely, and said, neither they nor himself should have the merit of it, but the queen, to whom he would show my memorial with the first opportunity, in order, if possible, to have it done in this interregnum. I said, ‘ it was a great encouragement to the bishops, that he was in the treasury, whom they knew to have been the chief adviser of the queen to grant the same favour in England; that the honour and merit of this would certainly be his, next the queen's; but that it was nothing to him, who had done so much greater things, and that, for my part, I thought he was obliged to the clergy of Ireland for giving him an occasion of gratifying the pleasure he took in doing good to the Church.’ He received my compliment extremely well, and renewed his promises.”

Letter from Dr. Swift to Archbishop King, Oct. 10, 1710.

Mr. Harley promises assistance.

Dr. Swift adds, that, besides the first-fruits, he told Mr. Harley of the crown-rents, and showed the nature and value of them; but said, his opinion was that the convocation had not mentioned them

Notice of the crown-rents.

in their petition to the Queen, delivered to Lord Wharton with the address, because they thought the times would not then bear it; but that he looked upon himself to have a discretionary power to solicit it in so favourable a juncture. He had two memorials ready of his own drawing up, as short as possible, showing the nature of the things, and how long it had been depending, &c. One of these memorials had a paragraph at the end relating to the crown-rents; the other had none: "In case he had waved the motion of the crown-rents," continues the narrator, "I would have given him the last; but I gave him the other, which he immediately read, and promised to second both, with his best offices, to the Queen. As I have placed that paragraph in my memorial, it can do no harm, and may possibly do good. However, I beg your Grace to say nothing of it; but, if it dies, let it die in silence; we must take up with what can be got^s."

Memorial of Dr. Swift to Mr. Harley, Oct. 7, 1710.

A transcript of this memorial is requisite, not only for completing the account of this transaction, but as subservient to the general history of the Irish Church; and it is accordingly annexed at length:

"A MEMORIAL OF DR. SWIFT TO MR. HARLEY, ABOUT THE FIRST-FRUITS, presented October 7, 1710.

Want of glebes.

"In Ireland, hardly one parish in ten has any glebe, and the rest very small and scattered, except a very few, and these have seldom any houses.

Numerous impropriations.

"There are, in proportion, more impropriations in Ireland than in England, which, added to the poverty of the country, make the livings of very small and uncertain value, so that five or six are often joined to make a revenue of 50*l.* per annum; but these have seldom above one church in repair, the rest being destroyed by frequent wars, &c.

^s SWIFT'S *Works*, x., pp. 130, 131.

“ The clergy, for want of glebes, are forced, in their own or neighbouring parish, to take farms, to live at rack-rents.

Clergy forced to take farms.

“ The queen having some years since remitted the first-fruits to the clergy of England, the Bishop of Cloyne, being then in London, did petition her Majesty for the same favour in behalf of the clergy of Ireland, and received a gracious answer. But this affair, for want of soliciting, was not brought to an issue during the governments of the Duke of Ormonde and the Earl of Pembroke.

The queen solicited before to grant the first-fruits.

“ Upon the Earl of Wharton's succeeding, Dr. Swift (who had solicited this matter in the preceding government) was desired by the bishops of Ireland to apply to his Excellency, who thought fit to receive the motion as wholly new, and that he could not consider it till he were fixed in the government, and till the same applications were made him as had been to his predecessors. Accordingly an address was delivered to his Lordship, with a petition to the queen, and a memorial annexed from both houses of convocation; but a dispute happening in the Lower House, wherein his chaplain was concerned, and which was represented by the said chaplain as an affront designed to his Excellency, who was pleased to understand and report it so to the court, the convocation was suddenly prorogued, and all further thoughts about the first-fruits let fall as desperate.

Application to the Earl of Wharton.

Petition to the queen.

“ The subject of the petition was to desire that the twentieth parts might be remitted to the clergy, and the first-fruits made a fund for purchasing glebes and impropriations, and rebuilding churches.

Subject of it.

“ The twentieth parts are twelve pence in the pound, paid annually out of all ecclesiastical benefices, as they were valued at the Reformation. They amount to about 500*l.* per annum; but of little or no value to the queen, after the officers and other charges are paid, though much trouble and vexation to the clergy.

Account of the twentieth parts;

“ The first-fruits paid by incumbents upon their promotion amounted to 450*l.* per annum; so that her Majesty, in remitting about 1000*l.* per annum to the clergy, will really lose not above 500*l.*

And of the first-fruits.

“ Upon August 31, 1710, the two houses of convocation

Power given by

the bishops to Dr.
Swift.

being met to be further prorogued, the archbishops and bishops conceiving there was now a favourable juncture to resume their applications, did, in their private capacities, sign a power to the said Dr. Swift to solicit the remitting of the first-fruits and twentieth parts.

Burden of the
crown-rent.

“ But there is a greater burden than this, and almost as intolerable, upon several of the clergy in Ireland; the easing of which the clergy only looked on as a thing to be wished, without making it part of their petition.

Account of it.

“ The queen is impropiator of several parishes, and the incumbent pays her half-yearly a rent, generally to the third part of the real value of the living, and sometimes half. Some of these parishes (yielding no income to the vicar), by the increase of graziers, are seized on by the crown, and cannot pay the reserved rent. The value of all these impropriations are about 2,000*l.* per annum to her Majesty.

“ If the queen would graciously please to bestow likewise these impropriations to the Church, part to be remitted to the incumbent, where the rent is large and the living small, and the rest to be laid out in buying glebes and impropriations and building churches, it would be a most pious and seasonable bounty.

Value of the
grant sought.

“ The utmost value of the twentieth parts, first-fruits, and crown-rents, is 3,000*l.* per annum, of which about 500*l.* per annum is sunk among officers, so that her Majesty, by this great benefaction, would lose but 2,500*l.* per annum.”

Successful consequences of the
memorial.

With respect to the consequences of this memorial, in a letter from London, November 4, 1710, Dr. Swift informed the Archbishop of Dublin, that “ Mr. Harley had given him leave to acquaint the lord primate and his Grace, that the queen had granted the first-fruits and twentieth parts to the clergy of Ireland;” the motion about the crown-rents seems to have died in silence: that “ the bishops were to be made a corporation for the disposal of the first-fruits, and that the twentieth parts were to be remitted:” that “ he had all the reason

in the world to be satisfied with Mr. Harley's conduct in this whole affair:" that "in three days he spoke of it to the queen, and gave her Dr. Swift's memorial, and so continued until he got her grant:" that "the queen was resolved to have the whole merit of this affair to herself:" that "Mr. Harley advised her to it; and, next to her Majesty, he was the only person to be thanked⁹."

In the end, the warrant was drawn, January, 1711, in order to a patent; and the patent was completed February the 7th, of the same year. It exonerated the clergy of Ireland from paying the twentieth parts, and it gave the first-fruits, payable out of ecclesiastical benefices, to Narcissus, archbishop of Armagh; Sir Constantine Phipps, Lord Chancellor; William, archbishop of Dublin; William, archbishop of Cashel; John, archbishop of Tuam; the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, and several other bishops, and other persons, in trust, to be applied for ever towards purchasing glebes, and building houses, and buying impropriations for the clergy.

Grant of first-fruits.

In his speech to parliament, July, 1711, the Duke of Ormonde, who had succeeded the Earl of Wharton in the chief government, mentioned the grants of the crown, but did not assume to himself any merit in procuring them; nor so much as insinuated, by any intimation, that they were made on his motion. Nevertheless, both in the House of Lords and in the convocation an effort was made for ascribing the whole merit to his Grace, and, in fact, both their addresses bestowed on him a share of the commendation. In conclusion, all the archbishops and bishops agreed to return thanks to the

Improperly attributed to the Duke of Ormonde.

⁹ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., p. 139.

Thanks returned
to Mr. Harley.

Lord Treasurer Harley by a letter, signed by all the prelates who were at that time in Dublin, under a conviction, that, next to her Majesty's native bounty and zeal for the Church, this favour was due to his lordship's mediation¹⁰. The acknowledgment was forthwith transmitted; and that, together with a special communication to the like effect from the Archbishop of Dublin, produced from Dr. Swift the following account, dated London, Aug. 15, 1711, of a visit made by him the day before to the lord treasurer:

Merit of the
grant due to the
queen.

"I read to him that part of your Grace's letter, which expresses your Grace's respects to him, and he received them perfectly well. He told me 'he had lately received a letter from the bishops of Ireland, subscribed, as I remember, by seventeen, acknowledging his favour about the first-fruits.' I told his lordship that 'some people in Ireland doubted whether the queen had granted them before the Duke of Ormonde was declared lieutenant.' 'Yes,' he said, 'sure I remember it was immediately on my application.' I said, 'I heard the duke himself took no merit on that account.' He answered, 'No, he was sure he did not; he was the honestest gentleman alive: but,' said he, 'it is the queen that did it, and she alone shall have the merit¹¹.'"

Thus was finally and happily completed a measure, disinterestedly designed and accomplished for the benefit of the Church; and it deserves the grateful commemoration of posterity, for the earnestness and perseverance of the prelates who engaged in it, especially of Archbishop King; for the diligent, discreet, and cordial exertions of their representative, Dr. Swift; for the prompt and effective patronage of the Lord Treasurer Harley; and for the voluntary and cheerful concurrence of the queen.

¹⁰ SWIFT'S *Works*, x. 201.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 205.

It was the opinion of the archbishop at the time, that this grant “for buying impropriations and purchasing glebes would be a great ease to the clergy, and a benefit to the church.” But he observed, “We want glebes more than the impropriations; and I am for buying them first, where wanting, for without them residence is impossible¹².” However, in both respects the bounty of the queen was highly to be prized on its own account, and was made the foundation of other important and beneficial measures; the letters patent of Queen Anne, which first made the grant, having been confirmed by the Act of the 2nd year of King George I., chap. 15, which allowed to all ecclesiastical persons four years for the payment of their first-fruits, to be paid by annual instalments, and by the Act of 10 George I., chap. 7, the trustees having been incorporated, and the first-fruits vested in them and their successors.

Confirmed by
George I., 1715.

Trustees incor-
porated 1723.

The influence of Dr. Swift, which had been thus honourably and beneficially exerted in procuring the first-fruits for the Church, was not long afterwards applied with remarkable effect to the designation of an individual to the episcopal bench, which made room for his own preferment to one of the first ecclesiastical dignities, the first, indeed, next to that of the episcopate, in Ireland. His political abilities had been in the mean time experienced and acknowledged by his friends in power: and although not forward in pressing his own merits, and disdaining to solicit a recompense, he was by no means insensible of the claims which he actually possessed upon their patronage. The object of his ambition appears to have been an English bishoprick; from which, however, he was excluded by the

Influence of Dr.
Swift.

¹² SWIFT'S *Works*, x., p. 203.

His exclusion
from an English
bishoprick.

disapprobation of the queen herself, acting under the suggestions of the Archbishop of York, the excellent and exemplary Dr. John Sharp, her majesty's spiritual counsellor. It was his caution to the queen, that "her Majesty should be sure that the man was a Christian, whom she was going to make a bishop." The special ground of the suspicion entertained against him was the *Tale of a Tub*, which was represented as a ridicule upon religion, and as exhibiting its author in the character of an infidel, whose profligate levity was unbecoming a member of the sacred order of the priesthood; and which was so eminently calculated to do injury to the author, that, whilst he was yet unknown, Atterbury pronounced upon him this judgment in a letter to Bishop Trelawny, "He hath reason to conceal himself, because of the profane strokes in that piece, which would do his reputation and interest in the world more harm than his wit would do him good."

Impediments to
his preferment.

Thus, whatever other impediments may have obstructed his ecclesiastical promotion, this propensity to profaneness, and the outward signs of a want of becoming respect for religion, must have been difficult to be surmounted by those, who could form a proper estimate of the episcopal, not to say of the clerical, or indeed of the Christian, character. In truth, had the *Tale of a Tub* been never written, there were causes enough in many of the other writings, as well as in much of the conversation, of Swift, to show the incompatibility of his habitual thoughts and language with the qualities befitting one of the highest stations in the Christian Church. And admitting, therefore, the force of all his reasonable claims to advancement, the wonder is less that one who was so devoted to "foolish talking and

jesting, which is not convenient," should have failed of being preferred by the queen, though recommended by her ministry, to the episcopal throne of Hereford, than that he was subsequently elevated to the decanal stall of St. Patrick's.

Upon what principle, indeed, consistent with the reason before assigned for his non-appointment to the former preferment, he was nominated to the latter, it were difficult to say. But there are considerations which may have produced an acquiescence in the nomination with those who did not approve of it. The station of a dean may have been thought less open to animadversion, and less productive of evil consequences than that of a bishop, to his appointment to which station an objection still appears to have been entertained; for it was by the removal of another to that station, that Dr. Swift's preferment was effected. Preferment in Ireland may have been judged a further mitigation of the offence against propriety, by removing him to a sequestered position; of this, he himself complained, that he was "condemned again to live in Ireland; and all that the court and ministry did for him, was to let him choose his situation in the country where he was banished¹³." The act also may have worn the appearance of being an act of patronage of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, rather than of the queen; an act, on her part, rather of consent, than of nomination or approval. Speaking of the arrangement, Dr. Swift himself says, "the queen has made Dr. Stearne bishop of Dromore, and I am to succeed him in his deanery¹⁴." There may have been no distinction here intended between the origin of the appointments; but the words have the appearance of

His elevation to the deanery of St. Patrick's.

¹³ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., p. 304.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

Dean Stearne
made Bishop of
Dromore.

expressing a distinction, which probably really existed. But, however this be, at the earnest intercession of Dr. Swift, the Duke of Ormonde was persuaded to appoint Dean Stearne to the bishoprick of Dromore, vacated by the death of Bishop Pullen, in April, 1713; and after much hesitation on the part of the queen, Dr. Swift, in June, succeeded to the preferment vacated by his predecessor's appointment to the bishoprick, and so became Dean of St. Patrick's.

Dr. Swift, his
successor in the
deanery.

The reader, who wishes for a detail of this transaction, may find it in SWIFT's *Journal to Stella*, where he may find also very ample reason for reluctance in advancing the author to the conspicuous and responsible stations of the Church, or in the copious and elaborate life of him, with which Mr. Mason has enriched his *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*. To give more than a summary notice of the appointment, would exceed the scope of the present work; and in giving such a notice, I cannot but lament the occasion for expressing sentiments, which, if they had operated with full force on the government of the time, would have precluded his promotion to the deanery. It is much more pleasant to add, in the words of his biographer¹⁵, Mr. Mason, that, after his promotion, "he was diligent in discharge of his duty as dean; he restored the primitive practice of weekly communion at his cathedral, and distributed the sacramental elements in the most devout and impressive manner with his own hands; he attended church every morning and evening, and preached always in his turn, reading the service with a strong nervous voice, rather than in a graceful manner."

His conduct in
the deanery.

Character of
Bishop Stearne.

Of Bishop Stearne, now placed in the see of

¹⁵ P. 419.

Dromore, and subsequently translated to that of Clogher, there will be occasion to speak hereafter. On this occasion, it may be fit to mention, as creditable both to him and to Dr. Swift, that, in the February preceding these appointments, before he had any thought of procuring the deanery for himself, Swift had named the dean to the lord treasurer, Lord Bolingbroke, and the Duke of Ormonde, for a bishoprick, and, says he, "I did it heartily;" and that, on a later occasion, October the 28th, 1712, although he remarks that he was not on terms of friendship with Stearne, nevertheless, he adds, "however, if I am asked who will make a good bishop, I shall name him before anybody."

This also appears the fit occasion to mention the very high esteem wherewith he was spoken of by the Archbishop of Dublin, who thus expressed his sentiments to Mr. Southwell, in a letter of May 16, 1713, from Chester, on his road between Dublin and Bath:

Archbishop
King's high es-
teem for him.

"The wind keeping me so long, gave me opportunity to consecrate the Bishop of Dromore before I came away, which I reckon one of the best works I have done this long while, though I find it whispered that my friendship did him hurt. I am glad he had better assistants; but I am sure there is none whose good wishes towards him are more sincere, and I shall ever be thankful to you for the part you had in his promotion, of which he likewise is thoroughly sensible."

To the Bishop himself he wrote thus, from Bath, on the 24th of June:

"They mistook you much, that placed you in that bishoprick; whereas the busiest episcopal post in Ireland would be more suitable to you. It would be a comfort to me, if I were dying, to think that you would be my succes-

sor, because I am persuaded that you would prosecute right methods for the good of the Church, which I am sure I intended."

Notice of Dr.
Parnell.

The small prebend of Dunlavin, vacated by the new dean's appointment, was an object of desire to Dr. Parnell, whose application for it to the Archbishop of Dublin was thus seconded by Dean Swift: "He thinks it will be some advantage to come into the chapter, where it may possibly be in my power to serve him in a way agreeable to him, although in no degree equal to his merits, by which he has distinguished himself so much, that he is in great esteem with the ministry, and others of the most valuable persons in this town. He has been many years under your Grace's direction, and has a very good title to your favour¹⁶." It may be incidentally noticed, as corroborative of this testimony, that in the proceedings of the Lower House of Convocation, in 1711, relative to the conversion of the Irish Papists, the Rev. Archdeacon Parnell was chairman of the committee, to whom the recommendation of proper methods for the conversion was intrusted, and reported their resolutions to the House. In another letter, the dean alludes to his requisition in favour of Dr. Parnell, "who, by his own merit, is in the esteem of the chief ministers here¹⁷;" a character calculated to be gratifying to those who have derived amusement and improvement from the *Night Piece on Death*, the *Fairy Tale*, and *The Hermit*, and other poetical compositions of that amiable man.

Archbishop
King's early
patronage of him.

Parnell had been long under the patronage of Archbishop King. In early life, before he had

¹⁶ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., p. 306.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, x., p. 313.

attained the canonical age of twenty-three years, he had, by dispensation from the Primate, been ordained a deacon, in 1700, by King, then bishop of Derry, who, about three years afterwards, admitted him to priest's orders. In 1706, he had an offer from the Archbishop of the vicarage of Finglass, near Dublin, a benefice worth about 400*l.* a year; he declined it, and accepted, in preference, the archdeaconry of Clogher, with the parish of Clontibret annexed to it, from the bishop, Dr. St. George Ashe; on which occasion, he was favoured with an excellent letter of advice on his professional and future conduct from his friend and patron, Archbishop King, in whose unpublished MS. correspondence in Trinity College Library, the letter may be found, under the date of March 6, 1706. Dr. Goldsmith, and, after him, Dr. Johnson, say, that he was, in 1716, collated to the vicarage of Finglass. But his collation seems questionable, and the statement may be thought to arise from a confusion of this with the earlier date, when he had an offer of that benefice. The prebend, which at this time was the subject of Dr. Swift's letter, appears from the Archbishop's answer, May 25, to have been promised to another. Parnell's life was not prolonged to a late period: he died soon afterwards at Chester; and the few incidents, which are known of him, have had the singular honour of being commemorated by the pens of Goldsmith and of Johnson. His countenance is perpetuated in a marble bust amongst the collection of intellectual worthies, whose resemblances appropriately adorn the magnificent library of Trinity College, Dublin.

Promoted to
Archdeaconry of
Clogher.

His life by Gold-
smith and John-
son.

But to recur to Dean Swift's letter; it appears

Letter of Arch-

bishop King to
Dean Swift, May
16, 1713.

to have been written in answer to one in the archbishop's MS. Correspondence, dated from Chester, May 16, 1713, on his road to Bath, for the benefit of his health:

Commendation of
Bishop Stearne.

“Reverend Sir,

“This is to welcome you to my neighbourhood at St. Sepulchre's. I have a very great loss in the removal of the Bishop of Dromore, who was not only a neighbour, but a bosom friend. I understand that was not much to his advantage, but I am sure it was to mine and the Church's. I hope that will not discourage you from reckoning yourself among my friends, which I earnestly desire. I had wrote sooner to you, but expected every day a wind to bring me here: it continued cross for many days, and gave me opportunity to consecrate your predecessor before I came away. I go directly from hence to the Bath, my health requiring it, where I shall be glad to hear from you. I know not whether I shall be obliged to go to London before I return. I will not if I can avoid it, for, considering the great number of Irish bishops and clergy that are there, I am ashamed to add to them. I should be very much pleased to have an hour or two of your conversation before I returned, or you went to Ireland; but I am afraid I cannot expect it, though, perhaps, it might be of use to us both. . . .

“Your predecessor in St. Patrick's did a great deal to his church and house, but there is still work for you. He designed a spire for the steeple, which kind of ornament is much wanting in Dublin. He has left your œconomy clear, and 200*l.* in bank for this purpose. The steeple is one hundred and twenty feet high: twenty-one feet in the clear wide where the spire is to stand: the design was to build it of brick one hundred and twenty feet high: the scaffolding we reckoned to be the principal cost, which yet is pretty cheap in Dublin. The brick and lime are good and cheap. But we have no workmen that understand anything of the matter. I believe you may be acquainted with several that are conversant with such kind of work, and, if you would discourse some of them, and push on the work as soon as

settled, it might be of use to you, and give the people there an advantageous notion of you :

Dimidium facti qui bene cœpit habet.

“ I add no more but my hearty prayers for you, and that you may enjoy with comfort and reputation the provision her Majesty has made for you, which shall be the study and endeavour of, &c.,

“ W. D.”

In his letter to the archbishop, with reference to his Grace’s remarks concerning his predecessor and himself, the dean replies :

“ I am very sensible that the loss which your Grace has suffered in the removal of Dr. Stearne, will never be made up by me, upon a great many accounts : however, I shall not yield to him in respect and veneration for your Grace’s character and person ; and I return you my most grateful acknowledgments for the offer you make me of your favour and protection.”

Answer of Dean
Swift.

SECTION VIII.

Embarrassment of the Clergy about the Occasional Forms of Prayer. Correspondence between Archbishop King and the Government. Business not concluded in Queen Anne’s Reign. Resumed and settled in the Reign of King George I. Allowance of supplemental Hymns. Death of Primate Marsh. Speculations concerning his Successor. Bishop Lindsay raised to the Primacy. Dean Swift instrumental to his elevation. Death of Bishop Wetenhall. Dean Swift’s Advice to the Ministry. Caution in recommending for Preferment. Probable cause of Archbishop King’s non-appointment to the Primacy. Cause of Dissatisfaction between Archbishop King and Dean Swift. Funeral Sermon on Primate Marsh, and commendation of him. Account of Primate Lindsay. Edward Synge, bishop of Raphoe. Supply of other Episcopal vacancies. Prospects of Dean Swift. Archbishop King’s view of Ecclesiastical Affairs in this Reign.

ABOUT this period, a difficulty, which caused embarrassment to the Irish clergy in some of their ministrations.

Embarrassment
of clergy in their
ministrations.

ministrations, was brought under the notice of the government; but though the representation was received with courtesy, it was treated with so little alacrity, that the remedy was not applied till the succeeding reign. The proceedings are recorded in Archbishop King's MS. Correspondence in Trinity College Library, whence so much as seems requisite to make the case clear to the reader shall be extracted.

Letter from Archbishop King to Mr. Southwell, 1713.

The first notice of this difficulty occurs in a letter of the Archbishop to Mr. Southwell, the 7th of February, 1713. Having had occasion to speak of "an order of service for her Majesty's birth-day," such as he supposed to be in Great Britain, he proceeded thus:

Occasional forms of prayer.

"And now I have occasion to speak of forms of prayer, I must tell you that we have old forms for the 29th of May, the 23rd of October, and the 5th of November, and the 30th of January, which, by the alteration of circumstances, are become improper, and yet there has been no order in Ireland for altering them as you have in England, though the clergy of their own heads are forced to make some changes, and great complaints are made both by them and the people, that they want a rule to go by, and some Common Prayer Books are printed one way and some another. Now this is a matter that concerns the prerogative, and only her Majesty can give directions in it that will be binding. I therefore think that you will oblige the Church by procuring a letter to settle it. I am sure it will not be refused, and it may come in the method that we usually receive directions for publick fasts and thanksgivings, which is by a letter to the council and chief governours to give orders therein. It were not amiss if the time and method for our putting the chief governours in our prayers on changes were likewise settled."

Subject revived on Duke of Shrewsbury's appointment.

Mr. Southwell's attention was revived on the subject on the Duke of Shrewsbury's appointment,

by a letter reminding him that forms of prayer had, by direction of the Duke of Ormonde, been sent over to England in the preceding May; and on the 22nd of September, 1713, the day on which the Duke of Shrewsbury arrived in Ireland, in order to take possession of the vice-royalty, in a letter expressive of hearty congratulation on the appointment, the Archbishop of Dublin thus directed the attention of the secretary, Sir John Stanley, to the difficulty experienced by the clergy:

“I take leave to acquaint you that we are in great confusion here about the additional offices of our Church, such as the 5th of November, the 30th of January, &c. These, though new modelled and adapted to the present circumstances in England, yet remain as they were, unaltered here, which causes great confusion in performing those offices, some using them one way, and others in another. The reforming and adapting them to the present circumstances, and making them conformable to the English, as far as the difference of the law would allow, was referred by his Grace the Duke of Ormonde and the government here to some bishops, who, accordingly, made their report containing the forms as reformed and amended: and they were sent to Mr. Southwell to be laid before her Majesty by his Grace the then lord lieutenant, in order to procure her order for their use about May last, but we never heard anything since. I have wrote to Mr. Southwell to put them into your hands, if that be practicable: and intreat you to take them into your care, and to recommend them to his Grace the present lord lieutenant, that, if possible, we may have them on the approaching occasions.

Previous attempts.

“I assure you this will be an affair very grateful to the clergy, who are much at a loss how to behave themselves at present; and grateful to the people, who are stumbled by the impropriety of the services as they now stand, and with the diversity used by severals, without any authority to adjust them. I am not sure that this method is proper; but if it be not, you will do us the favour to put us in a better.”

Desired measure grateful to the clergy and people.

Subject revived,
Nov. 14.

On the 14th of November, the archbishop again pressed this business on Mr. Southwell: "My lord lieutenant tells me," he observes, "that he spake twenty times about our prayers, and was as often promised to have them dispatched. You say they are in the council office; and pray, since you still attend there, put some lords in mind of them. If writing to the Archbishop of York might any way further them, I will do it."

Business not con-
cluded in the
queen's reign.

The reign of Queen Anne, however, passed away without anything effectual being done; but the business was resumed soon after the accession of King George, in a letter of November 27, 1714, and in another of January 25, 1715, to Mr. Delafay, pressing the subject on the attention of the new lord lieutenant; and, in the end, the affair was brought to a conclusion by the following letter to Mr. Addison, which contains a sketch of the previous proceedings, in which the lord primate appears to have acted a somewhat remarkable part:

Resumed in the
reign of George I.

"As to the business of the prayers, you may observe that the occasional offices, for the Gunpowder Treason, the 30th of January, and the 29th of May, have been altered in England, and suited to the present circumstances of time and emergencies that have happened since. But there has been no alteration made in Ireland, but they stand as first added by King Charles II. to the Common Prayer. Our Prayer Books are generally printed in England, and some use the prayers as they find them in those books; but others, conceiving they have no authority to do so, as indeed they have none, use the old, which causes great confusion in our churches. In the year 1713 I wrote to Mr. Southwell of this matter; and the Duke of Ormonde ordered the justices here to get a memorial prepared to lay before the queen, and to send with them the prayers as they now stand, and a draft of them as conformed to the English, with allowance for the difference that was necessary to suit

Narrative of the
negotiation.
1713.

them to Ireland. He likewise desired that the prayer for the 23rd of October, which is peculiar to this kingdom, and that for the chief governours, might be revised, several things in each of them, by the alteration of times, appearing and becoming improper: he likewise ordered a form of prayer, used in England for the queen's accession to the crown, might be appointed likewise in Ireland, which had not been done before.

"Upon this the then lords justices recommended the consideration of the affair to the lord primate and bishops then in town; and we met together and adjusted all the forms as we judged proper, and returned them, as required, to the lords justices; they returned them to the lord lieutenant, and he to the secretary's office, I suppose. There they lay for sixteen months, and I heard nothing of them, only that they were laid before the council in order to procure a command from the queen, in the usual form, for their use. When the Duke of Shrewsbury was named to be lord lieutenant, I wrote to Sir John Stanley about them, but he could not find them. Since I was one of the lords justices, I wrote to Mr. Southwell to find them, if possible, and to Mr. Delafay, to wait on him about them, which he did with such diligence that he found them out, but not the letter or memorial that went with them; but told me, if we would send them again, with a letter, to my lord lieutenant, he would solicit the affair, and procure the usual order for them. On this, the lords justices took the same steps taken before, and recommended them to the lord primate and bishops; what was done thereupon, I gave an account to Mr. Delafay, because he had first concerned himself about them.

Steps taken in
the affair.

"These prayers are no part of the Common Prayer Book established by act of parliament, but were added after, and stand merely by royal authority. We cannot, it is true, alter them without that; but to signify to his Excellency what alterations we judge necessary to be made in them, in order to petition his Majesty to make them, can be no fault at all, but a duty; and yet this is the pretence made by the lord primate for not complying with the justices' order. I sent over to Mr. Delafay his report,

Authority of the
forms in question.

which every one that reads the prayers, as they now stand, by authority, will perceive not to be true. The Bishops of Kildare and Raphoe refused to sign it. He brought it to the meeting, signed by the Bishop of Meath, who was sick, and the Bishop of Clonfert, who was likewise ill, and confessed to me, that he did not read or compare the prayers. There was none present that signed it but the Bishop of Cork. We expect my lord lieutenant's directions about it, or the king's letter, if necessary, as I think it is not.

"This is the sum of what has passed; but the reformation of the prayers is necessary, and I hope you will put your helping hand to effect it."

Communication
of Archbishop
King to Mr. Addison,
April 5, 1715.

The foregoing communication was made by Archbishop King to Mr. Addison, on the 5th of April, 1715. Two or three brief notices complete the information which his correspondence furnishes on this subject. On the 4th of June, he wrote to Mr. Delafay, "I hope you will take care to send over the letter about our prayers, which is very necessary, and will be opposed by none, but such as are unwilling that we should thank God for the king's accession to the throne on the 1st of August, and for the Revolution on the 5th of November, as it is in England." And on the 21st of June, "We had received the letter about the forms of prayer, very full and well worded, and will return them as soon as possible, which cannot as yet be, because few bishops are in town to consider them. As to the day of his majesty's accession to the throne, to be sure it will always be celebrated by his subjects, whilst it pleases God to continue him among them. Now the question is, whether it be not proper to express our thankfulness to God at that time in some religious duties, as our joy by bonfires, ringing of bells, illuminations, feastings, and revels. I do not look on the religious offices appointed on that

Progress of the
business.

day, as an honour to the king, but as the king's honouring God for bringing him to the throne, and acknowledging it to be the work of God: which methinks is very proper, and far from a profanation of God's worship, and seems a worship due from his majesty to God." And again, on the 6th of July, "We could do nothing about our forms of prayer, because we have hardly any bishops in town; but as soon as they come we will go about them. We shall not go before you in any form, though I know no reason why the form, settled for Queen Anne's accession, may not, *mutatis mutandis*, be applied to his majesty."

Matters were thus placed in due train for the accomplishment of the object, which was ultimately effected by the king's order in council, Nov. 3, 1715. For the Dublin folio Prayer Book of 1721, cited on a former occasion, after the consecration of bishops, and just before the prayers for October 23, contains the following order, addressed to the lord lieutenant:

Accomplishment
of the object.

"GEORGE R.

Order in council,
Nov. 3, 1715.

"Our will and pleasure is, that the six following forms of prayer, made for the 23rd of October, the 5th of November, the 30th of January, the 29th of May, and the day of our accession to the crown, together with the prayer for the chief governour or governours of Ireland, be forthwith printed and published, and for the future annexed to the Book of Common Prayer and Liturgy of the Church of Ireland, to be used yearly on the said days and occasions, in all cathedral and collegiate churches and chapels, in the chapel of Trinity College, near Dublin, and in all parish churches and chapels within our kingdom of Ireland. For which this shall be your warrant.

“ Given at the Court at St. James’s, the 3rd day of November, 1715, in the second year of our reign.

“ By his Majesty’s command,

“ JAMES STANHOPE.”

Prayer for chief
governours.

Sketch of its
history.

Settled by order
of council.

This order, it will be observed, together with the five occasional forms of prayer therein enumerated, sanctions also the prayer for the chief governor or governours of Ireland, which was noticed in Archbishop King’s Correspondence. Such a prayer had been introduced into the Irish liturgy at an early period of the Reformation, and subsequently preserved, subject however to several variations. In the course of this history it has been already noticed as occurring in King Edward the Sixth’s Common Prayer Book of 1551; though I am informed that none such is contained in the Irish version, made by William Daniel, archbishop of Tuam, and printed at Dublin in 1608. The Act of Uniformity, 17 and 18 Charles II., implies the existence of such a prayer, by directing that “ in all prayers, which do any way relate to the king, queen, or royal progeny, or the lord lieutenant, or other chief governours of Ireland, the names be changed, &c.” Such a prayer is contained in the sealed book at the four courts, Dublin, but different from both the prayers now in use. In a quarto Prayer Book, printed in Dublin by Andrew Crook, 1700, the prayer for the lords justices is inserted in the morning and evening prayer, before the prayer for the clergy: this book contains only one of the present forms, namely, that in which a blank is left for the name of the lord lieutenant. Finally, the folio Prayer Book already mentioned, printed by

Grierson, Dublin, 1721, contains the two prayers for the lord lieutenant, as they are now used: not printed, however, in the course of the morning and evening prayer, but on a separate leaf just before the Thirty-nine Articles. It is reasonable to suppose, that the sanction given by the king's order in council to this, in common with the occasional prayers, arose out of Archbishop King's correspondence; and that the ultimate adjustment of the prayers for the chief governours was made in connexion with the order in 1713.

The different circumstances, as unfolded in the Archbishop's correspondence with respect to the Church services, and the regal and viceregal orders to which they gave occasion, have been in this place brought together, as giving at once a summary view of the whole, although the latter parts of it did not occur till the succeeding reign. The primacy in the mean time had undergone a change; and the lord primate, mentioned in the correspondence, was Archbishop Lindsay, who succeeded Primate Marsh towards the close of Queen Anne's reign.

Anticipation of
events in the
next reign.

From what has been now related concerning a part of the Church's services in this reign, occasion may be here taken for mentioning an incident, trifling in itself, but connected with a subject of no trifling moment, as affecting the seemingly and orderly celebration of divine worship. There have fallen under my notice "Four Hymns," printed in order "to be used in the Parish Church of Coleraine," in the diocese of Connor; and they profess to be selected from a "Supplement" to the New Version of Psalms, such supplement having been "allowed

Supplement of
Hymns to the
New Version of
Psalms.

and permitted by the queen to be used in all churches," as stated in an abridgement of the order.

Selection printed
at Coleraine.

Of these four hymns, the first is a metrical version of "The thanksgiving appointed in the Church communion service, to be sung or said," beginning, "To God be glory, peace on earth, to all mankind good will:" the second is the "Song of the angels at the nativity of our blessed Saviour," from Luke ii. 8—15, "While shepherds watch'd their flocks by night:" the third is from 1 Cor. i. 7, for Easter-day, "Since Christ our passover is slain:" and the fourth is lost from the imperfect copy now before me. From these citations it will appear that these supplemental hymns are in part at least the same as those, which have of late years been annexed to the New Version of the Psalms in our Common Prayer Books, but of which the origin and history, and the royal allowance and permission for the use of them in all churches, are, I presume, very little known.

Minute in the
privy council
office.

By the kindness of a friend, however, who has made the requisite search at the privy council office, I am enabled to verify the Coleraine statement of the royal allowance and permission, by subjoining a copy of the minute, in full, as extracted from the records of the privy council by my informant:

Order of council,
July 30, 1703.

"At the Court at Hampton Court, July 30, 1703.

"Dr. Brady and
Mr. Tate, their
Hymns to the
New Version of
Psalms allow-
ed.

"Upon reading this day at the board the petition of Nicholas Brady and Nahum Tate, setting forth that his late Majesty in council was pleased to order the royal allowance for the petitioners' New Version of the Psalms to be used in churches, chapels, and congregations; that a supplement to the said New Version,

containing the usual hymns, creed, Lord's prayer, &c., with the church tunes, has been thought expedient for farther accommodating that part of divine service, and humbly praying her Majesty's allowance of the said supplement: her Majesty, taking the same into her royal consideration, is pleased to order in council, that the said supplement to the said New Version of Psalms be, and the said supplement is hereby allowed and permitted to be used in all churches, chapels, and congregations, as shall think fit to receive the same."

Thus we have distinct evidence, that in the reign of Queen Anne, the use of hymns, though they were no more than metrical versions of passages of holy Scripture or of the Church's formularies, was not admitted in the national congregations, otherwise than by the "royal allowance and permission." To adopt the language of the Church herself in her discourse "Of Ceremonies," it seems to have been agreed, that "the appointment of a common order and discipline pertaineth not to private men: therefore no man ought to take in hand, nor presume to appoint or alter any common order in Christ's church, except he be lawfully called and authorized thereunto." The observation applies to the national Church of each kingdom; and, indeed, it was with immediate reference to the Church of England, that the order in council was made: but the incident of the supplemental hymns in question having been used, as appears from a contemporaneous document, in an Irish diocese, has induced me to notice the case in connection with the history of the Church of Ireland.

Use of hymns not admitted but with royal allowance.

On the 2nd of November, 1713, the primacy was vacated by the death of Archbishop Narcissus Marsh, in the seventy-sixth year of his age. He had

Death of Primate Marsh, Nov 2, 1713.

been for some time in a declining state of health ; so much so, indeed, that in December, 1710, the Duke of Ormonde told Dr. Swift, that “ he was hardly able to sign a paper ;” and Swift answered the intelligence with the remark, that “ he wondered they would put him in the government, when every one knew he was a dying man this twelvemonth past. I hope,” he adds, in reporting this conversation to Archbishop King, “ for the Church’s good, that your Grace’s friends will do their duty, in representing you as the person the kingdom wishes to succeed him. I know not how your dispositions stand that way.”¹ In the three years, however, that intervened between this illness of the primate and his death, political changes had occurred : and in consequence, whatever hope may have been entertained at the former period of Archbishop King’s translation to the primacy, it was now frustrated, and the choice fell on Thomas Lindsay, bishop of Raphoe, who was translated to Armagh, by privy seal, dated December 22, 1713, and by letters-patent the 4th of the January following. It has been remarked by Dean Swift’s biographer, Mr. Mason, that “ he was in a great measure vested with ministerial authority in matters which related to Ireland, nothing of consequence being done without his advice.”² If so, he must have changed his opinion of “ the duty of the archbishop of Dublin’s friends, for the Church’s good,” in regard to the succession to the primacy ; or in that instance, at least, his ministerial authority must have been insufficient : for he was greatly instrumental to the appointment of a different person. “ Be pleased,” says the new primate to him, in a letter of

Speculation concerning Archbishop King.

Bishop Lindsay raised to the primacy.

Dean Swift instrumental to his elevation.

¹ *Works*, x., 154.

² *St. Patrick’s*, p. 274.

January 5, 1714, "to accept my thanks for the great services you have done me: and, as you have contributed much to my advancement, so I must desire you, upon occasion, to give your further assistance for the service of the Church³."

On the 12th of November, ten days after the death of the primate, died Wetenhall, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh. In reference to which event, Dean Swift wrote to Bishop Stearne, from London, Dec. 19, 1713, as follows:

Death of Bishop
Wetenhall.

"I have had an old scheme, as your Lordship may remember, of dividing the bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh. I advised it many months ago, and repeated it lately; and the queen and ministry, I suppose, are fallen into it. I did likewise lay very earnestly before proper persons the justice, and indeed necessity, of choosing to promote those of the kingdom; which advice has been hearkened to, and I hope will be followed. I would likewise say something in relation to a friend of your Lordship's; but I can only venture thus much, that it was not to be done, and you may easily guess the reasons.

Letter from Dean
Swift to Bishop
Stearne, Dec.
1713.
His advice to the
ministry.

"I know not who are named among you for the preferences; and, my Lord, this is a very nice point to talk of at the distance I am. I know a person there better qualified, perhaps, than any that will succeed. But, my Lord, our thoughts here are, that your kingdom leans too much one way; and believe me, it cannot do so long, while the queen and administration here act upon so very different a foot. This is more than I care to say. I should be thought a very vile man, if I presumed to resommend to — my own brother, if he were the least disinclined to the present measures of her Majesty and ministry here. Whoever is thought to do so, must shake off that character, or wait for other junctures. This, my Lord, I believe you will find to be true; and I will for once venture a step further than, perhaps, discretion should let me: that I never saw

Caution in re-
commending per-
sons for prefer-
ment.

³ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., 367.

so great a firmness in the court, as there now is, to pursue those measures, upon which this ministry began, whatever some people may pretend to think to the contrary: and were certain objections made against some persons we both know, removed, I believe I might have been instrumental to the service of some, whom I much esteem. Pick what you can out of all this, and believe me, &c.⁴”

Probable cause of
Archbishop
King's non-ap-
pointment.

From these observations a judgment may be formed of the cause of Archbishop King's non-appointment to the primacy: and the same cause seems to be implied in the following passage of a letter, addressed from London, Dec. 13, by the dean to the archbishop himself:

“My Lord, we can judge no otherwise here than by the representations made us. I sincerely look upon your Grace to be master of as much wisdom and sagacity, as any person I have known: and from my particular respect to you and your abilities, shall never presume to censure your proceedings, untill I am fully apprised of the matter. Your Grace is looked upon here as altogether in the other party, which I do not allow when it is said to me. I conceive you follow the dictates of your reason and conscience; and whoever does that, will, in publick management, often differ as well from one side as another⁵.”

The allusion in the foregoing extract can hardly be misapprehended. It appears, at the same time, somewhat remarkable, that neither in this, nor in any other letter of that period, does Dean Swift speak to the archbishop expressly either of Primate Marsh's death, or of the appointment of his successor. Some cause of dissatisfaction, indeed, had arisen between them. On the 24th of October, Lord Chancellor Phipps had thus written to the dean, from Dublin, with reference to the archbishop: “I cannot discharge the part of a friend, if I omit

Cause of dissatis-
faction between
Archbishop King
and Dean Swift.

⁴ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., 359.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

to let you know, that your great neighbour at St. Pulcher's is very angry with you. He accuses you for going away without taking your leave of him, and intends, in a little time, to compel you to reside at your deanery. He lays some other things to your charge, which you shall know in a little time⁶." An estrangement seems to have ensued, marked by an interruption of epistolary intercourse, for near three years, when, on a special occasion, it was resumed by the dean, in a strain of expostulation with the archbishop for alleged unkindness, and of self-justification and defence⁷.

It may, likewise, be thought remarkable, that the MS. Correspondence of the archbishop contains no special mention of the primacy, with respect either to its avoidance or its reoccupancy; although, in two letters of December 15, 1713, to Mr. Annesley and Mr. Southwell, he expressed his sentiments concerning the vacant preferments generally, not, indeed, in the former of the two letters, without particular allusion to his own conduct and situation; an allusion which may probably be understood as having reference to his pretensions on the primacy, at that time actually vacant :

"As to the vacant preferments in the Church, I have nothing to pray for, but that God would direct her Majesty to persons that may be equal to such great trusts, and have the service of the Church, of her Majesty, and of the kingdom, at heart.

"One thing I would heartily wish, and 'tis, that her Majesty would not be too forward to gratify the importunity of such as leave their cures and charges to solicit preferments at court, that being, in my opinion, a practice mischievous to the Church and kingdom, and what will create her Majesty infinite and endless trouble.

Archbishop
King's silence
about the pri-
macy.

Letters to Mr.
Annesley, Dec.,
1713.

His remarks on
the vacant pre-
ferments.

⁶ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., p. 343.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xi., p. 42.

“As to my own conduct, I have nothing to reproach myself, being conscious that I have acted with reason and conscience, and a particular view to her Majesty’s service. As to the representations made by others, I am perfectly at ease, being apprised that it is no difficult matter to give an ill face to the best action, of which you have in particular had too much experience; and I believe every one that dares be honest, will be sensible of the same. I have had the comfort, that in everything in which I have met with opposition, the event has always justified me.”

Funeral sermon
on Primate
Marsh.

In the mean time, on the interment of the late primate, Archbishop King had preached a funeral sermon on Psalm cxii., v. 6, which was published the following year, in Dublin, but of which I have not been able to procure a sight. The purport of it seems to be conveyed by the following extract from a letter to the Rev. Dr. Charlett, of University College, Oxford, bearing date Dublin, April 19, 1714:

Commendation of
him.

“I was so much a stranger to the late primate’s life, before he came here, that I durst not venture to say much about it in my sermon; and found that the good things he had done here, of which all my auditors were witnesses, were sufficient to take up as much time as was allowed me. I believe, if a full account could be given me of his life, many useful observations might be made on it, tending to his honour and to the publick good, such great examples being very rare, and very few in a disposition to imitate them. The more honour is done to his memory, it will be the more effectual to stir up others to the like virtuous performances, toward which a certain supineness has possessed most men, and many are afraid of such examples, or fear, if they should grow in fashion, the like might be expected from them. I find, if men were pressed to these, many might be prevailed on to come into them. I have several examples in this diocese, since I came to it. A physician, one Dr. Stephens, died here lately, and left about 500*l.* per annum to endow an hospital. . . . Another, Sir

Patrick Dun, left about 300*l.* per annum to endow a professor of physick. . . . I find, that there has been laid out in building and repairing churches, in manse houses, and purchasing impropriations in this diocese, within ten years, since I came to this see, about 14,000*l.*, which is considerable in so poor a country. All which show that charity is not lost out of the world; and if the clergy would fall into reasonable measures with the laity, they might influence them very much to contribute to works of publick charity."

To revert, however, to the vacant primacy, it was filled by the promotion of Bishop Lindsay, the son of a Scotch minister, and a native of Blandford, in Dorsetshire, in which town, also, he had been educated, in the same class with Dr. William Wake, who was primate of England, at the same time that his school-fellow held the same post of ecclesiastical dignity in Ireland. From the benefice of Woolwich, in Kent, he was, in 1693, transplanted to Ireland, in quality of chaplain to Henry Lord Capell, having been admitted doctor of divinity by diploma, in Oxford, of which university he was a member, having been elected a fellow of Wadham College in 1678. By means of his patron, who was at first one of the lords justices, and afterwards lord deputy, of Ireland, he was soon promoted to the deanery of St. Patrick's; thence, in 1695, to the bishoprick of Killaloe, and thence again, in May, 1713, to that of Raphoe, from which, after the interval of a few months, he was further advanced to the primacy; his political sentiments being such as made him acceptable to the English government, and his advancement being greatly promoted by the assistance of Dean Swift.

Account of Primate Lindsay.

On his translation to Armagh, the new primate

Attempts to fill

the vacant see of
Raphoe.

was desirous of procuring his late see of Raphoe for Bishop Lloyd, of Killalla, who, however, thought it "not worth his while to carry his family so far northward for so little advantage as that bishoprick would bring him, his own being upwards of 1000*l.* a year, and Raphoe not much above 1100*l.*" The primate, thereupon, endeavoured to engage Dean Swift's services, in procuring the bishoprick for Dr. Andrew Hamilton, Archdeacon of Raphoe^o, "a man of good learning and abilities, and one of great interest, and most likely to do good in that country." But from the disinclination or inefficiency of the dean, that recommendation failed of success; and Dr. Edward Synge, whose name has been already mentioned on occasion of his controversy with Bishop Brown, of Cork, was promoted and consecrated to the bishoprick of Raphoe, in November, 1714. He had been previously Chancellor of St. Patrick's, and was afterwards usefully employed and honourably distinguished as Archbishop of Tuam.

Appointment of
Dr. Synge.

Supply of other
episcopal vacan-
cies.

The scheme for the division of the bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh, alluded to above, was not carried into effect; but they were bestowed, in November, 1715, on Dr. Timothy Godwin, archdeacon of Oxford, who, about three months before, had been nominated by the Duke of Shrewsbury, the new lord lieutenant of Ireland, his Excellency's chaplain.

Two translations, and one other episcopal appointment, occurred about this time. On the death of Bishop Hickman, of Derry, the 22nd of November, 1713, John Hartstong was, on the 3rd of March following, translated to that see from Ossory, and his see was filled, the 8th of April, by Sir Thomas

^o SWIFT'S *Works*, x., p. 366.

^o *Ibid.*, x., p. 367.

Vesey, baronet, bishop of Killaloe, son of the Archbishop of Tuam; his successor was Dr. Nicholas Forster, senior fellow of Dublin College; the date, however, of whose letters-patent was the 19th of October, 1714, more than two months after the queen's death.

In anticipation of some of these appointments, the Lord Chancellor Phipps wrote to Dean Swift from Dublin, Jan. 15, 1714: "We are told by every body that the rest of our vacant bishopricks will be filled to our satisfaction; if they are, you must be one of them." And he adds a supposition that the dean may be "resolved that he will not *episcopari* here¹⁰." Whether the event may have resulted from a resolution on the part of the dean not to accept an Irish bishoprick, or on that of the government not to grant him one, is matter for speculation. In fact, he was not so promoted.

Prospects of Dean Swift.

Of the manner in which these bishopricks were actually filled, there will be occasion to speak at the commencement of the succeeding reign. Meanwhile, this account of the Irish ecclesiastical occurrences in the reign of Queen Anne may be concluded with an observation of Archbishop King, communicated in a letter to the Bishop of Killalla, Nov. 20th 1714:

Archbishop King's view of ecclesiastical affairs in this reign.

"I think I could demonstrate that the Church has lost more hearts and ground these last four years in Ireland, than she did since King James came to the crown: and I have put it to some scores of the admirers of that ministry, to give one instance of one single step or act taken in all that time for the good of this kingdom in general, or the Church in particular, and I never could get an answer. I think I could show many to the detriment of both."

Letter to the Bishop of Killalla, Nov. 20, 1714.

And in a letter of April 15, 1715, he thus

¹⁰ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., p. 369.

writes to the Rev. Dr. Charlett, of University College, Oxford :

Letter to Dr.
Charlett, April
15, 1715.

“ I never observed the countenance of a government to add much to the security of the Church. I will maintain that under King William, when we did not reckon ourselves great favourites, we had advanced our congregations more every four years, than we did under the four years of the late management here, in which I fear we lost ground ; the diligence, piety, humility, and prudent management of the clergy, when they had nothing else to trust to, proving much stronger motives to gain the people than the favour of the government, which put the clergy on other methods, that made them odious to their people.”

Archbishop
King's Tran-
script Books, in
possession of Mr.
Putler Bryan.

The two foregoing extracts are taken, not from the Trinity College MSS., but from a volume of unpublished letters of Archbishop King, apparently a part of the same series as the others, in which they fill up an interval, and extending from July 31st, 1714, to June 24th, 1715. It is intituled *Transcription Book*, being, like the others, a transcript of original letters, in the hand-writing of the archbishop or his amanuensis. It is the property of a descendant of the archbishop, Robert Butler Bryan, Esq., by whose kindness, at the instance of the Rev. Dr. Elrington, it has been intrusted to me for my present purpose ; and use will be made of it for enriching this narrative with several interesting particulars at the period, at which we are now arrived, of the accession of King George I., being the period at which the general Correspondence of Archbishop King in the MSS. of Trinity College Library is suspended. The contents of those MSS. relating to that period are limited to the archbishop's official communications in his capacity of one of the lords justices of Ireland, his appointment to which will soon fall under our notice.

CHAPTER III.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF

KING GEORGE I. 1714—1727.

THOMAS LINDSAY, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH

AND PRIMATE 1724.

HUGH BOULTER 1724.

SECTION I.

Accession of King George I. New Lords Justices. Archbishop King in the Commission. His anxiety about the supply of the vacant Sees. Proclamation of the King. Persons recommended for Bishopricks. Vacant Sees specified. Mischievous practice of Canvassing for Bishopricks. Jealousy of the Clergy on the King's accession. Their Sermons and injudicious Conduct. Archbishop King's surprise on being appointed a Lord Justice. His discharge of his office. His anxiety for proper supply of vacant Bishopricks. Peculiarities of Lutheran Religion. Difficulties of the Archbishop's new situation. Condition of the vacant Bishopricks. Non-residence of Bishops.

THE death of Queen Anne, August the 1st, 1714, and the consequent accession of King George I., were productive of an immediate change in the administration of publick affairs, which in Ireland was exemplified in the two chief governours of the Church. Soon after his elevation to the primacy in the early part of this year, Archbishop Lindsay had been appointed one of the lords justices, together with Sir Constantine Phipps, the lord chancellor, and Vesey, archbishop of Tuam. But on the king's accession a new commission was issued: in this the name of the lord primate, who was politi-

Accession of King
George I., 1714.

New lords
justices.

cally distinguished as “an old and high tory¹,” was not included, but for him and for the lord chancellor were substituted Dr. William King, archbishop of Dublin, and Robert Fitzgerald, earl of Kildare, associated with one of the former lords justices, Archbishop Vesey of Tuam. Had the change of the sovereign occurred a few months earlier, this substitution, connected with the well-known principles of the two individuals, suggests the probability that the Church of Ireland, on the death of Primate Marsh, would have seen a different prelate translated to her primacy.

Archbishop King
in the commis-
sion.

This appointment of Archbishop King to the office of lord justice, appears from several letters in the MS. *Transcription Book*, mentioned at the end of the last chapter, to have been altogether unexpected by him. To this, there will be occasion to advert more particularly as we proceed; in the meantime, the circumstances of the Church require immediate attention.

His anxiety about
the supply of the
vacant sees.

Several bishopricks had been vacated, as already noticed, before the death of Queen Anne, but had not hitherto been disposed of. The anxiety which the Archbishop of Dublin felt for their being properly bestowed, is shown by some letters which he wrote within a few days of intelligence being received of the change of dynasty, and from which the following extracts are likely to be read with interest.

His letter to Dr.
Godwin, August
14, 1714.

From Mount Merion, his temporary country residence, near Dublin, by the kindness of Lord Fitzwilliam, its proprietor, on the 14th of August, he wrote thus to Dr. Tho. Godwin, chaplain to the

¹ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., p. 133, n.

Duke of Shrewsbury, and who was soon afterwards placed in one of the vacant bishopricks:

“Reverend Sir,

“I had the favour of yours of the 5th inst., for which I thank you. You’ll hear from all hands that we are in perfect tranquillity here, God be thanked, and his Majesty King George proclaimed with all solemnity everywhere.

Proclamation of
the king.

“I confess I retired here for shelter, being unmercifully bated at the council, and some were angry with me that I would not attend there to be abused. But that I hope is over for the present, and I heartily forgive them.

“I had the honour of a letter from his Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury, which I will acknowledge in as few words as I can: and, considering his Grace’s business, I believe the shorter my letter is ’twill be the more acceptable. His Grace, by his treatment in Ireland, compared with what he has met with in Great Britain, will have reason to believe some of us have a very bad taste, and are ill judges of men; and all honest and wise men will concur with him in that opinion.

“’Tis a providence that the Church preferments are yet to be filled. I hope his Grace will exert himself in that matter. I doubt not he will think of you as a fellow-sufferer, besides your merit. I think when your own affair is over you would do well to remember a friend, I mean Dr. Syngé. I take him to be the fittest man for a bishop of any in Ireland, that is not already one. If any removes be thought on, I think the Bishop of Dromore, who was made a bishop for no merit of his own, but to make room for Dr. Swift, might yet deserve for his merit a removal.

Persons recom-
mended for the
bishopricks.

“If his Grace do us the honour to accept again of the government of Ireland, he may expect soon one or two more vacancies, and it would do well to think of men fit for them.”

The following letter, addressed a few days after to the Archbishop of Canterbury, enlarges on the subject of the vacant bishopricks, and exposes, in a

manner far from creditable to the competitors, the measures employed for procuring ecclesiastical preferments:

“ Dublin, August 19th, 1714.

Letter from
Archbishop King
to Archbishop of
Canterbury,
August 19, 1714.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ I could not prevail with myself to omit congratulating your Grace on the happy turn it has pleased God to give publick affairs at this time of the demise of our late gracious queen: and it was a particular satisfaction to me to find that God had enabled your Grace to bear your part in it. I hope he will farther preserve and strengthen you to set the crown on his Majesty’s head, which I believe would be a sensible accession of happiness to your Grace, and matter of joy to all your friends.

Specification of
the vacant sees.

“ My Lord, I am persuaded that much of the management of Church affairs, as is meet and proper, will be in your Grace’s hands; and let me take the liberty to beseech your care of this Church. We have at present four bishopricks void, namely, Raphoe, Killaloe, Kilmore, and Ardagh: the two latter used to be united, though each singly is of good value.

Practice of canvassing for bishopricks;

“ We have many candidates for these: and ’tis become a custom with us, that whoever pretends to any preferment, he immediately posts away to London. We have crowds there, and I find more are going, and some have waited two years, hunting for a promotion. The vacancies have been continued longer than usual, and I hope that may be looked on as a work of Providence, and may turn to the good of the Church.

Its mischievous effects;

“ Your Grace is well apprized what a discouragement it is to men that reside and attend their cures, and by that support religion, to see others preferred before them, merely for attending at court and neglecting their churches: the mischiefs that attend this practice are so many and great, that I will not pretend to enumerate them in a letter.

Endeavours to counteract it.

“ I laid some of them before his Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury when here, and he seemed thoroughly sensible of them. So if you discourse his Grace upon it, I am confident he will heartily join your Grace to disappoint these

ambitious pretenders; and, in truth, they injure the chief governour as well as the Church. For by their assiduity in soliciting, by flatteries, calumnies, and other unlawful means, they prove very often too hard for his interest, and lessen by that means both his authority and credit. I therefore intreat your Grace to lay this matter to heart; for by disappointing the present crowd of suitors, (let them be of what party they will, since they are of both sorts,) your Grace will put a stop to that mischievous practice, and do a signal service to the Church of God.

“I believe nothing will be done before his Majesty come, which I pray may be soon and in safety; and before then, if I see occasion, I will take the liberty your Grace has always allowed me, to give you my farther thoughts on this subject.

“I recommend your Grace’s health and happiness to God’s care.”

Meanwhile a jealousy was conceived by some of the clergy, on account of the new king’s religious persuasion, and it was the occasion of conduct, of which the Archbishop of Dublin gives the following account, in a letter of the same date as that before cited, addressed to the Bishop of Clogher:

Jealousy of some of the Irish clergy on account of the king’s religion.

“There was an odd sermon preached by Mr. Kearns after the queen’s death, which gave great offence. I called the clergy together, and gave them the best advice I could, but I am concerned to remember what a spirit appeared in some of them, and I understand several preached last Sunday against consubstantiation: this was construed to have no good aspect towards the king, whom they suppose to be a Lutheran. I am unwilling to look too far into matters, or too nicely, hoping these heats and ill humours will digest and vanish in a little time; but in the mean while they give good men some uneasiness.”

Sermons on the subject.

To the Bishop of Dromore, a few days later, August the 26th, the archbishop wrote to the same effect, but somewhat more at large:

Letter to the Bishop of Dromore, August 26, 1714.

Remarks on the
injudicious con-
duct of the clergy.

“ I wish the turn affairs have taken may put an end to our parties ; but I see plainly, if some men can prevent it, we shall have no peace : industry will be used to that purport. I called the clergy together, and gave them my advice in as mild and friendly a way as I could, and particularly took notice of a sermon preached by Mr. Kearns, in which there was a paragraph, one would think, contrived to provoke his people, and to intimate jealousies of the king’s government. I did what I could to convince him of his having done ill ; but it grieved me to perceive what a strange spirit there appeared in him and some others of his brethren. The effect was, that some preached against Lutheranism next Sunday, and endeavoured to make it as bad, if not worse, than Popery : your Lordship sees whereunto this tends. The clergy seem to think that their joining in proclaiming the king will justify themselves and all their party for all that is past, and prove all suspicions of them were false calumnies ; but I am afraid they will be mistaken in their account. I pray God turn all to the best. There are, on the other hand, those that villainously reflect on her Majesty’s memory, which no good man can hear with patience. Sure there never sate on the throne a prince that designed more heartily the good of her people ; if there were mistakes under the late ministry, ’twas their fault, not her Majesty’s ; and it is visible that she intended to change them.

Archbishop
King’s uncertain
position.

“ As to preferments, I know not on what foot I stand, nor what credit I may have ; but I shall not be backward to use it, though I can’t make such attempts as some would have me. I have, at least, solicitations from ten to intercede for them. If I should comply with them, I am satisfied I should have no credit at all ; he has good interest with a government, that succeeds with one good man. I hope I may have that.”

The archbishop, I presume, alludes to his correspondent, the Bishop of Dromore, in favour of whose removal he had expressed his sentiments, as we have seen, in his letter to Dr. Godwin or Goodwin ; or, as he is apt to write the name, Goodwyn.

Archbishop King had retired into the country in the summer, where one of his occupations was the revising of his book of *The Inventions of Men in the Worship of God*, in which he had "gone a good way," as he mentioned in a later letter to a friend, and was residing at Mount Merion, where he was, on the 8th of September, "strangely surprised with an express and packet" from the Duke of Shrewsbury, acquainting him with his appointment to the office of lord justice, in conjunction with the Archbishop of Tuam and the Earl of Kildare. "I received yours of the 4th instant," he writes on the occasion to Sir John Stanley, "with the commission, &c., on the 8th, and a great surprise it was to me, and I think to everybody else. I immediately went to my neighbour, the Earl of Kildare, at Stillorgan, and we had no long deliberation on the matter; but so ordered it, that we were sworn yesterday about six of the clock; and since it has been very uneasy to me with the ceremonies; I think as much as a marriage. We have sent a state account, jointly, of what passed, to Mr. Bromley, and likewise to his Grace our lord lieutenant. . . . The Archbishop of Tuam sent officiously for the letter to sign it, for which I am sorry. His Grace the Duke of Shrewsbury's humanity to him, in continuing him, in the present circumstances, one of the justices, is wonderfully applauded even by those who do not love the archbishop; and it has another good effect, that it shows his Grace has regard only to his Majesty's service, without respect to party."

His surprise on being appointed one of the lords justices.

Letter to Sir John Stanley.

Officiousness of Archbishop Vesey.

Archbishop King was uniformly conspicuous for his zealous attachment to the House of Hanover, and to the succession of the crown in that Protestant

Archbishop King's attachment to the house of Hanover.

family, as necessary, under divine Providence, to the security and welfare of the constitution in church and state: and Mr. Harris confidently attributes it “in a great measure to his seasonable counsel, and the weighty authority, which his known wisdom, long experience, and confessed probity had procured him, that the city of Dublin was preserved steady and united in an unshaken affection to the succession of the royal family of Hanover².” Information of the archbishop’s untainted loyalty and extraordinary merit, being communicated to the king, caused him to be invested with the highest trust in the kingdom: which he discharged with such ability and integrity, and at the same time with so much prudence, moderation, and kindness, as to occasion the reinstatement or continuance in employment of many civil and military officers, who had been, or were in danger of being, removed on a suspicion of disloyalty. “This,” observes his contemporary biographer, “is attested by many now living, who gratefully own the truth of this fact.” “And it is notorious,” he continues, “that by his and the other lords justices’ prudent directions and steady conduct during their presiding in the publick administration, the whole nation was in an even and calm temper, not the least tending to riots or insurrections, and at a season, when our standing army was transported to suppress the rebellion in Great Britain.”

His able discharge of his office.

This, however, is to anticipate the archbishop’s conduct in the office, with his appointment to which we are at present more immediately concerned. The surprise with which he received intelligence of

² WARE’S *Bishops*, p. 363.

the appointment, has been already mentioned in a MS. letter of his own, contemporaneous with the event. Several others of his letters to different correspondents advert more or less to the same topicks, written as they were on or about the same day. I select the following, addressed to the Bishop of Dromore, to whose inquiries concerning the religious tenets of the new sovereign the answers may appear curious:

Letter to the Bishop of Dromore, Sept. 10, 1714.

“ My Lord,

Mountmerion, Sep. 10, 1714.

Reason of change of lords justices.

“ The publick news will give you an account of the alterations here: they are somewhat surprising, but to none more than to me. I dreamed, I assure your Lordship, of no such matter, when an express and packet came to me on Wednesday afternoon with a patent and directions. The reason of the change is nothing but the obstinacy of the late justices in not complying with the regency's orders relating to the city of Dublin, which was highly resented; and I am afraid the privy council is so deeply engaged with them, that, if they continue as hitherto, it may have ill effects.”

It appears from another letter, that “ the Archbishop of Tuam was continued, because, being sick, he had not acted.”

Cause of Archbishop Vesey's continuance.

Archbishop King's letter proceeds:

“ I am now in a better capacity to write to the Duke of Shrewsbury about church preferments, and reckon it a providence that I did not teaze his Grace about them before. I have now a call, and will beg God's assistance to enable me to use it to the best advantage, and hope for the concurrence of your Lordship's prayers. I do not despair of having you nearer us, and in truth I need your help. I have none of my clergy that I can depend on but Dr. Synge, and believe I shall not have him long. You know I am pretty resolute, when I have the approbation of my friends, but never love to stand alone, or depend altogether on my own judgment.

The archbishop's anxiety about the vacant preferments.

Character of the
Lutheran reli-
gion.

“As to what you ask concerning the Lutheran religion, you have their doctrine in the Augustan Confession, and they adhere close to it. The dispute between them and the Calvinists is chiefly about free will and predestination. The ubiquitary opinion is held amongst them, but is no settled or general doctrine. They have a liturgy, and a very good one: the *Te Deum*, *Psalms*, &c., are much as with us, but a little nearer the form of the mass, and in many places they call it so.

Lutheran notions
of consubstantia-
tion

“I reckon that they will make no scruple of conforming to our church. As to their consubstantiation, 'tis hard to understand what they mean by it. They seem not to mean a local presence, but only a spiritual, by the virtue of the reunion of the human with the divine person; for, say they, the divine person of our Saviour is everywhere, and he is nowhere without his humanity; which is true: but then, 'tis to be considered, that the divine nature has no relation to place, not being an extended substance. But, as thought is everywhere, and whatever I think of is really in my mind, without any local motion either of the mind or the object, so by analogies I reckon the humanity of our Saviour is everywhere with his divinity, without relation to place. The Lutherans seem to be a little weary of this doctrine themselves, and speak sparing of it.

And ordination.

“But the chief thing that I apprehend is the matter of ordination, which is very loose among them, and their notions of it accordingly. I am satisfied their clergy, in their hearts, believe our doctrine about it better than their own, and would be glad to come into it, if the laity would permit them.

“I add no more than my prayers for you, and that I am, &c.

“W. D.”

The archbishop's
sense of the diffi-
culties of his new
situation.

In a letter a few days later to the same correspondent, the archbishop expressed his sense of the difficulties of his new situation, and his earnest desire to discharge his duty in it efficiently:

“I have yours of the 11th, and give your Lordship most hearty thanks for your good advice, and shall always reckon

it a piece of friendship indispensably necessary, and which I particularly expect from your Lordship. I must own I am not fond of my new employment, and that for many reasons: 1st. I am afraid it may obstruct my proper business as a bishop, which I could never answer. 2ndly. It puts more on me than, I am afraid, my age and infirmities will admit me to dispatch with that care that I think necessary. 3rdly. I dread anything being put on me, that my judgment will not allow me to do; which if it should happen, I should be dismissed, perhaps, with more indignity than ever I came in with applause. You know that I never would go into the violent measures of parties, and by God's help never will; and yet, who knows but that may be expected? 4thly. Considering how our commission is limited, we can't do the good that we would, or prevent the evil, yet must bear the blame if anything be amiss: the only thing that gives me comfort is, that this matter is not likely to continue long.

"As to the church preferments, I will do my endeavour to have men in them that will answer the ends and duties of their offices. How I shall succeed, God knows. I pray to God more particularly in this affair, on which so much depends, to direct and assist me, and I earnestly desire the assistance of yours and all good men's prayers. 'Tis a thing has often grieved me to find, on reviewing the list of the deans, that we had not one, that we could set up for a prolocutor.

His zeal in providing fit men for the vacant preferments.

"I think myself very happy in my colleague, the Earl of Kildare, who has good sense and great honesty: he doth not scruple to speak his mind, and is immoveable in what he judges to be right.

Character of the Earl of Kildare.

"I long to have you nearer us; in the meantime I recommend you to God's care, and entreat the continuation of your prayers for, &c.,

"W. D."

It was his sense of the "want of a man of Bishop Stearne's knowledge and probity in the privy council," as necessary to the ease of the Duke of Shrewsbury's government, which caused the arch-

bishop to be so "zealous for his advancement," as he expressed himself in a letter of September 21, to Dr. Goodwyn; at the same time he signified his hope that "care would be taken of Dr. Synge, without much soliciting. The Church," he observed, "wants such men, more than they want the Church."

Condition of the
bishopricks.

Of the vacant bishopricks he gave at the same time this description: "The bishopricks of Kilmore and Killaloe, as I understand, are in a most wretched condition, both as to the service of the cures and discipline; but Raphoe is tolerably well as to the cures, though Bishop Pooley, during the eleven years he was bishop, hardly resided eighteen months, and seemed to design making as many non-residents as he could."

In a letter of September 23, to Mr. Brotherick, he thus adverts to the same topicks:

Expected promotion of Dr. Synge.

"I spoke to his Grace about Dr. Synge before he went hence, and I am sure he will be promoted, but where, I am not certain. If I can prevail, you may be sure it will be to his satisfaction. But, however, a remove is much more easily obtained than a promotion; and we must not only consider what benefice may be deserved by a person, but what person it may want; for a very ordinary benefice, as to profit, may need a person of the greatest piety, learning, and prudence, to manage and bring it into order; and, by what I am informed, that is the case of Killaloe, Kilmore, and Ardagh."

Non-residence of
bishops.

The non-residence of Bishop Pooley was not the only instance of episcopal neglect which fell at this time under the merited animadversion of Archbishop King. "We want your Lordship, and other lords of the council, very much," he wrote to Ashe, Bishop of Clogher, on the 23rd of September; "and I assure you there is great exception taken by both

parties at your long absence. Your friends murmur at your deserting them, and your enemies excuse their negligence by your absence; and the common enemies of the Church conclude that bishops are not necessary, since they can be so long spared. I, therefore, entreat you to think of coming home as soon as possible." In a subsequent letter, on the 26th of the ensuing February, the archbishop again remonstrated with the Bishop of Clogher, arguing with him, that he "justified Mr. Boyse's reproach, by making his bishoprick *only a pompous sinecure*, as he seemed to do, by so many years' absence from it."

SECTION II.

Earl of Sunderland appointed Lord Lieutenant. Description of the vacant Bishopricks. Candidates for them. Archbishop of Canterbury's mediation expected by Archbishop King. New Bishops unexceptionable. Ignorance in England concerning Irish Benefices. Proof of miserable condition of Irish Church. Improper Recommendations of Clergymen from England. Fewness of Sinecures. Small value of Benefices. Care requisite in bestowing Preferments. Paucity of Beneficed Clergymen. Few young men of promise growing up. Clergy not well inclined to the King. Improper Sermons not universal. Irregular intrusion into strange Dioceses. Subsiding of temporary Irritation. Sentiments of Members of the Church. Effect of want of Cordiality between Clergy and Gentry. Consequence of Queen Anne's Bounty. Efforts for instructing Irish Natives. Scholars taught to read Irish. Northern Dissenters. Indiscretion of the Clergy.

THE Duke of Shrewsbury, who had been appointed to the chief government of Ireland, did not, however, at this time, take possession of it; and on his resignation, Charles Spencer, earl of Sunderland,

Earl of Sunderland lord lieutenant, Sept. 29, 1714.

was named for his successor, September the 24th, 1714. The Archbishop of Dublin lost no time in exerting himself for the proper supply of the vacant sees, which were still unoccupied; and on the 30th of the same month, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury the following letter, which is important, on account, not only of the immediate object, but of the incidental information conveyed by it on several collateral topicks:

“ Dublin, September 30, 1714.

Letter of Archbishop King to Archbishop of Canterbury.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ I wrote lately to your Grace something relating to the vacant bishopricks in Ireland. I believe they will soon be actually disposed, and, therefore, I beg leave to give your Grace my thoughts concerning them.

Description of the vacant bishopricks.

“ The vacant bishopricks are four: Raphoe, Killaloe, Kilmore, and Ardagh.

Situation and value of Raphoe;

“ As to Raphoe, it is the best in value, being about 1,200*l.* per annum. It lies next Derry, near Scotland, and is full of dissenters and Papists; however, it is in a tolerable condition. Before the troubles, one Dr. Wm. Smith was bishop; he put one Mr. Span in as his chancellor, a worthy, good clergyman, well skilled in all parts of learning, particularly in the canon law; and by the bishop's authority, and the diligence of this clergyman, he got the churches generally repaired, and the cures settled and attended. And though the late bishop did several things that encouraged non-residence for ten or eleven years, that he hardly resided himself eighteen months, yet the diocese, I understand, is still in tolerable condition, as to the cures, though discipline has been much neglected. I mean this of Bishop Pooley; for the present primate was so little a while in it, that much could not be expected from him. A watchful bishop will be necessary in this, by reason of the dissenters; and a man of temper and prudence, that will know how to deal with and calm the spirit of the people, especially of the gentlemen, who have been very much ruffled by some treatment they have met with from some former bishops.

“As to Killaloe, ’tis in Munster, and I cannot pretend to be much acquainted with it. But, for all I can learn, ’tis in a miserable condition, both as to the churches, the cures, and discipline. It abounds with Papists. An active, prudent, and experienced man, ought to be placed here, that may be able to go through with his business, and that may have skill and courage to reform what is amiss. The value of this is about 800*l.* per annum. Killaloe;

“Kilmore and Ardagh have gone together. The value of Kilmore is about 1,000*l.* per annum, and Ardagh about 600*l.* The question is, whether they ought still to be united, as they have been in the three last bishops. The reason given why they ought to be separated is, because they are of a large extent, and in the utmost disorder, so that no one man can be able to bring them to any tolerable regularity. The reason for keeping them united is, because the laity complain, that the bishops are already too numerous in parliament for the lay lords there, being twenty-two bishops that generally attend the session, and seldom so many temporal lords. We have more; but most of them have no estates in Ireland, or live in England, and do not attend. Kilmore and Ardagh.
Question of their disunion.

“Dr. Wm. Smith, I mentioned before, was removed from Raphoe to these bishopricks. He brought Mr. Span along with him, and placed him at Longford, a country town, on a good benefice, and put the jurisdiction of Ardagh in his hands. He began, as he had done at Raphoe, to build the churches and settle the cures. Three churches, I think, were finished, and five more begun, then the bishop died, and Bishop Whitenal succeeded. He had not the same regard for Mr. Span that his predecessor had. He was absent six years toward the latter part of his life, and sickly for the most part; so that sixteen or seventeen years these dioceses have been, in effect, without a bishop, the bishop living either in England or Dublin. Nor was this all the mischief. He had those about him that prevailed with him to stop the hands of his chancellor in his proceedings about discipline; that stopped the building of churches, so that the five begun by his predecessor were never finished, but lie as left by him. And whereas there were Improvements by Bishop Smith;
Not prosecuted by his successor.

woods in the diocese worth, as I have been informed, ten thousand pounds, he sold and destroyed them all.

“The diocese of Kilmore, as I hear from everybody, is more especially in a lamentable condition as to the cures and clergy. Ardagh is a little better; Mr. Span, the chancellor, notwithstanding all discouragements, having prevented many inconveniences, for which, and his pious, prudent life, he is much valued by the whole country, both clergy and laity.

Candidates for
the dioceses :

“Your Grace may easily see what men are fit for such dioceses. The persons candidate for those under the Duke of Shrewsbury’s government were :

Dr. Goodwyn.

“1st. Dr. Goodwyn, his Grace’s chaplain, and, as I remember, archdeacon of Burford, a grave, sober, good man, and well affected to his Majesty’s government.

Dr. Synge.

“2ndly. Dr. Edward Synge, chancellor of St. Patrick’s, Dublin, a learned, prudent, pious, and active man : the only objection against him was, that he was a whig ; otherwise, it was owned, that none was fitter for a bishop.

Mr. Span.

“3rdly. Mr. Benjamin Span, above mentioned, who had given so many testimonies of his being fit for a bishop. And it was further said, that it would be of good example to take a man from a constant cure, after thirty years’ labour in the Church, and of no ambition, and make him a bishop without his asking.

Dr. Marsh.

“4thly. Dr. Jeremiah Marsh, son to my predecessor, Dr. Francis Marsh, archbishop of Dublin, who has a good temporal estate, and is dean of Kilmore, and treasurer of St. Patrick’s, in value about 500*l.*; he is a grave, sober, discreet man, and would make a very honest bishop.

Dr. Forster.

“5thly. Dr. Forster, brother to the Recorder of Dublin. He is only senior fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, at present, but a very deserving, learned, and pious man ; but not having any preferment in the Church, or served a cure, one cannot say what bishop he would make.

Dr. Story.

“6thly. Dr. Story, dean of Limerick ; he is in London, and well known to your Grace.

Dr. Hamilton.

“7thly. Dr. Archibald Hamilton, archdeacon of Raphoe. He has a good temporal estate, and benefices to the value of 600*l.* per annum. He is a pious diligent, and learned man.

I was witness of his pains and application when Bishop of Derry, for he lived within five miles of me. I confirmed two hundred in his church, most reduced by his labour to conformity, being originally dissenters; which I take to be a good specimen of a man.

“Sthly. Dr. John Bolton, dean of Derry. He has a good temporal estate, and benefices to about the value of 900*l.* per annum. He is a grave, prudent, learned man, and would make a good bishop. Dr. Bolton.

“I might name others, and there may be others that I am not acquainted with, and more deserving; but those I know, and believe preferment would be well placed on them: and I conceive it is not necessary to acquaint your Grace with any more at present.

“I believe I should hardly have ventured to name some of these, if they had not applied to me, and desired my testimony.

“I know not how my Lord Sunderland, our lord lieutenant, may be inclined in this affair, nor is this to interfere with his Excellency. But I believe he has a high value for your Grace, and will consult your Grace in a matter of this nature: and I believe, if there be occasion, I cannot convey my sentiments by a better hand, who will communicate only so much as is proper, and may be of use: in which, not having the happiness of being acquainted with my Lord, I may easily mistake.

Archbishop of
Canterbury's
mediation ex-
pected.

“I humbly entreat your Grace's pardon for this long letter, and your prayers for, &c.,

“W. D.”

In conclusion of this business, it remains only to add, that Dr. Godwin or Goodwin was promoted to Kilmore and Ardagh, Dr. Synge to Raphoe, and Dr. Forster to Killaloe. In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, of November 12th, Archbishop King thus expressed his sentiments on the selection: “As to the bishops you have given us, they are without exception; only as to Dr. Forster, it were to be wished that we had had some more experience of him

The new bishops
unexceptionable.

in the Church; but I hope that will be made up by his learning, diligence, and abilities."

Ignorance in
England concern-
ing Irish bene-
fices.

From some observations made by the archbishop, in connection with these appointments, it appears, that much ignorance prevailed at this time, in England, concerning the benefices of the Irish Church, and occasioned consequences severely felt by the Irish clergy. The case may be best explained in his own language, which shall be cited first from a letter of October 30th, addressed to Mr. Addison:

Letter from Arch-
bishop King to
Mr. Addison,
October 30.

"I have wrote to my lord lieutenant about the benefices vacant by promotion and during the voidance of the sees. Dr. Goodwyn was never beneficed here, nor had Dr. Forster any preferment in the Church. The matter, therefore, was so ordered as to put very little in my lord lieutenant's gift.

Proof of mise-
rable condition of
Irish Church.

"You'll observe that there are at least ten parishes void in the diocese of Killaloe, held all by one man. Perhaps they yielded between 200*l.* or 300*l.* per annum, and might be twenty miles in length. This sheweth the miserable condition of the Church in this kingdom. You make nothing in England to order us to provide for such and such a man 200*l.* per annum: and when he has it by favour of the government, he thinks he may be excused attendance: but you do not consider that such a disposition takes up, perhaps, a tenth part of the diocese, and turns off the cure of ten parishes to one curate.

"I know not how I have fallen into this affair: but it is so much at my heart, that it offers itself on all occasions; and therefore you'll pardon the unseasonableness of it at this time."

Letter of Arch-
bishop King to
Dr. Gibson.

This evil was further illustrated by a letter from the archbishop to Dr. Joseph Gibson, December the 1st:

Improper recom-
mendations of
clergymen from
England.

"There is one thing of ill consequence to the Church here, and that is the want of knowing the true state of it in those on whom the management of most of our affairs depend.

You make nothing of recommending a cast clergyman, whom you are not willing to prefer in England, to 200*l.* per annum in Ireland, and do not consider that in many dioceses 200*l.* per annum is near a fifth part of the maintenance of the clergy of the whole diocese : that to make up 50*l.* per annum very often ten parishes must be united, and after all an ill, an insufficient, clergyman does ten times more mischief in Ireland than in England.

“ You likewise bespeak sinecures for particular friends : but I can make it appear that there are not above a score in the whole kingdom that are perfectly so, and where they are they starve the cure.

Fewness of sinecures.

“ I laid a state of the diocese of Dublin before my Lord Pembroke, and showed that there were not in the whole diocese, besides the city cures, above six or seven clergymen, that had an 100*l.* per annum ; and some of those had nine, some ten, and one eleven, parishes to raise it.

Small value of benefices.

“ If this were duly considered I believe it would appear, that there ought to be great care taken in preferring persons in Ireland. I had one benefice vacant in my diocese by the promotion of Dr. Synge ; and my lord lieutenant was so kind as to gratify me in it, which was a signal favour ; for by it I shall be able to gratify seven worthy men, some of which have served the Church twelve or thirteen years for 30*l.* per annum, whereas, if a stranger had come in, all their removes had been lost.”

Care requisite in bestowing preferments.

In a letter of December the 11th to the Bishop of Norwich, observations, much to the foregoing effect, are stated, and the grievance is, moreover, exemplified in this manner :

Letter of Archbishop King to Bishop of Norwich, Dec. 11.

“ Our chief governours are changed commonly once in three years, and they commonly bring chaplains with them, who succeed to bishopricks, if they fall, or to the best preferments, these being generally in the crown : and hence your Lordship may guess, what encouragement there is for the clergy educated here. Your Lordship perhaps will be surprised, when I tell you, that in all Ireland there are not six hundred beneficed clergymen : and yet this is a certain

Paucity of clergymen.

truth. And 'tis as certain, that the paucity of clergymen has been a great obstruction to the conversion of the natives, and a great occasion of the multiplying of sectaries. I have not ten parishes in the whole diocese endowed with glebes, and not six of them that clergymen can live on. I drew out a state of this diocese, and laid it before the convocation, who were not pleased with it, because, as they said, it too much discovered their nakedness: to which I only replied, that the sick man, who conceals his distemper from his physician, can never expect a cure.

Lord lieutenant
adopts a recom-
mendation of
Archbishop
King.

“My lord lieutenant has been so kind to me, as to comply with my recommendation of a worthy clergyman to one of the benefices vacant by the promotion of Dr. Synge, by which I have provided for another very worthy man. If I can prevail with his Excellency in another matter, that I intend soon to lay before him, I shall be able to gratify five or six more.”

It may be remarked, that although the archbishop was “in a post of honour,” as one of the lords justices, “yet,” in his own language, “he could not give any place, civil or ecclesiastical; no, not a vicarage: all such being excepted out of their commission.”

Few young men
of promise.

Whether from want of encouragement, or from what other cause, does not appear, but the rising generation, in Archbishop King's judgment, offered no favourable prospect of good to the Church. “It is a mortifying reflection to consider,” he thus writes, September 25, to the Bishop of Dromore, “how few young men are growing up, that either by their application to their studies, their parts, or prudence, give us hopes of their being considerable supports to the Church.”

Clergy not well
inclined to the
king.

At the same time many of the actual clergy, who at the commencement had shown a disinclination for the new dynasty, did not see cause at once to

adopt a different course, and become cordial supporters of the king, notwithstanding there appeared on his part no disposition unfavourable to the ecclesiastical establishment. "As to our present king's affection to the Church," said the Archbishop of Dublin to the Bishop of Cloyne, October 30th, "I think there is no manner of reason to question it: but withal we ought to remember, that kindness begets kindness. The clergy ought to be the most forward to express their satisfaction in the king's accession to the crown, and avoid everything that may occasion a jealousy; above all, avoid herding with those people that endeavoured to hinder his succession. Assure yourself, my Lord, 'tis generally believed that there was such a party: and by what I can learn, his Majesty makes little doubt of it. This suspicion, if it were no more, is sufficient to make us cautious, and have a watch over our words and actions, so as to distinguish ourselves from the disaffected. Whether the clergy take this course, your Lordship can tell: but to preach up the danger of the Church on his Majesty's accession to the crown, to sing the 137th Psalm, to preach against Lutheranism, or to make it worse than Popery, I am sure is not the way." "Very few," he observes in another letter to the same prelate, of the 20th of November, "have declared against the succession, because few are fond of being hanged for treason: but if a party of men take all possible methods to obstruct a thing; if they oppress all that were zealous for it and the Revolution; and encourage the professed enemies thereof, and join with them; if they show themselves uneasy and chagrined, when it took place; one may guess at what they mean without any formal declaration. In short, the court

Their improper
conduct in their
sermon.

believes all this, and is resolved to stand by those that they believe their friends."

Not universal.

The conduct, here made the subject of complaint, was, however, not universal. "Your Lordship is very happy," remarked the archbishop in the last-cited letter, "in the prudence of your clergy. I assure your Lordship it is not so here. I was forced to admonish two clergymen, that were not of my diocese, to preach no more in it without licence; and I believe I shall be obliged to deal the same way with others."

Irregular intrusion into strange dioceses.

The allusion here is to certain of the clergy, distinguished rather for zeal than for knowledge, who had irregularly intruded themselves into strange dioceses, without the diocesan's permission, and in violation of the law. Of this the archbishop gives a somewhat more full account in a letter to the Lord Mountjoy, the 8th of the ensuing January: "I took up two youths, that had been busy that way. They were not of the diocese; and I did no more but, according to the canon and Act of Uniformity, admonish them, not to preach in my diocese without my licence, without troubling myself to give them any other reason. This hath had a good effect." And, in a letter of the 12th of April following, he thus adverts to the same topick, observing to the Bishop of Carlisle: "I wish the canons were re-inforced, that prohibit any man to preach in a bishop's diocese without his leave. The clergy of this diocese are tolerably careful of their discourses; but we have furiosos come out of the country, that get into their pulpits, and endeavour to set all in flames, to the great dissatisfaction of the generality. Some of these I have prohibited, and believe I shall be obliged to use the same course towards others."

Clergymen admonished by Archbishop King.

In a few months, however, this temporary irritation seems to have subsided, and to have left the clergy to the peaceful discharge of their unquestionable functions. In two letters, of the 28th of December and the 1st of January, respectively, to Dr. Jenkins and to the Lord Mountjoy, the archbishop says: "I thank God party business is pretty well banished our pulpits. . . . By what I can learn, the danger of the Church is pretty well sunk here; and people begin to preach something of the Christian religion and the duties of it."

Subsiding of temporary irritation.

The sentiments of the members of the Church in general at this time, with special reference to the clergy and religion, are thus set forth in a letter from the archbishop to Dr. Charlett, of April 20, 1715:

Sentiments of members of the Church.

"The bulk of the common people in Ireland are either Papists or dissenters, equally enemies to the Established Church: but the gentry are generally conformable, and the Church interest apparently lies in them. But most of the clergy under the late management set themselves against the gentlemen, traversed them in their elections, endeavoured to turn them out of their own boroughs, and in their convocation opposed the votes of the House of Commons by contrary votes; and after the parliament was prorogued, endeavoured at assizes and quarter-sessions to get addresses condemning the parliament's proceedings: in many of which, by the assistance of the judges and sheriffs in the interest of the then government, they succeeded. This, to be sure, has much irritated and soured the gentry, and has lost them much to the clergy; who yet, as I observed before, are the persons on whom the interest of the Established Church most depends. But I have reason to hope, that they are so much in earnest in their religion, that they will be firm to it, notwithstanding the imprudent management of the clergy: and, though many be angry,

Archbishop King's letter to Dr. Charlett, April 20, 1715.

yet I have not met with one, that seems in the least shocked in his resolution to stand by the Established Church. I pray God keep them in this temper: it shall be my business to encourage it, and to vail, as much as I can, the weakness of my brethren."

Effect of want of cordiality between clergy and gentry.

This want of mutual cordiality produced one unhappy effect, of which an example is given in a former letter to Dr. Charlett, of the 19th of February: "To day," writes the archbishop, "I set out ground for a new church in this city, and agreed with the workmen, who promised to finish it in a year. I want three or four more in the city, to make a tolerable accommodation for the people. But the poverty is so great, and the clergy of late have been on so ill terms with the gentry, that I despair of success, though one is half finished."

Consequence of Queen Anne's bounty.

A prospect of greater respectability, usefulness, and comfort, was in the mean time beginning to open upon the clergy, in consequence of the bounty extended to the Church by the late queen. Of their destitute condition, with respect to parochial residences, and the hope of a remedy, some judgment may be formed from the following letter of the 25th of April, 1715, addressed by Archbishop King to the Bishop of Raphoe: "I intreat the favour of you at the several visitations and synod, to give the clergy notice, that there is a fund of money in bank out of the first-fruits, to purchase glebes: and that if any clergyman can find a convenient parcel of ground in his parish for a glebe, which the proprietor is willing to sell for that use, he that brings in the first proposal to that purpose shall be first accommodated. I have returned near fifty parishes in this diocese, that have churches in repair, and have service in them, that are unprovided

Clergy invited to look out for glebes.

of glebes, not reckoning those of the city. And I hope the clergy will bestir themselves to find out proper parcels of land to be settled for glebes, and prevail with the proprietors to contribute so far to this good work, as to sell them for their value."

Mention has been already made of the efforts undertaken in the last reign for instructing the native Irish through the medium of their own language; and especially of a person named Linegar or Lyniger, patronised and partly supported by the Archbishop of Dublin, for training scholars of Trinity College in the knowledge of it. Information on the subject, and his own views in patronising the undertaking, are thus communicated by the archbishop himself, in a letter to Mr. Conolly, of February 16, 1715:

Efforts for instructing the native Irish.

"I send you inclosed a list of scholars taught to read Irish by Mr. Linegar in the college. All these are designed for the clergy, being in number forty-five. It is not intended that they should have any salary or establishment from the publick: but, when they come to be settled in cures, they are enabled by this to discourse all the parishioners, and perform offices to them, in a language that they understand; which I take to be the doctrine of our Church. You know how much more easily and effectually an Irishman is prevailed on, when addressed to in his own language that is native to him, than that to which he is a stranger. And, if all the clergy discourse their people on occasion, I believe it would be the most effectual way to make them Protestants, and reconcile them to the English language and government, of which I could give many instances. I had a prospect of enabling at least one-third of the clergy of Ireland, in a few years, thus to apply to their people without any new charge or burthen to the publick: and the pains Linegar took in the college, you see, very much has contributed to it, and, if encouraged, I

Scholars taught to read Irish.

Its utility with the natives.

believe would have effected it. He is very poor; and I hope the committee, before which his petition lies, will have some compassion on him. I have not been wanting to give him what assistance I could out of my own pocket. Pray be at the committee, and represent this matter in his favour, and you'll oblige, &c.,

“W. D.”

Conduct of the
northern dis-
senter.

It seems that continual accounts from the north of Ireland had been sent to Oxford, of the dissenters insulting the orders and government of the Church: and these accounts were reported by Dr. Charlett to Archbishop King. In his answer, dated the 20th of April, 1715, he controverts the accounts, which he suspects to have been made with “design, not of having the abuses corrected, but rather to render his Majesty’s government suspected and odious. I am assured,” he says, “from all hands, that no judges ever went the northern circuits, that gave the country, the Church, and particularly the clergy, more satisfaction than the last.” At the same time, considering the indiscretion of which the clergy had been guilty, and admitting the ill use made of it by the dissenters, he, on the whole, commends the latter for their moderation:

Indiscretion of
the clergy.

“’Tis strange to me that the dissenters are not more exalted and insolent than they are, for many of the clergy have made it their business, since the king’s accession to the throne, to represent the Church as in the utmost danger; to prepare the people to expect nothing less than the subversion of our constitution, the destruction of the hierarchy, the abolishing the liturgy, and setting up presbytery. They have given themselves strange airs on these topicks in tragical complaints, mournful representations, and pathetical exhortations to the people to prepare themselves for sufferings. These had no great effect on the generality of our own people, who looked on such preachers as mad. But the dissenters pretended to believe them, and took an

handle from thence to encourage their followers, assuring them from the confession of the conformable clergy themselves, that they were out of the favour of the government, and that only dissenters were to be encouraged. I am really surprised that these proceedings have not made them ten times more insolent than they are."

SECTION III.

Parliament of 1715. Recognition of King's Title. Act for Attainting the Pretender. Acts in favour of the Church. General view of Parochial Unions in Ireland: their causes and circumstances. Abstract of Unions and Divisions of Parishes. Death of Bishop Moreton. Succeeded by Bishop Evans, from Bangor. Death of Archbishop Vesey. His Life of Primate Bramhall. Archbishop Synge. Origin of the family name. Memorable succession of Bishops in the family. Disinterested conduct of the Archbishop about the Quarta pars Episcopalis. Character of Forster, Bishop of Raphoe. Downs, Bishop of Killala: his Correspondence with Bishop Nicholson. Character of Bishop Ashe, by Mr. Addison. Translation of Bishop Nicholson from Carlisle to Derry. Letters between him and Archbishop of York. His epistolary Correspondence has no reference to Ireland.

THE Duke of Shrewsbury had been appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland October the 27th, 1713, and reappointed on the accession of King George I. On his retirement from the office, it was filled, September the 24th, 1714, by the appointment of Charles Spencer, earl of Sunderland. But, ill health preventing him from taking charge of the government, he resigned the office the 23rd of August, 1715; and in the ensuing month, the Duke of Grafton and the Earl of Galway were appointed lords justices, and soon after proceeded to Ireland; and, arriving in Dublin the 1st of November, assembled a parlia-

Parliament of
1715.

ment, which was begun on the 12th of that month.

Act recognising
the king's title to
the throne.
2 Geo. I., c. 2.

Of this parliament, the second chapter was a recognition of his Majesty's title to the throne, immediately upon the decease of her late majesty Queen Anne; it contains an offering of unfeigned thanks to Almighty God for his gracious and wonderful providence in placing the king peaceably upon the throne, notwithstanding all the open and secret practices that had been used to defeat the Protestant succession; and it commemorates, with expressions of heartfelt and inexpressible joy, his Majesty's declaration from the throne, that the established constitution in Church and State should be the rule of his Majesty's government, "the course of whose whole life had shown him to be a lover and supporter of the reformed religion."

Act for attainting
the Pretender,
2 Geo. I., c. 4.

Chapter 4 was "an act for attainting the person who, during the life of the late King James, took upon him the style and title of Prince of Wales, and, since the decease of the said late King James, hath assumed the name and title of James the Third, king of England and Ireland, and James the Eighth, king of Scotland, commonly called the Chevalier de St. George, or the Pretender, and all his adherents; and to give a reward of fifty thousand pounds sterling to any person who shall seize and secure the said Pretender, if he lands, or attempts to land, in this kingdom." The preamble states, that the vast body of Papists in the kingdom had of late years carried their insolence to an unusual height, by many daring acts of presumption committed by them, as well in the city of Dublin, as in many other parts of the kingdom; and that their hopes and expectations seemed to be founded on the

Insolence of the
Papists.

rebellious and traitorous attempt made by some of the king's subjects to invade his dominions, and levy war in the same, by commission and in favour of the person commonly called the Pretender, who was "bred up and instructed to introduce the Romish superstition and French government into these realms."

To these enactments concerning the security of the profession of pure religion in the Church, were added two others, chapters 14 and 15, intended to promote the efficiency and the temporal benefit of the clergy: the former intituled "An act for the real union and division of parishes;" the latter "For confirming the several grants made by her late Majesty of the first-fruits and twentieth parts, payable out of the ecclesiastical benefices in this kingdom, and also for giving the archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons, four years' time for the payment of first-fruits."

Acts in favour of
the Church.
2 Geo. I., c. 14
and 15.

The purport of the latter of these acts is sufficiently explained by its title, so that upon it there is no occasion to enlarge. But the former requires more particular attention, and affords a convenient opportunity for offering some general information concerning parochial unions in Ireland, which were of two kinds, temporary and permanent.

Parochial unions
in Ireland.

By the common law, the bishop, or ordinary, possessed a power of forming temporary unions in his diocese, under his seal, which endured no longer than the incumbency of the clerk instituted to the parishes, and, on the ceasing of his incumbency, the churches became separate and distinct, as before.

Temporary epis-
copal unions.

By the common law, also, the bishop had the power of uniting churches in perpetuity, and many such unions subsisted in ancient times, which may

Permanent epis-
copal unions.

be presumed to have been constituted at unknown periods, and are reputed to have existed from time immemorial, under the character of perpetual unions. For the exercise of this power of the bishop, there were required the previous consents of the patrons of the churches to be united, and of their several incumbents, if full; and, as was commonly supposed, the confirmation of the crown. The bishop, also, could not make an union, either temporary or permanent, but for good and canonical causes, such as the poverty or paucity of inhabitants; the vicinity of parishes, unprovided with churches, to the church of a contiguous parish; the smallness of the income of benefices, and their insufficiency to supply an incumbent or curate.

Unions by royal
charter.

In addition to the unions formed by bishops, there are also instances of unions of churches, by virtue of certain royal charters, before the enactment of any statute on the subject of unions.

Consequence of
dissolution of
monasteries.

One of the most powerful motives to the union of parishes by the bishops, was furnished by the dissolution of the monasteries and religious communities. The appropriations and appropriate tythes which had belonged to these were in most cases bestowed by the crown, in which the parliament had vested them, and conferred on lay persons as temporal inheritances, with the new name of impropriations. The unsettled state of Ireland had induced many of the incumbents of parishes to seek for support and protection in religious communities; so that the appropriations had been, and consequently the impropriations became, peculiarly numerous in that country. By the king's grants of these impropriations, the impropriators were entitled to no more than what had been possessed by the religious com-

Appropriations;

And impropria-
tions.

munities or their members. But, nevertheless, many of the great patentees made encroachments on the parochial incumbents, under the pretences that the property encroached upon was parcel of the ancient appropriations, and thus greatly impoverished the parochial cures; and others seized on vicarages, as well as rectories, as if they also were impropriate, and either left the cures unprovided for, or afforded small and insufficient stipends to the stipendiary curates; nor was a remedy administered by the patents themselves, which, in some instances at least, contained express conditions, that the grantee, or his assigns, should repair the chancel, and pay the maintenance of the curate; nor by the act of parliament of 33 Henry VIII., c. 14., which enacted the erecting and incorporating of a vicarage in every parish church which had been appropriated to a religious house, and served by its members, but had no vicarage endowed.

This state of things necessarily caused the formation of many unions of parishes in the same incumbents. The evil was felt and acknowledged, and attempts made at several times to counteract it: especially by the government endeavouring, in the time of the Lord Deputy Viscount Wentworth, to compel the restoration of usurped vicarages, and restoring to the churches impropriate rectories and tythes still in the possession of the crown; by an act of parliament, in 1635, 10 and 11 Charles I., c. 2, rendering it easy for the owners of impropriations and impropriate tythes to restore them to the parish ministers; and by the act of settlement, 14 and 15 Charles II., which gave to the Church, with certain exceptions and limitations, all impropriations sequestered or forfeited by the rebellion of 1641; and by a

Evil felt;

Attempts to counteract it.

similar application of impropriations forfeited in 1688.

Insufficient
remedy.

Much benefit accrued from these provisions, especially under the statute of 10 and 11 Charles I.; new benefices, with cure, were created, parochial cures established, and many sinecures extinguished. Still only a few of the impropriators were induced by that act to restore their impropriations to the Church, and the necessity of unions that had arisen out of this cause was continued.

Unequal distribu-
tion of parishes.

Another cause was the extremely unequal distribution of parishes in many parts of Ireland.

In some parts, all the parishes were of small extent, so as not to yield support for an incumbent, or bear the expense of church repairs; and in other parts, the parishes were inconveniently large and extensive for the supply of the parochial ministrations.

Exemplified in
the province of
Armagh.

This may be in some degree exemplified and explained by reference to the province of Ulster, or, ecclesiastically speaking, of Armagh. In those parts of the province which had been settled in times earlier than the reign of King James I., especially in the county of Louth, which forms the southern division of the diocese of Armagh, and in the counties of Meath and Westmeath, which compose the diocese of Meath, the parishes had been so constituted, that the smallness of the incomes, accruing to the incumbents having cure of souls, had introduced the necessity of committing several parishes to the care of one minister, who, notwithstanding the extent of his cure, was oftentimes very inadequately paid. On the contrary, in the six counties of Ulster, planted by charter in the reign of King James I., namely, those of Armagh, forming

the northern division of the diocese of Armagh, Tyrone, Derry, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Cavan, the ancient parishes were large, but of small value; and at the period of that settlement, the tythes, which had been previously distributed among the different proprietors, were almost all assigned to the incumbents having cure of souls. These parishes then, for the most part, instead of being united, stood rather in need of being divided, as, in fact, many of them have since been, so as to afford support for incumbents in a greater number of benefices than existed before the Reformation.

This being the condition of the two classes of benefices, to meet the former class in particular, a statutable remedy was requisite: for, inasmuch as unions of small parishes had become absolutely necessary, and as, according to the common law, though churches and benefices might be united, their parishes, notwithstanding, as to building and repairing the churches, continued to be distinct and separate, so that the inhabitants of one parish of the union were not liable to be rated to the church existing in another; a provision was needed for uniting, not only the benefices and churches, but the parishes themselves, so that all the parishes of the union might be made contributory to the support of the mother-church. Occasion was at the same time taken for meeting the exigency of the larger parishes, and, accordingly, an act was passed in the year 1662, the 14th and 15th Charles II., c. 10, for this twofold object. Its preamble recited, that parishes in some parts of Ireland were so little, that five or six lay together within a mile or two, whereby the subjects were like to be much burthened with the necessary charge of building or repairing so many

Unions of
parishes
legalized.

Act of 14 and 15
Charles II., c. 10:

churches, and their means were so small that sundry of them would not serve for the sustentation of one incumbent: and that, in other parts, the parishes were too large, and that deans, chapters, dignitaries, and prebendaries had often many parishes, situate at remote distances, annexed and appropriated to them. And thereupon the act provided, that, during the space of twenty years, it should be lawful for the lord lieutenant and council, with the consents of the bishop and metropolitan, patron, and incumbent, to unite and divide parishes, and disappropriate benefices from the deaneries, dignities, and prebends, and settle them on the resident incumbents, and to unite a presentative benefice with cure to a dignity without cure.

Its effect.

That statute, although it had no effect on the impropriations, was considered beneficial to the parish ministers, and under it many unions appear to have been formed: it appears also, though in a less degree, to have operated to the no less desirable effect of producing disunions and divisions of parishes and benefices. But it had been limited to twenty years, so that, after its expiration, several unions and divisions of parishes were made by special enactment, of which examples have been given in the two preceding reigns. It was now, however, in the reign of George I., judged necessary to frame another general statute on the same principle: and, accordingly, the act, which gave occasion for this statement, was passed, with a preamble similar to the former, empowering the lord lieutenant and council, for the space of ten years, to divide parishes, or to unite parishes or parts of parishes to others, and to form new parishes, and also to unite or appropriate any benefice with cure

Principle adopted
in 2 Geo. I., c. 14.

to a dignity or prebend without cure, as they should think fit, with the consents of the metropolitan, bishop, patron, and incumbents.

This act was afterwards amended in 1723, by enabling the lord lieutenant and council, with the like consents, to unite and appropriate benefices without cure to dignities and prebends having actual cure of souls; and empowering bishops, dignitaries, and prebendaries to exchange their appropriate rectories, vicarages, and tythes for lands. It was afterwards continued, and at length made perpetual in the year 1739.

Act amended in 1723;

Made perpetual in 1739.

From the records of the privy council, preserved in the Council Office of Dublin Castle, I have formed the following abstract of the unions and divisions of parishes, made by acts of council, under the authority of these acts of parliament, for a period commencing with the year 1721, and extending to the close of the eighteenth century.

Abstract of unions and divisions of parishes under these acts.

Of the unions of parishes, consisting of two, three, four, five, or even six, there were about sixty-one: of the divisions, which were made by separating a parish from one or two others, or by separating certain town-lands and erecting them into a new parish, there were about thirty-four.

In the province of Armagh there were fourteen of these unions, of which eight were in the diocese of Meath alone, two were in Armagh, two in Ardagh, one in Down, one in Dromore: none in each of the other dioceses of Clogher, Connor, Kilmore, Raphoe, and Derry.

Unions in province of Armagh,

In the province of Dublin there were nineteen unions, of which eight were in Ferns, six in the diocese of Dublin, three in Leighlin, and one each in Kildare and Ossory.

Dublin,

Cashel,

In the province of Cashel seventeen unions were formed, of which seven were in the diocese of Cashel, three in Cloyne, three in Killaloe, two in Emly, and two in Cork. In Waterford, Lismore, Limerick, Ardfert, and Ross, there was none.

Tuam.

In the province of Tuam there were eleven unions formed; four in the diocese of Tuam, two each in Elphin and Clonfert, one each in Kilfenora, Kilmaeduaigh, and Killalla; none in Achonry.

Divisions in province of Armagh,

Of the thirty-four divisions, by which new parishes were erected, twenty-nine were in the province of Armagh. The diocese of Armagh itself comprised nine of these, Clogher six, Dromore five, Derry four, Kilmore two, Connor, Ardagh, and Raphoe, each one; in Meath and Down there was none.

Dublin,

In the province of Dublin were three divisions; namely, one in each of the dioceses of Dublin, Kildare, and Ferns; none in either Ossory or Leighlin.

Cashel,

In the province of Cashel, the diocese of Cork contained two new parishes, formed by division of old parishes. There was no other in this province, nor any in the province of Tuam.

Tuam.

Episcopal unions still necessary.

There is, however, legislative testimony, that, notwithstanding these enactments, there were numerous cases to which their application was impracticable, and in which it was necessary for the diocesans to form temporary or permanent unions of benefices. For an act passed in 1729, obliging the inhabitants of every parish of an union episcopal, or by charter from the crown, to contribute to the church of the union, until they should rebuild or repair the church of their own parish, has a preamble to this effect: that in divers parts of Ireland,

and more especially in Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, there were many parishes, the income whereof was so small as not separately to be able to support an incumbent or curate, and the inhabitants so poor and so few in number, as not to be able to build up or repair their parish churches; and that the joining such parishes in a perpetual union was in many cases found impracticable; so that, for a present remedy of that inconvenience, archbishops and bishops were under the necessity of uniting by episcopal union, two or more of such parishes, as were contiguous, under one incumbent or curate.

The changes of the sites of parish churches, where the situation of the old church, with reference to the dwellings of the parishioners, was found inconvenient, especially in cases of two or more parishes being united into one, was another expedient to which recourse was had in the early part of this century. At first, special acts of parliament were passed, as we have seen, to meet particular emergencies; but a general enactment was afterwards made, in the second year of King George I., c. 14; and the result was, that in the period above defined, namely, between 1719 and the end of the century, the sites of about a hundred-and-nine parish churches were changed by acts of council, as recorded in the Council Office, of which thirty-nine were in the province of Armagh, twenty-two in that of Dublin, twenty-three in Cashel, and twenty-five in Tuam.

Change of sites of
parish churches.

In putting together this general view of the causes and circumstances of parochial unions in Ireland, I have taken advantage, not only of the records of the privy council, but also of the Report made by the Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Inquiry

General view of
parochial unions.

in 1831, to whom it had been given in charge by his then majesty King William IV., to investigate and report upon that subject. By thus noticing in their mutual connection the acts passed, not only before, but in pursuance of the act of 14 George I., I have deviated from chronological order, and advanced into the succeeding reign; but I have done so for the convenience of bringing at once under the reader's view, and avoiding the necessity of resuming, the statement of the Irish parochial unions. For the same purpose, the present occasion is taken for adverting to the proceedings of the Irish House of Commons at a period twenty years later than the date with which we are immediately conversant. The country had in a great measure recovered from the effects of the civil wars, and the condition of the clergy had been in consequence materially improved, so that the increased value of their benefices made it probable that a dissolution of many unions, then existing, would in the course of a few years be accomplished. At this epoch, the Irish House of Commons placed itself in opposition to the rightful claims of the clergy, by objecting to the payment of the tythes of the agistment of dry and barren cattle; and they accordingly passed a resolution, in 1735, "that all legal ways and means ought to be made use of to oppose all attempts that should be framed thereafter to carry demands of tythe agistment into execution, until a proper remedy could be provided by the legislature." Most parts of Ireland had been already greatly devoted to pasturage, which was increased by that resolution of the House to an excess injurious to the country; and the vote was the cause of such a diminution of the incomes of the clergy, that, instead of means being found

Resolution concerning tythe of agistment.

Its effect on unions of parishes.

for the dissolution of unions, it induced a further necessity for increasing their number, and thus co-operated with the other causes, which have been previously stated, and which, notwithstanding some cases, perhaps, of inattention or unfitness, have been the chief and operating causes of those parochial arrangements which have obstructed the due celebration of divine worship and the efficacy of ministerial exertions.

The death of Bishop Moreton, who, after his translation from the see of Kildare, in 1705, had occupied that of Meath till the 21st of November, 1715, caused a vacancy in the Irish episcopate, which was filled, in the following January, by the translation of a Welshman, Bishop Evans, from the bishoprick of Bangor, in North Wales; an appointment which seems to have been made in opposition to the wish and recommendation of the lords justices. For in a letter of November 27, 1718, to the Bishop of Clogher, Archbishop King says: "The case of the diocese of Meath was fully represented, when we recommended you to it; but what signifies the interest of a diocese, to the advantage of a friend that is to be preferred?" And in the month of March, of the same year, 1716, by the death of Archbishop Vesey, a vacancy was made in the archiepiscopal see of Tuam, which he had occupied since the year 1678. Both he and Bishop Moreton had experienced the rigours of King James's government, the latter having been displaced from the privy council, the former having been driven from the kingdom, and comprehended in the act of attainder, and reduced to seek a safe retreat and a scanty subsistence in London, from a lectureship of 40*l.* a year.

Death of Bishop
Moreton, 1705.

Evans, Bishop of
Meath.

Death of Arch-
bishop Vesey.

Memorial of him
in his *Life* of
Archbishop
Bramhall.

But he survived to hold three times the commission of one of the lords justices of Ireland, and to see his son, Sir Thomas Vesey, baronet, successively Bishop of Killaloe and of Ossory. The name of the archbishop is well known to the reader of these pages, which have frequently cited him as the author of the *Life of Primate Bramhall*, prefixed to the works, and the chief source of information to Mr. Harris in his account, of that illustrious prelate¹.

Affecting inci-
dent in his life.

A touching incident in his life is mentioned in one of Mr. Wesley's journals; where, speaking, in 1755, of Holy-mount, "some years since, one of the pleasantest places in Ireland," he adds, "Dr. Vesey, then archbishop of Tuam, fixed on this spot, nine miles from his see; built a neat commodious house on a little eminence; laid out fruit and flower gardens around it; brought a river to run through them; and encompassed the whole with walks and groves of stately trees. When he had finished his plan, round a stone pillar, which stands in a basin, surrounded by a small green plat of ground, he placed the following inscription:

"Linquenda tellus, et domus, et placens
Uxor, cum numerosa et speciosa prole,
Chara charæ matris sobole;

Neque harum, quas colis arborum,
Te præter invisum cupressum
Ulla brevem dominum sequetur."

It appears, from Harris's account in WARE's *Bishops*, that he was buried at Holy-mount, his place of residence.

The vacancy caused by Archbishop Vesey's death, was filled on the 8th of June by the transla-

¹ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 125.

tion of Bishop Synge from the see of Raphoe. The name of *Synge*, or *Singe*, the more ancient form of the modern word *sing*, is conspicuous in the episcopal annals of the Irish Church: and I take the occasion offered by the elevation of this, the most eminent of its owners, to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam, for bringing under notice the series of prelates who bore it.

Synge, Archbishop of Tuam.

Speaking of Edward Synge, one of the Dublin clergy renowned for their adherence to the English liturgy during the Usurpation, and afterwards a member of the episcopal order, Mr. Harris says, "Anthony Wood styles him *Synge*, alias *Millington*; which I find, upon inquiry, was the name of the family; but that it was some time or other changed into *Synge*, on account of the sweetness of voice and skill in vocal musick, which some of the *Millingtons* were possessed of; and the same talent," adds Harris, "I am informed continues in that family to this day." To this account of Harris I annex the tradition of the family, which I received many years ago from one of the descendants, that the name was, in fact, conferred by Queen Elizabeth on an ancestor of theirs, a member of her Majesty's choir at the Chapel Royal, and that it had been ever since cherished by the family in memory of the royal commendation.

Origin of the name.

Early in the seventeenth century, one of the name was living in a condition of gentility at Bridgnorth, in Shropshire: and it was his son, George Synge, who is recorded in WARE's *Bishops* as "descended from an ancient and good family, born in England, and educated a commoner in Baliol College, Oxford," who settled the first of the family in Ireland, under the patronage of Primate Hampton;

Account of the family of Synge.

George, Bishop
of Cloyne, 1638.

Edward, Bishop
of Limerick,
1661, of Cork,
Cloyne, and
Ross, 1663.

Edward, Bishop
of Raphoe, 1714,
Archbishop of
Tuam, 1716.

Edward, Bishop
of Clonfert, 1730,
of Elphin, 1740.

Nicholas, Bishop
of Killaloe, 1745.

Remarkable suc-
cession of bishops.

Disinterested
conduct of the
Archbishop of
Tuam.

and, having passed through some other preferments, became Bishop of Cloyne in 1638. At his instance, and under his auspices, his younger brother, Edward, then a boy, was removed to the same kingdom; and having received his education, first at the school of Drogheda, and then in the university of Dublin, the same person noticed [above] in connection with the English liturgy, was eventually elevated, in 1661, to the see of Limerick, and afterwards, in 1663, to that of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross. Another Edward, son of the preceding, was he, whose promotion to the bishoprick of Raphoe in 1714 has been formerly mentioned, and whose subsequent advancement in 1716 to the archbishoprick of Tuam has given occasion for this enumeration. He died in 1741. Eleven years, however, before his death, he had by his own hands consecrated his eldest son, a third Edward, to the bishoprick of Clonfert, in 1730; and in the years 1731, 1733, and 1740, had successively seen him in possession of the bishopricks of Cloyne, of Ferns and Leighlin, and of Elphin. Four years after the archbishop's death, namely, in 1745, his second son, Nicholas Synge, was preferred to the bishoprick of Killaloe, to which, in 1752, that of Kilfenora was annexed *in commendam*. It were difficult to adduce a parallel to such a succession of prelates in one family: five bishops in three successive generations, one of the five being of archiepiscopal dignity.

Archbishop Synge is entitled to the grateful recollection of the Church in behalf of the clergy of his diocese, for having conferred on them the *quarta pars episcopalis*, or the fourth part of the tythes of most of the parishes, with which he was invested.

From very early times, the Archbishop of Tuam and his suffragan bishops had been possessed of this portion of the tythes in their respective bishopricks. The loss was severely felt by the clergy of the province, deprived, as they moreover were, of two other parts by the impropiators. At the same time the bishops, from the scantiness of their own revenues, were not in a condition to relinquish their claim. For a remedy of the evil, after an inquisition made by Lord Deputy Wentworth, whence it appeared that many fee-farms, formerly made by the bishops, had been forfeited by rebellion, or were possessed by defective titles, the property was restored to the respective sees, on condition that the bishops, enjoying the benefit of such restitutions, should relinquish the *fourth part episcopal* to the inferior clergy. This was accomplished in Elphin and Killalla, the bishops of which resigned their pretensions to the fourth part of the tythes, which was accordingly settled on the clergy. In Clonfert, from some unknown cause, the same measure failed of being effected. In Tuam, however, the archbishop made his resignation, which was forwarded toward Dublin: but, the rebellion of 1641 breaking out at that juncture, it failed of reaching its destination.

Quarta pars
episcopalis.

The sufferings, the losses, the great age, and the merit of Archbishop Pullen, after the Restoration, were admitted as reasons for his enjoyment of the *fourth part* during his incumbency: the like plea was allowed in favour of his successor, Archbishop Parker. Notwithstanding the petition of his reluctant clergy, and the inclination of the government in their favour, by compromises and engagements, which, according to Harris's narrative, were not fulfilled, the next archbishop contrived to secure

Kept by former
archbishops of
Tuam.

Relinquished by
Archbishop
Synge.

himself in the same possession. To the honour of Archbishop Synge, he chose a different course: and in the next parliament after his translation procured the passing of an act, in 1717, for divesting his see for ever of the fourth part of the tythes, and settling them on such rectors, vicars, and curates, as personally discharge the respective cures within the dioceses of Tuam and Enaghdune, an ancient bishoprick, of which the archdiocese of Tuam was partly constituted. The act mentions the agreement between the government and the archbishop before the rebellion of 1641², of which there was stated to remain very probable evidence. And it also enacted, that, where one incumbent had more than one benefice, the archbishop might accept a resignation of one or more of the benefices, and, in lieu thereof, settle on the incumbent so much of the *quarta pars*, as arose out of the remaining part of his benefices which continued unresigned: and in case the incumbent should not agree to such resignation as the archbishop should think reasonable, the archbishop might then give so much of the *quarta pars*, as arose out of the benefices of the incumbent, to some other resident minister, to assist in the discharge of the cure, such proportion, on the determination of the incumbency, to be united to each benefice respectively.

4 Geo. I., c. 14.

Character of
Bishop Forster,
of Raphoe.

The see of Raphoe, vacated by Archbishop Synge, was supplied by the translation of Bishop Forster from Killaloe: a prelate, who has been commemorated to posterity for his zeal, in contributing largely to the repair of many churches, and to the erection of chapels of ease in large parishes within his diocese; in building school-houses for the instruction

² WARE, p. 621.

of the poor children of his charge; and in endowing a residence for the perpetual support of clergymen's widows. How far the loss of this charitable and munificent prelate was compensated to his former diocese by the appointment of his successor, does not appear. But that successor entered on his episcopal charge with a prepossession in his disfavour, if, at least, the annotator on DEAN SWIFT'S *Works* be right in applying to Dr. Charles Carr, bishop of Killaloe, an observation of the dean to Bishop Atterbury, in a letter of April 18, 1716: "We have recommended to a bishoprick one whom you would not allow a curate in the smallest of your parishes³."

Three or four other episcopal appointments, which occurred about this period, may be brought together in this place under notice.

On the death of Bishop Lloyd, in December, 1716, the see of Killalla was conferred, the ensuing February, on Dr. Henry Downs or Downes, formerly a fellow of New College, Oxford, and then rector of Brington, Northamptonshire, whence he was promoted to the bishoprick of Killalla, and subsequently in succession to those of Elphin, Meath, and Derry. His appointment is specially noticed here, as introductory to the epistolary correspondence which he long maintained with Bishop Nicholson, whose appointment to an Irish see will presently be mentioned.

Downes, bishop
of Killalla.

His epistolary
correspondence
with Bishop
Nicholson.

In March, 1717, Bishop Stearne was translated from Dromore to Clogher, an event which is noticed in a letter from Dean Swift to Archbishop King, as one "at which he was sure all parties would be exceedingly glad⁴."

Bishop Stearne
translated to
Clogher.

³ *Works*, xi., p. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

Death of Bishop
Ashe.

The vacancy in Clogher was caused by the removal of Bishop St. George Ashe, who having, on the death of Archbishop Vesey, refused an offer of translation to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam⁵, as less profitable, though more honourable than his own, accepted, on the death of Bishop Hartstong, of the bishoprick of Derry, to which he was translated in February, 1717. But his continuance there was brief; for in the same month of the following year, 1718, he died, carrying with him the sorrow, and honoured by the commendation, of Mr. Addison, at that time secretary of state, who, in a letter of March 20, expresses himself as “condoling with Dean Swift upon the loss of that excellent man, the Bishop of Derry, who has scarce left behind him his equal in humanity, agreeable conversation, and all kinds of learning⁶.” A few occasional sermons constitute the whole of his theological remains⁷.

His character, by
Mr. Addison.

Translation of
Bishop Nicholson
to Derry.

This vacancy made an opening for the preferment of Bishop Nicholson, who, having been a fellow of Queen’s College, Oxford, and afterwards archdeacon of Carlisle, was made bishop of that see in 1702. From a letter addressed to him, November 27, 1716, and preserved in his epistolatory correspondence published in 1809, it appears, that “every body, at the date of that letter, expected to see his great services to his king and country rewarded with a much better bishoprick in the north or south⁸.” His correspondent, who alludes to the bishop’s active services on occasion of the Pretender’s invasion in 1715, and anticipates his consequent promotion, does not forebode a translation to the west. However, the vacancy of the bishoprick of Derry gave

⁵ WARE, p. 191.

⁶ SWIFT’S *Works*, xi., p. 92.

⁷ HARRIS’S *Writers*, p. 271.

⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 451.

occasion for a lucrative, if not otherwise an eligible, exchange, to which he was accordingly nominated in March, and translated by letters-patent, on the 2nd of May, 1718, with allowance to retain Carlisle for a short period⁹. The period must indeed have been very short, for his successor at Carlisle was appointed the 30th of April, confirmed the 30th of May, and consecrated the 1st of June.

The Bishop of Derry appears to have lost no time in visiting the new sphere of his episcopal labours, or in communicating the result of his observations to his late metropolitan, Sir William Dawes, archbishop of York, who, on the 4th of October, 1718, wrote to him thus :

His letter to
Archbishop of
York.

“ Though I have not troubled your Lordship with a letter to inquire after your health since you came into England, yet I have not been wanting in making that inquiry another way. . . .

Archbishop's
answer, Oct. 4,
1718.

“ Your Lordship obligeth me very much by giving me a farther account of your Church affairs in Ireland; it is but a melancholy account indeed, but still it must be made known, in order to its being made better; and I hope in God, as bad as the world is, there are a great many good churchmen who lend their helping hands to make it so.

“ What strength you can get together in parliament in Ireland, to oppose any overtures that may be there made in favour of the dissenters, I know not; but I heartily pray God that it may be enough effectually to oppose them, for otherwise, I fear, the Church of Ireland will be soon brought into danger: and her being so will not a little weaken the interest of her sister Church here, and encourage the dissenters with fresh life and courage. It were very much to be wished, at this critical time, that the clergy would be careful to conduct themselves with a due mixture of honesty and prudence; but really, my Lord, with us in England, I am more afraid of a want of the

Difficulties of the
Church.

⁹ HARRIS'S *Writers*, vol. ii., p. 474.

former than of the latter. A blame-worthy compliance with great men, under the name of *prudence*, and a want of that plain, open, free Christian simplicity and integrity, which fear not the face of man, have almost undone us; and (I am loth to speak it, but it is to your Lordship,) all the greatest mischiefs which have threatened our religion of late, have come from some false brother of our own. I am sure with us the clergy have, for many years at least, exercised great moderation towards dissenters, (and I would have them go on to do so, because it is their duty,) but for any returns of moderation which they have met with, or are like to meet with from them, I can say very little."

Bishop Nicholson's establishment in his diocese.

Another letter from the archbishop shows, that early in the following year the bishop was preparing to establish himself in his new see. It is dated Cecil-street, February 14, 1719, and says :

" I hope this will reach you time enough to bring you my best wishes and prayers for a safe voyage to Londonderry, and all manner of happiness there. Your presence amongst your people and clergy there will, I dare say, give new life to them at this critical juncture. I should wonder at the conduct of quartering a Presbyterian regiment at Londonderry, if it were not of a piece with all the methods which have been used of late for the safety of the Church. God, in his due time, put us into better methods !

" I will trouble your Lordship no longer, at this busy time, than only to desire you to let me hear of your health and the state of the Irish affairs at your leisure; and to believe me to be,

" My Lord,

" Your Lordship's very affectionate brother,
and assured friend,

" W. EBOR."

None of his letters have reference to Ireland.

On the perusal of these letters it seems worthy of being lamented, that the commencement which Bishop Nicholson made of giving the archbishop an account of Irish Church affairs, and which the archbishop desired to be prosecuted at his leisure,

led to no result, of which the present age is capable of taking advantage. His communications would no doubt have thrown much light on this period of Irish ecclesiastical history. But it unfortunately happens, with respect to the *Letters on various subjects, literary, political, and ecclesiastical, to and from Bishop Nicholson*, although the first and about half of the second volume contain many letters of his writing, they relate to times before his translation to Ireland; and the latter part of the second volume, written after his translation, and during his residence in that country, contains scarcely any communication from his pen. It consists, indeed, principally, as their editor Mr. Nichols has remarked, of letters of Dr. Henry Downes, whose preferment to the bishoprick of Killalla was lately noticed, the academical as well as the episcopal brother of Bishop Nicholson, and his intimate and beloved friend: and “whilst they display the pleasantry and amiable disposition of the writer, they develop some of the secret springs of promotion in Ireland during the latter part of the reign of King George the First.”

¹⁰ Preface, p. v.

SECTION IV.

Renewal of Correspondence between Dean Swift and Archbishop King. Motives to it. Effects of Queen's Bounty. Swift's purchase of a Glebe. Report concerning the Bishops of Ossory and Killaloe. State of Irish Clergy. Archbishop's Answer. The Dean's Friends indisposed to acknowledge his Services. Archbishop's Testimony to them. Reciprocity of kind Offices recommended. The Dean's high Estimation of the Archbishop. Attacks on Archbishop King's Character and Conduct. His Vindication of himself, and Exposition of his Principles and Proceedings.

Revival of correspondence between Dean Swift and Archbishop King, 1716.

It was during the progress of the foregoing episcopal appointments, but not in connection with them, that the correspondence, which before the death of the late queen had been suspended between the Archbishop of Dublin and the Dean of St. Patrick's, was revived by a letter from the latter, dated June 17, 1716. Upon this letter, which was devoted to matters of local interest, and of personal expostulation and vindication, we need not dwell: but from one a few months later, dated Dublin, November 13, 1716, the following extracts may be cited. The archbishop was at the time in England for the recovery of his health; and the dean appears to have thought that, at such a time, some mark of outward attention was due from himself to his official superior, to whom also he was fain to take the opportunity of communicating intelligence concerning the general affairs of the Church.

The letter commences thus:

"The reason I never gave your Grace the trouble of a letter was, because it could only be a trouble, without either entertainment or use; for I am so much out, even of

Cause of the Dean's letter.

this little world, that I know not the commonest occurrences in it; neither do I now write to your Grace upon any sort of business, for I have nothing to ask but your blessing and favourable thoughts: only I conceived it ought not to be said, that your Grace was several months absent in England, without one letter from the dean to pay his respects. My schemes are all circumscribed by the cathedral, and the liberties about it; where nothing of moment happened since your Grace left it, except the election of Mr. Chamberlain to St. Nicholas, which passed quietly while I was absent in the country¹."

From what follows we are informed, that the bounty of the late queen, in conferring the first-fruits upon the Church, was producing the desired effects, as related to the providing of residences for the clergy: but the latter part of this extract, relative to the prelates, who had been employed to negotiate that business, may excite some astonishment, and, accompanied as it is by the qualifying phrase, "I am told," some doubt of the accuracy of the information contained in it:

Effects of queen's bounty.

"I am purchasing a glebe, by the help of the trustees, for the vicarage of Laracor: and I have vanity enough to desire it might be expressed by a clause in the deeds, as one consideration, that I had been instrumental in procuring the first-fruits; which was accordingly inserted; but hints were given it would not pass. Then the Bishops of Ossory and Killaloe had, as I am told, a sum of money for their labour in that affair; who, upon my arrival at London to negotiate it, were one of them gone to Bath, and the other to Ireland: but it seems more reasonable to give bishops money for doing nothing, than a private gentleman thanks for succeeding where bishops have failed. I am only sorry I was not a bishop, that I might at least have got money²."

Swift's purchase of a glebe.

Report concerning Bishops of Ossory and Killaloe.

The succeeding passage notices the actual state of mind of those of the Irish clergy, who were

State of mind of Irish clergy.

¹ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., 58.

² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

favourable to the pretensions of the exiled royal family; but with respect to whom it was the opinion of the dean, that the indiscreet zeal of the same political party in England, in endeavouring to maintain a distinct episcopal succession and an independent church, afforded an opportunity for attaching them to the house of Hanover.

Opportunity for
attaching them
to the court.

The tory clergy here seem ready for conversion, provoked by a parcel of obscure zealots in London, who, as we hear, are setting up a new Church of England by themselves. By our intelligence, it seems to be a complication of as much folly, madness, hypocrisy, and mistake, as ever was offered to the world. If it be understood so on your side, I cannot but think there would be a great opportunity of regaining the body of the clergy to the interests of the court; who, if they were persuaded by a few good words to throw off their fears, could never think of the Pretender without horror; under whom it is obvious that those refiners would have the greatest credit, and consequently everything be null since the time of the Revolution, and more havock made in a few months, than the most desponding among the tories can justly apprehend from the present management in as many years. These at least are, as I am told, the thoughts and reasonings of the high Church people among us; but whether a court, in the midst of strength and security, will conceive it worth their while to cultivate the dispositions of people in the dust is out of my reach³."

After a rather long discussion, resumed in some subsequent letters, concerning the provost of the college, Dr. Pratt, whose unfitness and unpopularity made his removal to another station desirable, but whose wishes would not be satisfied with any preferment inferior to a bishoprick, though ultimately he was content with the deanery of Down; the letter concludes with the intelligence:—

³ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 59.

"Here has been one Whittingham, in an ordination sermon, calling the clergy a thousand dumb dogs, and treating the episcopacy as bad as Boyse." The annotator describes the latter as "an eminent dissenting teacher, minister of Wood-street meeting-house, in Dublin, who wrote several tracts in favour of the dissenters;" probably the same person, bearing, as he did, the same name, who assailed the archbishop, when Bishop of Derry: "yet no notice," adds the dean, "at all shall be taken of this, unless to his advantage upon the next vacant bishoprick; and wagers are laid already, whether he or one Monk will be the man. But I forget myself; and, therefore, shall only add, that I am, with the greatest respect and truth, my Lord, your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant, &c."

Abuse of the clergy.

To this letter the archbishop returned the following very becoming answer; in which, however, it may be remarked, that no notice is taken, either of the statement concerning the Bishops of Ossory and Killaloe, or of the intimations of the disposition shown by the "tory clergy:"

Archbishop's answer, Nov. 22, 1716.

"London, Suffolk Street, November 22, 1716.

"Sir,

"I read yours of the 13th instant with great satisfaction. It is not only an advantage to you and me, that there should be a good correspondence between us, but also the publick; and I assure you I had much ado to persuade people here, that we kept any tolerable measures with one another; much less, that there was anything of a good intelligence; and, therefore, you judge right, that it ought not to be said, that in so many months I had not received any letter from you.

Fitness of a good understanding between them.

"I do a little admire, that those that should be your fastest friends, should be so opposite to acknowledge the

Dean Swift's friends indisposed to acknowledge his services.

⁴ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 61.

The archbishop's
testimony to his
merits.

service you did in procuring the twentieth parts and first-fruits; I know no reason for it, except the zeal I showed to do you justice in that particular from the beginning. But, since I only did it, as obliged to, to bear testimony to the truth in a matter which I certainly knew, and would have done for my worst enemy I had in the world, I see no reason why you should suffer, because I, among others, was your witness. But be not concerned; ingratitude is warranted by modern and ancient custom; and it is more honour for a man to have it asked, why he had not a suitable return to his merits, than why he was overpaid? 'Benefacere et malè audire' is the lot of the best men. If calumny or ingratitude could have put me out of my way, God knows where I should have wandered by this time.

Reciprocity of
kind offices
recommended.

"I am glad the business of St. Nicholas is over any way; my inclination was Mr. Wall, that I might have joined the vicarage of Castle-knock to the prebend of Malahidart, which would have made a good provision for one man, served the cures better, and yielded more than to the incumbent, than it can do when in different hands. But I could not compass it without using more power over my clergy than I am willing to exert. But as I am thankful to you for your condescension in that affair, so I will expect that those with whom you have complied, should show their sense of it by a mutual return of like compliance, when there shall be occasion. Such reciprocal kind offices are the ground of mutual confidence and friendship, and the fuel that keeps them alive; and I think nothing can contribute more to our common ease, and the publick good, than maintaining these between you and me, and with the clergy^s."

Dean Swift's high
estimation of the
archbishop.

There is, however, nothing which bears on the general concerns of the Church sufficiently to give occasion for dwelling any longer on this portion of Dean Swift's correspondence with his metropolitan. It may, at the same time, be briefly remarked, that at this period he appears to have been particularly

^s SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., pp. 60—63.

desirous of standing fair in the archbishop's estimation, and to have cherished towards him a strong feeling of personal veneration and affection. An observation of the archbishop, which seemed to call in question his political integrity, drew from him a justification, which he concluded with saying, "I have not spoke or thought so much of party these two years, nor could anything have tempted me to it, but the grief I have in standing so ill in your Grace's opinion⁶." In relating his purchase of a glebe for his country parish, which was effected partly by a sacrifice of his own property, he took occasion to pass a merited commendation on the archbishop's liberality: "I reckon to lay out of my own money about 250*l.*, and so to be an humble imitator of your Grace, *longo intervallo*⁷." A few months later, he thus expresses his sense of the value of the archbishop's life: "I hear your Grace intends this spring for the Bath. I shall pray, for the good of the Church, that you may establish your health⁸." And, again, about two months later: "I pray God preserve your Grace, for the good of the Church and of the learned world, and for the happiness of those whom you are pleased to honour with your friendship, favour, or protection. I beg your Grace's blessing; and remain, with the greatest truth and respect, my Lord, your Grace's most dutiful and most humble servant,—JON. SWIFT⁹."

Value of the
archbishop's life.

That these commendations of the archbishop's conduct and character were uttered in sincerity, there appears no reason to doubt; and the justice of

Attacks on Arch-
bishop King's
character and
conduct.

⁶ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 65. ⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 66. ⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

them is proved by the tenor of his active and useful life. It ought not, however, to excite astonishment, if, in a country under such political and religious circumstances as Ireland, a person in the elevated station, of the decided sentiments, and of the corresponding vigour and firmness of action, of Archbishop King, should have encountered those by whom his good was evil spoken of; nor need we be astonished, if, when unjustly, as he thought, assailed, he should have stood forward in his justification. It seems to have been on such an occasion that he addressed, on the 18th of March, 1719, the following letter to John Spranger, Esq., at Henry Hoar's, Esq., in Fleet-street, London, the tenor of whose communications, which called for the answer, is to be conjectured only from the answer itself:

His vindication
of himself.

Letter to Mr.
Spranger, March
18, 1719.

“ Sir,

“ I received yours of the 19th of February yesterday, and two before; but have had a long fit of the gout in my right hand, which has disabled me to write, and it is with pain I handle my pen. I thank you for the account you give me: as to what concerns my lord primate, I have nothing to say; but as to my being a positive opiniative man, and wedded to my own way, it is no news to me.

His conduct when
impeached justi-
fied by the event.

“ ’Twas the constant clamour of Sir Constantine Phipps and all that party, and no wonder, when I was almost single in opposition to their designs. And I believe I shall take the same way, if I should perceive anything carrying on to the prejudice of his Majesty's prerogative, of the interest of religion, or the publick. But I have had the fortune in everything, where I was reckoned to be positive, to be justified by the event: and, when the mischiefs of the contrary management have appeared, then I have universally been acknowledged to have been in the right: and I am sorry that I am able to give so many instances where it so happened. I never yet, that I remember, stood out against

the current of common opinion, but I have, at long running, either gained my point or seen the repentance of those that blamed me.

“I hope the diocese of Derry, whilst I was in it, and the diocese of Dublin, since I came to it, have not been the worse for my steadiness: for so I call that virtue which others call positiveness, opiniatreté, and being wedded to my own way. The truth is, my ways are the ways prescribed by the common and by ecclesiastical laws, and so ought not to be called my ways; but, generally, the ways of those that censure me are truly their own ways, being contrary to laws, canons, and justice. It is easy for a few whisperers in London, whose designs and practices I have opposed, to tell ill stories, and prejudice people against any one: but I believe if it were put to the vote of the people of Ireland to judge of my conduct, I should have as many of all sorts approving it, Protestants, Dissenters, and Papists, as any of my easy complying neighbours would have for justifying theirs. Though I am little concerned about that, my business not being to please men but God: and he is so good, that when a man's ways please him, he often makes his enemies at peace with him, and, beyond all expectation, his reputation is cleared. You say, the person who discoursed you acknowledged that I had been and was useful and serviceable to the Church: assure yourself that if ever I was so in anything, it was by doing those very things that got me the censure of being opiniative and singular.

The law his rule
of conduct.

“I remember an understanding and sincere friend once ingenuously told me, that I was too rough and positive in my treating my clergy, and proposed to me the example of the late Bishop of Meath, Doctor Dopping, a person who was, in truth, much better skilled in the laws and constitutions of the Church than I was, had the good thereof as much at heart as any man could have, was of a meek and gentle spirit, and managed all things with mildness and gentle persuasion. I asked my friend whether he was well acquainted with the dioceses of Meath and Derry, and desired him to tell me whether of them he thought in best condition, as to the churches built and repaired, as to the progress of conformity, service of the cures, and flourishing

Example of
Bishop Dopping.

Dioceses of Meath
and Derry com-
pared.

of the clergy as to their temporals. He freely owned that Derry was in a much better condition as to all these, and that it was due to the care I had taken. To which I replied, that he knew that the churches had been more destroyed in Derry, and the state of the clergy and conformity more disturbed and wasted than in any place of Ireland; and yet in five or six years that I had been there bishop, it was put in a better posture by the methods I took than Meath was in fifteen by the bishop's; and he might judge by that which of the two were best. I asked also, if he had lately discoursed any of the Derry clergy: he said he had, and said he found them much altered as to their opinion of my proceedings: and they thought at first when I began that it was impossible to bring the discipline of the Church and conformity to the pass in which they were then; that they found themselves agreeably deceived both as to their spiritual and temporal advantages: and thus ended all the loud clamours raised at first against my positiveness, singularity, and tyranny: and I believe you may remember something of this.

Works of charity
in Dublin.

“As to the other part that concerns charity, I have been sixteen years Archbishop of Dublin, and can show visibly, besides what is private, that above 70,000*l.* has been laid out and given to works of charity, such as building churches, poor-houses, schools, and hospitals, and other pious uses in the diocese, which I think a great deal in so poor a country. I hope neither my example nor persuasions have given any discouragement to the good disposition of the donors.

Charity schools;

“As to charity-schools, I have perhaps more in this city than are in most of the kingdom besides. What my opinion was of them seven years ago, you will see by the inclosed, which is a copy of a letter I wrote to Mr. Nicholson at that time.

“I have only now to add to it, that I observed with great grief that the management of many of these schools was got into the hands of persons disaffected to the Revolution and Government: and what the effect of that may be in time it is easy to judge. I am sure I shall never encourage them, and will take the best care I can to put them into right hands in my own diocese.

“Another thing I apprehended, that the clergy, on account of these schools, may think themselves freed from the most excellent method proposed for teaching the principles of Christianity in the rubricks annexed to the Catechism and office of confirmation in our Common Prayer Book, which, if enforced and duly executed, would effectually propagate all the necessary knowledge for Christians to all manner of persons; whereas, the teaching six or seven hundred poor children, the number of those settled in Dublin, no ways answers the end of our rubricks, which reaches all. I therefore endeavour to put the clergy on doing their duty, and this is one of my particular ways, to which I am wedded, and which doth not please at all. I have good hope of these schools, whilst under a strict eye and in well-affected hands, and whilst they depend on the yearly voluntary contributions of well-disposed Christians: for those will, I suppose, take care that their money be not misapplied; and school-masters and mistresses will take care to give a good account, for fear they should get no more. But if once they come to have legal and settled endowments, I doubt they will be managed as other charities that are on that foot.

Danger of their superseding instruction as directed by the rubricks.

“Of what moment I reckon the training up of youth in a right way, you may see from my printed Charity Sermon, preached at St. Margaret’s, Westminster, on Proverbs xxii. 6.

“I shall add no more, but my most hearty prayers for you; and that I am,

“Sir,

“Yours, &c.,

“W. D.

“John Spranger, Esq., at Henry Hoar’s, Esq.,
in Fleet Street, London.”

SECTION V.

Emigration of Protestants from Ireland: taken advantage of by Dissenters. Its true Cause. Used as an Argument for Repealing the Test. Political object of Dissenters. Solemn League and Covenant circulated. History of the Toleration Bill. Letters from Archbishop King on the subject. Bill passed, after long debates. Arguments against it. Its Enactments and Provisions. Act for better Maintenance of Curates. Wants of inappropriate Parishes; exemplified in letters of Archbishop King. Benefits of building Churches and fixing Ministers. Improved Condition of the Church. Contemplated Provision for Clergy Residence. Act of Parliament not passed. Glebes alienated from the Clergy. Disinclination of the Gentry to grant Glebes.

Emigration of
Protestants from
Ireland, 1717,
1718.

THE years 1717 and 1718 are memorable as the commencement of a practice, which has operated in different ways and with powerful effect on the religion and Church of Ireland. Hundreds of families about that period departed from the northern parts of the kingdom for the West Indies, Cape Breton, and other countries of North America, for the purpose of seeking more eligible settlements in those remote regions. The reasons which they gave for their emigration were, the raising of the rents of the land by the landlords to such an extent that they were unable to live; the great discouragement practised towards Ireland by the parliament of England; the impediments presented to their trade; the residence of the great landed proprietors in England, and the consequent stoppage of the circulation of money, and want of a resident gentry to protect and regulate the country; and lastly, the preference given to Popish tenants, who, by their

more frugal and meaner habits of living, were enabled to give, or at least, by their anxiety to possess the land were excited to promise, larger rents: for they were only Protestants, though of different denominations, who engaged in these emigrations. Meanwhile the London and Bristol merchants gave them all encouragement; sent ships for transporting them; and tempted them by invitations in the newspapers.

This emigration of the Protestants from Ireland was taken advantage of by the dissenters, and made the occasion of complaint and clamour, as if it was occasioned by some religious restraint to which they were peculiarly subject. This fallacy is noticed and exposed by Archbishop King in a letter of June 2, 1719, wherein he explains to the Archbishop of Canterbury the real motives which induced the Irish Protestants to quit the kingdom, and transplant themselves in such numbers to the other side of the Atlantick:

“Some would insinuate,” he observes, “that this is in some measure due to the uneasiness dissenters have in the matter of religion, but this is plainly a mistake; for dissenters were never more easy as to that matter, than they have been since the Revolution, and are at present; and yet they never thought of leaving the kingdom, till oppressed by excessive and other temporal hardships; nor do only dissenters leave us, but proportionably of all sorts except Papists. The truth of the case is this: after the Revolution, most of the kingdom was waste, and abundance of people destroyed by the war; the landlords, therefore, were glad to get tenants at any rate, and set their lands at very easy rents; this invited abundance of people to come over here, especially from Scotland, and they have lived here very happily ever since; but now their leases are expired, and they obliged not only to give what was paid before the Revolution, but in most places double, and in

Taken advantage
of by the dis-
senter.

Their easiness at
the time.

True cause of the
emigrations.

many places treble, so that it is impossible for people to live or subsist on their farms.

Farms in the
hands of Papists.

“The landlords set up their farms to be disposed by cant, and the Papists, who live in a miserable and sordid manner, will always out-bid a Protestant; nor are they much solicitous whether they pay the rents covenanted or no; their business is to out the Protestants, and when that is done, they get into arrears with the landlords a year or two, and then run away: many have been thus served, and yet it will not teach others wisdom. By these means most of the farms of Ireland are got into their hands, and, as leases expire, it is probable the rest will go the same way.

“This is that which forces Protestants of all sorts out of this kingdom, not only farmers but artificers; since they can have no prospect of living with any comfort in it. I have inquired, and am assured that the peasants in France and Turkey live much better than tenants in Ireland.

Trade of the
kingdom in their
hands.

“By the act against Popery, that hinders Papists to purchase lands, they have turned themselves entirely to trade; and most of the trade of the kingdom is engrossed by them: and by this covetousness of the landlords they will get possession of the lands; and how the Protestants will secure themselves, or England secure Ireland, when all the commonalty are all Papists, is surely worth consideration.

“I thought it proper to apprise your Grace of this new pretence, and the falseness of it.

“We will give such an attempt all the opposition in our power; and I hope, if it be not countenanced from your side, that we may stop it. I believe our bench will be unanimous, especially if your Grace be so kind to use your endeavour to influence those you have sent us.

“Your Grace will excuse the length of this, and believe that I am,

“Your Grace’s, &c.,

“Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

W. D.”

New argument
for repealing the
test.

Efforts, however, were now in progress for repealing the test, and this was put forward as a new argument for the repeal; with what reason may

be judged from the foregoing satisfactory exposition of the Archbishop of Dublin, who, in a subsequent letter of the 2nd of June, 1719, thus puts the Archbishop of Canterbury in possession of the real views of the dissenters :

“ May it please your Grace,

“ I return your Grace my most humble thanks for yours of the 12th instant. As to granting the dissenters a toleration such as is granted them in England, it has been offered them again and again, and it has been refused by their leaders ; by which I think it is evident that the ease of their conscience, and the liberty of serving God in their own way, is not what they aim at : their design is plainly to get the whole power in their hands, and settle presbytery in Ireland, as it was in Scotland by the national covenant in 1638, and the solemn league and covenant afterwards in Great Britain. They conceive that, if a toleration were granted them, it would only indemnify them in their meetings and exercise of their worship ; whereas now, under colour of an indulgence, they hold their presbyteries and synods, openly preach sermons at them, and print them ; one of which I have now before me, with this title : *A Sermon before the principal Synod at Antrim, preached June the first, 1698, by Mr. John Mc. Bride, minister at Belfast.* The sermon is as extraordinary as the title, and fully sets forth the authority they claim. They summon people to those synods, examine witnesses, censure and punish them in such manner, that, if the ministers of the Established Church should do so, they would incur the danger of a premunire, and perhaps be prosecuted.

Political object
of dissenters.

“ As to what your Grace mentions of their printing the solemn league and covenant with their catechism, &c., and putting them into the hands of the people, and that, for the reason your Grace mentions ; I wonder how anybody could have the confidence to deny it, much more that a lord, who speaks in the parliament on his honour, should venture on such an assertion. I send your Grace by the bearer, my Lord Southwell, four editions ; one in Glasgow,

Solemn league
and covenant
printed with the
dissenters' cate-
chism.

1690; three in Ireland, which I am assured were printed at Belfast, the first 1694, the second 1700, and the last 1717: and, as if these were not sufficient to furnish the great demand for them, I find another, printed in London, 1717, S. Cruttenden and T. Cox, at the Bible and Three Crowns in Cheapside, near Mercer's Hall, with scriptures at large; and this is said to be the fifth edition.

Numerous editions.

"I doubt not but there are more editions since the Revolution. I do suspect that they let the frames at Belfast stand unbroken, and print them as they find occasion, as the printers do often with the almanacks: and, in truth, there are few books, for which they have a greater vent.

"My Lord Southwell does me the favour to carry the books, and has promised to deliver them."

History of the toleration bill.

The history of the toleration bill, which was the object of these efforts, can be in no manner better communicated to the reader, than by the succeeding letters of the Archbishop of Dublin to the Archbishop of Canterbury. From Dublin, August 1, 1719, he wrote as follows:

Letter from Archbishop King to Archbishop of Canterbury, Aug. 1, 1719.

"May it please your Grace,

"I had the honour of your Grace's of the 16th of July: if the little books I sent your Grace by Lord Southwell were for your service, we may have enough of them here, not only in the shops, but with the pedlars that carry them about and dispose of them to the country people. Lord Southwell bought one of them, if I remember right; and will tell you what the bookseller said when he sold it, by which your Grace will understand with what design they are printed.

Opposed by the Commons.

"I must acquaint your Grace, what is come of our toleration bill: the House of Commons were resolved to preserve the test in its full latitude, as it stands at present, nor had they any great mind, that I could perceive, for the toleration; but being so hardly pressed in the lord lieutenant's speech, they seemed under a necessity to do something, which might be reckoned a compliance; one of the adverse party (and I believe at present there are not above

ten of them) moved for leave to bring in heads of a bill to ease dissenters; they were afraid, if he brought it in, it would not be such as they would like, and therefore some of them got together and drew up heads in great haste, and brought them in before the others could be ready, and resolved to stand by the bill, imperfect as it was, and admit no clauses to be added; by which they avoided a great deal of debate. When this came to the council, I found it wanted the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, as it is ordered in the English bill; it wanted also the profession in the Trinity, that is to be made by the Quakers, and the clause requiring a certificate that they are dissenters.

“To be sure I was much surprised at this, having been assured that it was exactly the English act, *mutatis mutandis*. I asked some of the Commons how this came; and they told me they were not much solicitous for the bill, and believed it never would pass as it was sent, and therefore we might mend it, if fond of it, at the council. We laboured with the utmost diligence to have the clauses omitted added there; I have hardly seen or heard a longer or warmer debate: when we came to a division, whether the clause relating to the subscription to the articles should be added, it was ten for it and ten against it: so the negatives carried it. On the Quakers' clauses it was the same.

Division in the council.

“But there is another alteration. Whereas in the English act it is enacted, that none should be prosecuted in any ecclesiastical court for or by reason of their non-conforming to the Church of England; 'tis in the bill that goes over to you, for any matter of mere non-conformity to the Church of Ireland. When it was put to the vote whether this clause should stand part of the bill, the negatives were ten, and affirmatives ten, as before; but the lord lieutenant gave the casting vote for its standing. This alteration was accidental, and yet it seemed to us of great moment; and I believe, if it pass, will be found so, for everything that is not settled by some temporal law will be reckoned as a matter of mere non-conformity, and so marriages, and a great many other things, will be left at large.

Alterations from the English act.

“There is one clause added, that I think reasonable; and 'tis that the person that officiates by a deputy is to

answer for the publick money that comes to his deputy's hands, and that the ordinary shall not be obliged to approve the same person for churchwarden two years together; this last was sent in to avoid hackneyed deputies.

Concession of the
lord lieutenant.

"After the bill was passed, and the transmiss sealed, my lord lieutenant spoke to me, and said that he would write to England, to have those things, that were pressed for, mended there: I suppose that this proceeded from the struggle that was apparent in the council, and an apprehension that without them it would not pass the parliament, especially the House of Lords, where I believe the bishops will be unanimously against its passing without them, and a great number of the temporal lords.

"'Twere too tedious to trouble your Grace with the arguments that were used pro and con on the several questions, but, if they might be of any use, I will send them.

No act in Ireland
against dis-
senter.

"Your Grace will observe, that we have no acts in Ireland against dissenters, but the act for the uniformity of common prayer, &c., passed 2nd Eliz.; and another act passed 17th and 18th Car. 2ndo., entitled 'An act for uniformity of publick prayers.'

"I am of your Grace's opinion, that an act of toleration for dissenters may be proper, in hopes that it may stop their mouths for the future, and ease the ministry of their importunity; who may truly answer them if clamorous, that they have done as much as they can for them: and if the gentlemen of Ireland continue in the mind they are in at present, as I believe they will, they will never get more from a parliament here.

True point be-
tween them and
the gentry.

The true point between them and the gentlemen is, whether the Presbyterians and lay elders in every parish shall have the greatest influence over the people to lead them as they please, or the landlords over their tenants. This may help your Grace in some degree to see the reason why the parliament is so unanimous against taking off the test.

"I will not increase the faulty length of this letter by an apology for it, but assure your Grace that I am, with the utmost respect,

"My Lord, your Grace's, &c.,

"Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

W. D."

The result of the contest concerning the bill is thus communicated in a letter of Nov. 10 :

Result of the contest.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ I have not troubled your Grace this long while, understanding that you were at the waters, where I conceive business is very improper. We have now finished our session of parliament, by which I have been extremely harassed, what with business at the house, in committees, and council board, with which my imperfect state of health very ill suited; but it pleased God to enable me to go through it, except two days' absence, though I had the gout on me actually for a whole month.

Letter of Archbishop King to Archbishop of Canterbury, Nov. 10.

“ Our toleration bill passed after long and warm debates. I will not trouble your Grace with a detail of them, the Archbishop of Tuam having promised to give your Grace a full account of that matter. His Majesty, in answer to our address, was pleased to press with extraordinary warmth our gratifying the dissenters; and, in truth, we have granted them such a wide toleration, as I think is not preceded in the whole earth. The bill could not have passed, if our brethren, that came to us from your side the water, had not deserted us, and gone over to the adverse party. I fear we shall all feel the effects of it; and, in truth, I can't see how our Church can stand here, if God do not, by a peculiar and unforeseen providence, support it. We had several other pernicious bills brought to the council: one we got rejected; and others, when we could not throw them out, we got to be amended as far as we could; but they are still very bad. As soon as they are printed I will take care to transmit them for your Grace.

Bill passed after long debates.

“ We had one clause added to our toleration bill at the council in England: it is of such a nature, that none can certainly tell how far it reaches; many are of opinion that it repeals the whole Act of Uniformity, but I hope not.

Dangerous clause added.

“ By my opposition to these bills, I have quite lost the favour of the government here, and interest in it. But that doth very little concern me. I lost the favour of the former government, by struggling for the succession; and I think the cause of the Church is of no less moment. I

Consequence of Archbishop King's opposition.

shall, with God's help, always use my best endeavours to discharge a good conscience. I thank God I did it when a young man to the best of my power; and it were great folly and wickedness in me, at this time of the day, for favour or interest to decline my duty.

"I desire your Grace's prayers, and beseech God continually to preserve your Grace in long health and happiness, and am,

"May it please your Grace,

"Your Grace's, &c.,

"Archbishop of Canterbury.

W. D."

His arguments,
in a letter to
Archbishop of
Canterbury, Dec.
1, 1719.

The arguments, which weighed with Archbishop King in his resistance of the toleration bill, are put forward clearly and strongly in the following letter to his Grace of Canterbury, of the 1st of December:

"May it please your Grace,

"I had the honour of your Grace's of November 19, and am heartily sorry that your Grace begins to feel the infirmities of age, especially at this time, when, if I be not much mistaken, your Grace may have occasion for all your strength and vigour. I earnestly pray, that it may be to better purpose than we exerted ourselves here last session; but to do our duty, by using our best endeavours, is all that God requires of us: the success is from him, and to his will we must leave it.

"I suppose your Grace has an account from the Archbishop of Tuam of the arguments he used against the toleration bill: several others were used by several other bishops. As for myself, I only observed, that, by the original contract between the people of Ireland and Henry II., on the submission of this kingdom, it was one of the conditions, '*Quod omnia divina ad instar sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ, juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia, in omnibus partibus Hiberniæ eo modo tractentur;*' and that ever since, great care has been taken to keep up an exact conformity between the two churches. As soon as the acts against provisions from Rome were enacted in England, care was taken to have them likewise enacted in Ireland: as soon as the Reformation was introduced in England, the Pope's power was

Contract of conformity between
the Churches of
England and
Ireland.

abolished here, and the king's supremacy established: Queen Elizabeth, in her second year, brought in and established by act of parliament the English liturgy here: the articles and canons were brought into the Church of Ireland by King Charles I., and the Act of Uniformity was no sooner past in Charles the Second's time, but it was made also in Ireland; and to keep up this uniformity between the two churches has ever been looked on as a necessary piece of policy, and as the surest means to encourage and engage the Protestants of Ireland to preserve a strict union with the people of England, and adherence to the crown thereof, which they have never failed to do, and I am confident never will, whilst they find the same civil liberties and ecclesiastical in Ireland, that are allowed the subjects of England.

"Now we find a toleration granted in England to dissenters, and we were all willing to grant the like here; but our act has quite altered that conformity, and put us on a different foot from what the Church is on with you, as I am confident your Grace will perceive, from what the Archbishop of Tuam has transmitted to you.

Altered by the
act.

"I observed further, that the Act of Uniformity, so far as not repealed, is made an essential and fundamental part of the union with Scotland; which shows that the makers of it did not think that the Church of England could be safe, if any part of it should be repealed; but our act repealeth almost all of it, particularly those parts that are most essential to religion.

Act of Uniformity
repealed thereby.

"I took notice, also, that the king, by that act, at his coronation, swears to maintain and preserve inviolably the settlement of the Church of England, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, as by law established in England and Ireland; the oath makes them but one Church, because so exactly the same in all those particulars; and I could not see any reason why the Act of Uniformity should not be counted as sacred and essential in Ireland as in England, or how it can be repealed in any part with more safety to the Church here than there; in truth, if circumstances be considered, it is more necessary here than in England.

King's coronation
oath.

Impossible to be kept.

“No doubt but his Majesty will perform his oath to the utmost of his power; but if we make it impossible for him to do so, the fault will be entirely ours.

“I then showed, that the bill then before us made it impossible for his Majesty to preserve the Church as his oath required, because it put it out of his power. If one commit a garden to a gardener, and oblige him to keep it clean from weeds and poisonous herbs and trees, and afterwards pulls down the fences thereof, and permits every one to sow what seeds and plant what trees and where he pleased in it, it would not be possible for that gardener to perform his obligation; and I showed that to be the case with the Church, in many instances, if the bill passed, with which I will not trouble your Grace. I further showed several blunders in it, and downright nonsense. To these my brethren added many other arguments, to all which no other answer in effect was given, besides calling for the question.

Limits to be placed to the publication of men's principles.

“I am for making all mankind easy, especially in matters of religion; but conceive some account should be had of men's principles and practices, before they be allowed publickly to teach them, and likewise some power reserved in the hands of the government to restrain them, when they grow exorbitant; but these are quite taken away by our act, and I persuade myself your Grace would never consent to such a law.

Socinianism encouraged.

“Your Grace gave me an intimation to take better care to guard against the Socinians, than you had done in your act. Your Grace's advice has always great weight with me; and, in pursuance of it, I endeavoured it all I could; but, alas! instead of obtaining any better security in that point, what you have is left out in our act, and the whole doctrine of the mystery of our salvation waved, and every one left at liberty whether he will deny or believe it.

Such an act not desired by generality of dissenters.

“As I conceive the matter, I pray God I may be mistaken; the act seems not designed to gratify the generality of dissenters, for they desired no act of such latitude, but to screen those that are resolved to trouble themselves with no religion; and truly to be allowed to profess what religion one pleases, is a fair step, in my opinion, to bring people to confess none.

“ Your Grace will excuse the length of this, and believe that, with my most earnest prayers for your Grace’s health and long life,

“ I am, my Lord,

“ Your Grace’s, &c.,

“ Archbishop of Canterbury.

W. D.”

Notwithstanding the length to which this account has been extended, the following narrative may be submitted to the reader, being an extract from a letter of Archbishop King to Dr. Charlett, January 7, 1720 :

Letter of Archbishop King to Dr. Charlett, Jan. 7, 1720.

“ As to the matter of the test, we had a very bustling and struggling session of parliament. All were resolute against meddling with it, though it was strongly intimated from the throne to repeal it, and more strongly inculcated in his Majesty’s answers to the several addresses of the Lords and Commons, each signed with his own hand ; notwithstanding which, they continued resolute as to the test. But there was a difference between the bill that the Commons brought in, and the act that passed in England for exempting dissenters from several penalties, &c., which the generality of the House did not observe, and which consisted in leaving out the subscription to the several articles to which the dissenters in England are to subscribe, and the profession of faith which the Quakers are obliged to make.

Repeal of the test pressed by the crown.

“ Our bills, that are proposed by either house of parliament, are brought to the privy council, and are there further formed and corrected, if there be occasion, and so transmitted to the council in England, to be approved there and remitted, and then presented, to be passed in parliament, who cannot alter anything in them, but must either entirely reject them, or pass them. This is the course of passing our laws here ; and, when this bill came from the council, I was surprised at it, having been assured, that it was the same with the English act ; and reasoned the case with some of my friends of the House of Commons, who excused themselves by their ignorance of the English act, and desired me to get it made conformable to it in the council. I laboured it there, and, by the assistance of

Course of passing laws in Ireland.

Casting vote of
lord lieutenant in
council.

friends, brought it to an equality of votes, ten for it and ten against it; but the lord lieutenant gave the casting vote against it. The Archbishop of Tuam, Dr. Synge, and the Bishop of Clogher, Dr. Stearne, gave their assistance strenuously; and had our other brothers, who were at the council, done the like, we had carried it.

Debates in the
House of Lords.

“When we found this, we brought in the English act into the House of Lords, and resolved to prosecute it, but were stopped by an artificial adjournment. When the bill came into our house from the House of Commons, it lay some time under long and strong debates, and, I think, was opposed with as many and strong reasons as ever I heard offered on any occasion, to which no replies were made; and one of the opposite party confessed he could not answer them, and wished the bill could be mended; but, since we must take it as it was, or lose it, and that his Majesty had so earnestly recommended it, he was for it; and so it passed. Five of the bishops’ bench were for it, all of them our brethren, that you sent us lately out of England, who, if they had joined us, we had thrown it out.

Bill supported by
the bishops from
England.

Authorises all
infidels to set up
for teachers.

“There were some alterations in the bill made in England, but do not meddle with the test; but, as it stands, Jews, Turks, deists, Pagans, &c., may all set up for teachers, if they take the state oaths.”

Of the bill thus strenuously debated in the parliament of 1719, being chapter 5 of the 6th year of King George I., the ground, as professed in the preamble to the statute was, that “the granting of some ease and indulgence to the Protestant dissenters in the exercise of religion may be an effectual means to unite his Majesty’s Protestant subjects in interest and affection;” and accordingly an act was passed for exempting them from certain penalties to which they were subject. The Acts for the Uniformity of Common Prayer, of the 2nd of Queen Elizabeth and of the 17th and 18th of King Charles II., were those from the penalties of which exemption was thus pro-

Act for exempt-
ing dissenters
from certain
penalties.
6 George I., c. 5.

vided for Protestants dissenting from the Church of Ireland. By the former of these, all persons were required to resort to their parish church every Sunday and holiday, during divine service, upon pain of forfeiting twelve-pence for non-attendance; and, by the latter, every dissenting minister was liable to a penalty of 100*l.* for officiating in any congregation. But, by this act, such penalties were taken off from Protestant dissenters, provided they should take the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and make and subscribe the declaration against transubstantiation; provided, also, that no assembly for religious worship should be had in any place with the doors locked, barred, or bolted; and that all laws for frequenting divine service on Sundays be still in force, and executed against offenders, unless they resorted to some assembly of religious worship allowed by this act. The like benefits were extended to Quakers, on their making and subscribing a declaration professing fidelity to the king, and disbelief in the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome, as superstitious and idolatrous; but no benefit was thereby given to any person professing the Popish religion, or to any who, in his preaching or writing, should deny the doctrine of the blessed Trinity, as declared in the Thirty-nine Articles by the Convocation holden at London, in 1562, at the same time no assent to that doctrine was required.

Its enactments
and provisions.

Benefits extended
to quakers.

Another act of this parliament, following the example of an English statute, in the late reign, was enacted "for the better maintenance of curates within the Church of Ireland." That "the absence of beneficed clergymen ought to be supplied by curates, who are sufficient and licenced preachers,

Act for the better
maintenance of
curates.
6 George I., c. 13.

Reasons for it.

and that no curates or ministers ought to serve in any place without the examination and admission of the bishop of the diocese, or ordinary of the place, having episcopal jurisdiction; but that, nevertheless, for want of sufficient maintenance and encouragement for such curates, the cures within this kingdom of Ireland have been in several places meanly supplied:" these positions were laid down in the preamble as the reasons for the following enactment. And for remedy, it was enacted, that if any beneficed clergyman, having cure of souls, should nominate a curate to be licenced to serve the cure in the incumbent's absence, the bishop, according to the greatness of the cure and the value of the benefice, should appoint a yearly stipend, not above 50*l.*, nor less than 20*l.*, payable to the curate by the incumbent, and where there is a church already, or where a church hereafter shall be built; and on non-payment, sequester the benefice. It provided, also, that in certain cases of episcopal unions, the bishop might appoint a curate for such benefices. Another clause recognised the fact of there being "several parishes in the kingdom of such great extent, that it is impossible for the inhabitants thereof to repair for divine worship to their parish churches, being in some places ten or twelve miles distant from them;" and, accordingly, made it lawful, that in parishes where a great number of inhabitants was more than six miles from their place of publick worship, one or two chapels of ease might be erected, and a curate or curates be nominated by the incumbent and admitted by the bishop; the chapels being either endowed with a portion of the tithes of the parish, or annual payments being made by the incumbent to the curate, as the bishop of the diocese should

Remedies
enacted.

appoint; and the chapels being repaired at the charge of the whole parish, or by annual rents, to be placed at the vestry on their account.

No provision, however, of this kind, however useful it may have been in relieving the wants of parishes in general, was calculated to have any effect on those parishes the tithes of which had become impropriate, or, in other words, been granted to a layman as his property, subject to the questionable condition of making provision, very small, perhaps, and insufficient, for the maintenance of a curate. Allusion has frequently been made to this source of evil to the Church, in the course of the foregoing narrative. A special instance of the injury, and of the mode proposed for remedying it in a particular parish, falls at this time under my notice, as specified in a letter from the Archbishop of Dublin to the Earl of Thomond, which is submitted as a convenient mode of laying the grievance distinctly before the mind of the reader:

Wants of parishes where tithes impropriate.

“ My Lord,

Dublin, March 9, 1719.

Grievance set forth in letter from Archbishop King to Earl of Thomond, March 9, 1719.

“ Perhaps it may be some surprise to your Lordship to receive a letter from a person that has not the honour to be known to you; but the importance of the subject, and the good intention of the writer, I hope will recommend it to your charity.

“ I understand that the whole parish of Holm Patrick, in this diocese of Dublin, is your Lordship's inheritance, and find that the whole tithes, with the altarages, offerings, and oblations, are impropriate into your hands; that there is a considerable congregation of Protestants in the parish; and that they are five miles from any church. I have been on the place, and find that there are the walls of a church, and I have a fund which will help to roof it; but there wants an endowment to support a minister; only 10*l.* per annum are allowed by your Lordship's tenants for a

Condition of parish of Holm Patrick.

curate, which will not enable me to place one there, as there ought to be. I, therefore, with all submission, lay the case before your Lordship, which I am encouraged to do with the greater assurance, from the reputation your Lordship has deservedly acquired of being heartily and sincerely zealous for the Protestant interest of Ireland, which greatly depends on their having a sufficient number of clergymen settled and churches built.

Improvement of
diocese of Dublin.

“Since I came to this diocese, I have made this my chief care and study, and, I thank God, with considerable success; insomuch, that I have got about twenty-five churches new built or rebuilt, and near as many more repaired. Several endowed with tithes and glebes, and manse-houses built, without which residence is often impossible. This encouraged me to address your Lordship, in hopes I may have the same success that I have had with other persons of quality. I hope, therefore, your Lordship will pardon me when I propose to your Lordship to think of settling a minister at Holm Patrick, and endow either a vicar or a curate with a competency.

Advantage of a
resident clergy-
man.

“We have now an act in force in Ireland, that enables us, in a certain method, to erect parishes, to unite and divide them; if your Lordship will be so charitable as to do your part, there are some small things that lie adjacent and convenient to be united to Holm Patrick, that may make a subsistence for a resident vicar. But, then, as I observed before, there must be a glebe of twenty or a dozen acres; if your Lordship will think of settling such a parcel, I am confident your Lordship will be no loser by it; for the residence of a minister and vicinity of a church, is such an encouragement to Protestant tenants to settle in any place, that it double pays the rent of the glebe; but if your Lordship should think it too much to give, (which the character of charity which your Lordship bears persuades me you will not,) we have a small fund for purchasing glebes, with the help of which, and what I would be willing to contribute myself, we may be enabled to give your Lordship a competent reprisal.

“ Your Lordship may think me too free and forward in this matter, especially with a nobleman to whom I have the misfortune to be an absolute stranger ; but I entreat your Lordship to consider, that I have no manner of private interest in the matter ; that it is for the benefit of God’s church only I solicit ; and I shall never be ashamed to beg, and even importunately, on that account.

“ I add no more, but my most earnest prayers for your Lordship’s health and happiness ; and that I am, with the greatest respect,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s most humble servant,

“ W. D.

“ The Right Hon. the Earl of Thomond.”

The evils which attended a want of the Church’s ministrations, the pressing demand for additional edifices, and the benefits resulting from the supply of such demands, may be further illustrated from two letters of the 8th of October, 1725, addressed respectively to Lord Palmerstown and Sir John Stanley, by the Archbishop of Dublin, soliciting their assistance, as the landed proprietors, to provide for the spiritual necessities of Grange Gorman, in the neighbourhood of Dublin, pursuant to the petition of the grand jury and inhabitants.

Letters to Lord Palmerstown and Sir John Stanley.

The destitute condition of the place, and its consequent depravity, are thus described :

Destitute condition of Grange Gorman.

“ As to Grange Gorman, it is reckoned extra-parochial. On that account no care has been taken of it ; insomuch that it is one of the most lewd and irregular places about Dublin. I have got a clergyman to attend the sick, to christen the children, and do such other offices as can be performed without a church ; but this doth not answer the necessities of the people, for they have no place to attend divine service, nor to bury their dead.

“ To remedy this there are two ways proposed : one is

Proposed remedies.

to unite them to St. Paul's, the next church; and the other, to erect them into a parish or chapelry.

Want of churches
in Dublin.

“As to the first, I do not find the people to be pleased with such an union, for they have been ill-used by the governors of that parish. They had seats in it at first, but were turned out of it. The church is small, and will not receive a fourth part of the parishioners; and they can't expect any accommodation in it; therefore, they are desirous to have a church of their own. To say the truth, Dublin greatly wants churches; for that side of the water has in it, by a diligent inquiry, about thirty thousand souls, for the reception of which there are only three churches, which, one with another, will not receive above a thousand persons each. We have no fund for building or rebuilding of churches; notwithstanding, by the assistance we had from the Crown, and by the industry and beneficence of private persons, I have got twenty-eight churches built, or rebuilt, in the diocese since I came to it; four new ones in Dublin, and two officiated in, which had no service in them before. I still want six more to accommodate the conformable people with any tolerable conveniency in this town, and about as many more in the country. This is one reason why I think Grange Gorman should rather have a church than be united to St. Paul's.

Benefits of building churches and fixing ministers.

“Another is, that I find, wherever a church is built, and a regular minister and service settled, it greatly reformeth the manners of the people. I have two or three instances of this near the city. Ringsend was one of the lewdest irreligious places near Dublin. Since I have got a church there, a good clergyman, and constant service, 'tis a pleasure to see the alteration. No church is better frequented; no congregation appears with more decency or devotion; and they will not suffer a lewd person to harbour amongst them. The same must be said of Glassnevin. It was the receptacle of thieves and rogues: the first search, when anything was stolen, was there: and when any couple had a mind to retire to be wicked, there was their harbour. But, since the church was built, and service regularly settled, all these evils are vanished. Good houses are built in it, and the place civilized. I could give several instances of the like.

“A third reason why I was for having a church there, is the planting it with Protestants. I find nothing contribute more effectually to that than the near neighbourhood of a church; as may be seen everywhere, both in the city and the country; nor is there a more effectual means to break both dissenters’ and Papists’ meetings.

Encouragement
of Protestants.

“The county of Wicklow was full of Quakers and dissenters; but, having got seven new churches in it, and filled them with good men, there is hardly a meeting left in that part; that is in the diocese of Dublin. As to the city, the parish of St. Nicholas Without is in my neighbourhood, and there was but one church in it, and that a very small one, and seldom filled. On a good minister being there placed, instead of one who was not agreeable, the church immediately filled; and, though enlarged with galleries, so as to receive double the number, there wanted room. To help them, service was opened in the cathedral of St. Patrick’s, which was not officiated before regularly; that was likewise filled. And though it has usually a thousand people every Lord’s-day, yet there was not reception enough for the auditors; on which we got a new parish erected out of the former, and a new church, St. Luke’s, built, of an hundred foot long and forty foot wide, with spacious galleries; which church is frequented every Lord’s-day with about a thousand hearers, and yet there wants room; so that we are about enlarging the old church. I could give several other instances of the advantages to religion by building new churches, but should be too tedious.

Improvement of
county of Wick-
low.

“These are the reasons that move me to be zealous in that affair. But there is one that concerns you as landlord; I mean the improving of your estate. I will only give you two or three precedents, to convince you of the advantages you may expect by countenancing this project. Mr. Joseph Dawson purchased a piece of ground, which cost but a small sum of money, by St. Stephen’s Green; began with laying the foundation of a church, and erecting, by act of parliament, the parish of St. Anne’s. The consequence was, that he set his ground for above five hundred pounds per annum, and has now Dawson-street, one of the

Landlords’ estates
improved by
churches.

best in Dublin, built upon it. Sir Humphrey Jervice gave ground for a church over the water, now St. Mary's, which has thriven so prodigiously that we are now about dividing it. Sir John Rogerson got a church built at Glassnevin, and contributed effectually to it; and it has doubled or trebled his rent."

Cost of a parish church.

From a remark in a subsequent letter to Lord Palmerstown, we incidentally learn, that the cost of such a church as was contemplated was reckoned by the archbishop at eight hundred pounds. "I am altogether," he adds, "of your Lordship's opinion, that we ought rather to multiply the number of churches than make them magnificent."

Better condition of the Church in 1723.

Notwithstanding the obstacles which impeded the improvement of the Church in these respects, it appears to have been gradually advancing; and to that effect I here subjoin a remark, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury of June 8, 1723. "Though the Church of Ireland," observes Archbishop King, "is in a very, very bad condition, as to the maintenance of a sufficient number of clergymen and discipline, yet I think it in a better way than it was when I was made a bishop; and I flatter myself that I have somewhat contributed to it. I have now the Archbishop of Tuam and several other bishops who join heartily with me; whereas at first I had hardly any one who durst own my schemes, and several who not only opposed them violently, but made it their business to expose and ridicule them."

Contemplated provision for clergy residence.

It appears to have been in contemplation, during the session of parliament in 1719, to make some provision for enabling the clergy to reside on their benefices, by putting them in possession of glebes,

of which to a great extent they were destitute. The extent of the destitution in the diocese and province of Dublin, as well as the contemplated relief, are thus stated by the archbishop in a letter to Mr. Parnell, of the 20th of July :

“ I understand the Commons have before them a bill about providing glebes for the residence of clergymen. I believe it may be some help to the members of the committee, to which that bill is referred, to have some view of the state of the clergy as to that particular. Queen Anne gave the first-fruits of the clergy towards purchasing such glebes as might encourage residence, and settled them in trustees for that purpose ; and they issued an order to every bishop to return an account of what churches in their respective dioceses wanted glebes, or had small ones. In obedience to which you may see that at the time, viz., November, 1714, there were about forty-eight rural churches that wanted either glebe or maintenance, or both: one church has been built since, and several repaired; three have been endowed with glebes, and I have laid out land to endow four more, and put it in my queries to the clergy, to enquire whether any proprietors would sell any parcel of land for glebes, and have given it in charge to them every visitation; but, on the best inquiries, they could find none, and I have laboured that point with several, but without success.

Destitution of
Dublin clergy.

“ I have inquired in my triennials concerning the other clergy of my province, whether they be in a better condition as to glebes, than those of the diocese of Dublin; and found them no better, if not worse: so that till some way be found out to provide glebes, residence is extremely difficult. I have known several clergymen that could not so much as find a lodging in their parishes, and have been forced to ride six or seven miles every Sunday morning to preach, or when called on to a sick person, to a Christening, or burial.

Same in other
dioceses.

“ I can't call this serving a cure; and, when they get a lodging, or small farm in the parish, the rent of it very often in a manner takes up their whole income as clergymen.

Act of parliament necessary,

“That something ought to be done to make residence practicable, I think it is plain, and I see no other way to come at it, but by an act of parliament; and I can only pray God to direct the House of Commons in an affair of so great moment.”

But not enacted.

The projected bill, however, was not enacted; and the evil was left to operate with its full force. If a law could have been passed and made effectual, for reinstating the clergy in what properly belonged to them, no other enactment would have been necessary. The glebes, of which the clergy were in need, were in the possession of the landed proprietors, though, indeed, it might have been impracticable to ascertain their position and limits, from the absence of requisite documents. This was clearly perceived by Archbishop King, who, on being consulted by the Bishop of Derry concerning an exchange of glebe in that diocese, in January, 1721, urged the necessity of counterparts to the deeds, and of a map being affixed to each deed; “the want of such precautions,” he observes, “having lost most of the glebes in Ireland: and even in your Lordship’s diocese, most of the old grants and glebes are lost for want of a map to direct where to find them. By the same means I have forty-eight country parishes, with churches in repair and incumbents that officiate in them, that have no glebes; and the clergymen can neither for love nor money get a house in the parish to live in. I have no less reason to complain of the same misfortune in the lands belonging to the see, many shares of which have been clipped off by the neighbouring gentlemen, and are lost past recovery: for which reason I have added maps to all the leases I have lately given; and we take the same course with

Glebes of the clergy alienated.

such glebes as we purchase on the fund of the first-fruits."

In truth, however, whilst the gentry were sufficiently ready in appropriating to themselves, and retaining, this portion of ecclesiastical property, they seem to have been little disposed to accommodate the ministers of the Church with the means of residence, even for an adequate pecuniary compensation. "As to the purchasing of glebes," says Archbishop King, in a letter of June the 9th, 1722, to Dr. Maule, "a great many are unwilling the clergy should have any; for, say they, they will then live in their parishes, and have a place to draw their tythes to, and then we shall not have them at what rate we please. I find very few willing to sell either glebes or impropriations; and these are so far from encouraging the matter, that they set the due on us, and insist on extravagant rates. Yet I am willing to try the method you propose. I have done something myself, and shall endeavour to persuade others to follow the precedent."

Disinclination of
the gentry to
grant glebes.

SECTION VI.

Archbishop King not in Commission of Lords Justices. Bishop Downes's Remarks thereon. Illness of the Primate. Speculations. Archbishops King and Synge not in favour with the Government. Clergy of Dublin visited by Archbishop Synge. Instructions from Archbishop of Dublin. Encroachment by Government on Ecclesiastical authority. Archbishop King again a Lord Justice. Disinclination for the office, misrepresented. Want of kindness and respect for him. Distinction between Irish and English Bishops; Natives and Foreigners. Death of Bishop Digby of Elphin. His Character. State of the Diocese. Bishop Downes translated to it from Killala. Death of Bishop Smith of Down and Connor. Succeeded by Hutchinson. His voluminous Writings. Measures for Improvement of Isle of Rathlin.

Archbishop of
Dublin not in the
commission of
lords justices,
1719.

IMMEDIATELY after the close of the parliament in November, the Duke of Bolton, the lord lieutenant, sailed for England, leaving the government in the hands of Viscount Midleton and William Conolly, Esq., lords justices. In the early part of this year, before the arrival of the duke, the government had been committed to the same hands, but the Archbishop of Dublin was then associated with them in the office, from which at this time he was excluded. The fact, and the inference from it, are thus noticed by Bishop Downes in a letter to Bishop Nicholson, dated Dublin, November 24, 1719¹.

Remarks thereon
by Bishop
Downes.

“ Last Thursday, about noon, the lord lieutenant left us; and the next day, in the evening, the lords justices (viz., the speakers of both houses) were sworn into their office, and this day were publickly complimented upon it by

¹ Bishop NICHOLSON's *Letters*, ii., 497.

the city and the college; by the recorder in the name of the one, and by Dean Clayton's son, one of the junior fellows, in the name of the other: and there was nothing said that was exceptionable by either; not so much as a touch upon foreigners, nor upon encroachments made upon their privileges, or preferments by them.

"I believe it was a great mortification to the zealots that a certain third man was left out;" (the Archbishop of Dublin is here intended;) "because it looked as if he had far less credit and power on the other side of the water, than he has on this. However, he was so wise as to dissemble his dislike of that step, and came to the castle as usual, to take his leave of the lord lieutenant, and to attend him out of town; and seemed as pleased with his release from trouble, as others can possibly be with the addition to theirs'; but his heart you can guess at as well."

In the ensuing January a violent and repeated attack of paralysis, which confined the Primate for some time, and caused him to be thought in great danger, led to speculations on the result of his expected death. "As matters stand," writes Bishop Downes to his brother of Derry, Jan. 15, 1720, "I am persuaded your predecessor will not be his successor. And I could not but agree with a great layman, who told me, this day, that he had certainly put a caveat against himself; and perhaps you will agree with me that my metropolitan" (Archbishop Synge, of Tuam,) "has done the like²."

Illness of the
Primate.

Speculations oc-
casioned by it.

The course pursued by the two archbishops with respect to the toleration act in the late session of parliament may account sufficiently for the disfavour in which they were now supposed to stand with the ruling powers. In that course, however, they appear to have been actuated by a sincere and disinterested sense of their own duty; and they,

Archbishops of
Dublin and
Tuam not in fa-
vour with the Go-
vernment.

² NICHOLSON, ii., p. 502.

Visitation of
Dublin committed to Archbishop
Synge.

therefore, shrank not from persisting in it, although doubtless aware of the invidious character of their proceeding. In the ensuing spring, the regular claims of office called on the Archbishop of Dublin to hold a visitation of his clergy; but his infirmities precluding him from holding it in person, he found an able and willing substitute in his brother metropolitan; and the Archbishop of Tuam, accordingly, undertook the task. The circumstances of the times, however, seemed to require that the occasion should be taken for addressing to the assembled clergy admonitions specially applicable to the existing state of religion in the kingdom. These, therefore, were given in charge to the Archbishop of Tuam; but, fearful that some unpleasant responsibility might thus attach to him, as the propounder of offensive sentiments, Archbishop King took the precaution of conveying to him in writing the particulars with which he wished his clergy to be impressed. A letter to the following effect, preserved in the Archbishop's MS. Correspondence, in Dublin College Library, was accordingly written:

“ St. Sepulchre's, April 24, 1720.

Letter of instructions from Archbishop King,
April 24, 1720.

“ My Lord,

“ Since it has pleased God to disable me from performing my own duty in attending the visitation of my clergy, I must acknowledge his goodness in procuring me so good an assistant to supply my place, who is so well acquainted with the state of the diocese, and the persons and qualifications of the clergy; and I must acknowledge your Grace's goodness and kindness in so cheerfully undertaking this trouble, which I have been obliged so oft to put on you. I hope God will reward you, though I can't; and so enable you to do your duty, that you may never need such an assistant, or, if you should, that he will furnish you with as good an one.

“I conceive your Grace needs no directions how to execute the affairs of this diocese : but because some things may not be so grateful to all persons, I am willing that what may not be so relishing to some may rather be imputed to me than to your Grace ; since there is no reason that for your charity and kindness you should be exposed to the resentment of any. I therefore entreat your Grace, that, if you think it proper, you would, as from me, put the clergy in mind, first, of the late act of parliament, by which a full liberty is given to all sects to set up their meetings and propagate what doctrines they please. By this neither the civil nor ecclesiastical courts have any power over them ; so that we can neither help ourselves nor call for any assistance or encouragement from the civil magistrate, and are entirely to depend on God’s care and providence over his Church, and on the means and methods Christ has left us to support religion ; which if we use, as we ought to do, with faith and diligence, we are not to doubt but they will go further to support religion and holiness than all temporal motives and assistance could do without them.

Clergy to be reminded of the late act of parliament.

“And if one would observe the state of religion in these kingdoms in our own time ; that is, since the restoration of the royal family ; perhaps it will appear that the Church never gained more true friends than when the civil power gave her doctrine and worship least encouragement, nor lost more the hearts and affections of her people than when seeming most encouraged.

Prosperity of the Church not dependent on the civil power.

“What, therefore, will be wanting in temporal interest may be supplied by a double diligence of the clergy in their office and duty ; by their prudence, diligence, and application to their people ; by their watching over them for good ; and foreseeing and applying themselves to prevent every approach of their enemies.

Special diligence required in the clergy.

“And I think it will not be amiss to exhort the clergy to lay this matter to heart, and to consider with one another of the most effectual means to put in practice proper methods of application, and to assist one another in the execution of them, and stir up and admonish one another, and take notice of such of their brethren as they find negligent or backward in the performance of their duty. This

will raise a spirit of activity in them, and create a holy emulation amongst them, the effect of which will, with God's blessing, soon appear in the success of their ministry. Beseech them, therefore, that they would go about and visit their parishioners ; not be repressed by any cold reception, or ill treatment, but persevere ; and I dare promise them, in the name of God, that they will find a good effect of their labours.

Preaching against
Popery recom-
mended.

"I would further intreat your Grace to put them in mind of preaching against Popery, and that they would take all opportunities, and when any occasion offers, of confuting any point of false doctrine advanced by the Church of Rome ; that they would lay hold on it, and, without bitterness, from the Holy Scriptures and other proper arguments, show, as briefly as they can, the falsehood thereof. This I take to be extremely necessary in the present circumstances, both because the people expect it, and to my knowledge are concerned that it is not done ; and likewise because, I apprehend, the late act of toleration, or indemnity for all sects, may furnish the Roman missionaries and priests with some arguments which they had not before, which may work with some weak and well-meaning people. As to the Government, I think it advisable that the clergy in their sermons should avoid meddling with matters of State, and keep themselves to the articles of our holy religion and the duties of Christianity : for the clergy, by mixing in the matters of politicks, have more than once, in my time, brought themselves into many inconveniences, without any advantage to the Church.

Pernicious prin-
ciples propagated
of late.

"Your Grace is well apprised, that very pernicious principles, both in relation to fundamentals of our holy religion and to the government and discipline of the Church, have been vented and propagated with great boldness of late, and that some of the clergy have joined with the common enemies of our faith and Church. I hope none of my clergy are thus tainted : yet, when our neighbour's house is on fire, 'tis time to look to our own ; and therefore I think it proper to warn them of the danger, and that, if they observe any of their brethren or people to have a *penchant* this way, that they would take notice of

Caution to the
clergy against
them.

them, and use their best endeavours to prevent their being corrupted by the insinuations of wicked men, the modish conversation of the world, and cunning of Satan.

“Your Grace will be pleased to represent these things to the clergy, if you think fit so to do, and in the best manner; which I am sure your Grace is able to do much better than I can pretend to direct or advise you in my present circumstances.”

Upon these suggestions, together with some others not needful here to be recited, and in compliance with the request of the diocesan, the Archbishop of Tuam addressed the Dublin clergy. The result is thus communicated by Archbishop King to the Bishop of Clogher, in a letter of May 12, 1720, from Dublin:

“The Archbishop of Tuam held my visitation for me. I writ him a letter, intimating what I would have him say to the clergy, which his Grace did with great approbation. Amongst other things I desired them to use double diligence in their cures, on account that they could not expect the same assistance from the civil or ecclesiastical powers that they might have done before the late act. This was represented to the Government as a stirring-up of disaffection, and his Grace was called before them, and a mighty business was made of it, but he acquit himself so well that it dropped of itself. 'Tis very hard that a bishop must not advise his clergy to double diligence but it must be counted disaffection.”

Visitation of
Archbishop
Synge reported by
Archbishop King.

Letter to Bishop
Stearne, May 12,
1720.

About this period the Archbishop of Dublin was again brought into inconvenient collision with the Government, by an act of theirs, which he esteemed an arbitrary encroachment on the ecclesiastical authorities, and which he therefore resisted. The assault and the opposition are recorded in the two following letters of his MS. Correspondence, in Trinity College; the former to the Lord Bishop of Derry, the latter to the Earl of Kildare.

Encroachment
on ecclesiastical
authorities in re-
spect of briefs.

Letter to Bishop
Nicholson, May
23, 1720.

To the Bishop of Derry he wrote thus, from Dublin, the 23rd of May, 1720 :

Authority
assumed by lords
justices.

“ I should say much more to your Lordship, if I were able ; only one thing I must observe to your Lordship, and it is about a brief your Lordship will receive for some houses burnt in Castle-dermot, in which the lords justices take on them to command archbishops, bishops, vicar-generals, ministers, churchwardens, and apparitors, in such positive terms, that I can by no means submit to. We have had three or four such before, and I would not suffer my clergy to obey them. I disputed with the government, as I have done with this; and if this should pass *sub silentio*, I am afraid they will plead prescription, and perhaps require us to collect and receive other monies, for which, I conceive, that there is as much law, as for requiring these things from us.

“ I send your Lordship the order I made at a visitation on the like occasion, which was generally complied with by the clergy.

“ Your Lordship may compare the brief with the act that passed about briefs in England, 4 Anne, c. 14 ; and you'll see how far they have gone beyond that.”

The lords justices at this time in office were Viscount Midleton and William Conolly, Esq. A letter from the Earl of Kildare drew from the archbishop an answer, of May 26th, which contains some particulars not detailed in the former communication to the Bishop of Derry. It runs as follows :

Letter from Arch-
bishop King to
Earl of Kildare.

“ My Lord,

Description of the
briefs.

“ I am honoured with your Lordship's of this day, in favour of the sufferers of Castle-dermot. I assure your Lordship I am very desirous to assist all people in distress, more particularly your Lordship's tenants, and those of my own diocese. But the case is this : they have got a brief, in which archbishops, bishops, &c., are required, within ten days, to send copies of the letters-patents to their chancellors, &c., and to cause them to be delivered, by their

apparitors, at the rate of fourpence a brief, to their deans, parsons, &c. The deans, parsons, &c., are to exhort and stir up, and earnestly persuade, their people, to contribute to the poor sufferers, not allowing them to judge whether they are objects of charity or no. And then they and the churchwardens are required to go from house to house immediately, and receive from masters, mistresses, and others of their families, their contributions, and, in the presence of the givers, to set down, next Lord's-day, on the briefs, the names and sums given; and the minister is obliged to receive the money, and send it, with the briefs, to the chancellor, &c.; and the bishops are commanded to send them to the archbishops.

"Now, these are things, in many cases, impracticable; and neither the clergy nor churchwardens are obliged to any of them. We have had three or four briefs of this nature, and I have withstood them all, and must still continue to do so. We are slaves enough already; but to subject ourselves to such commands, which we conceive we are no ways obliged to obey, would make us much more so; and we know not where it may end. They might as well, in my opinion, command us to collect the hearth-money.

Not obligatory on the clergy.

"I had a great dispute with my Lord Wharton in the case of the Palatines; and, on another occasion, with Sir Constantine Phipps and the then government; and, to stop the matter, I issued the inclosed order to the clergy, which had the desired effect. I hope, therefore, your Lordship will excuse me, in that I act uniformly to myself.

"If the brief had desired anything of me and the clergy, and only recommended the matter, as the style was for forty years to my knowledge, charity would have gone a good way to procure my compliance, at least in part; but *command* and *require* is a style I do not understand, and it might be an ill example if I submitted to it.

Difference between desiring and commanding.

"I am hurried in writing this, and, therefore, you'll pardon the imperfections of it; and I assure your Lordship, that there is no man in the kingdom who should be more readily gratified than your Lordship, by, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most, &c.,

"W. D."

Archbishop King
again one of the
lords justices,
1721,
1722.

I have not met with any account of the issue of this business. But, whatever influence from any of the foregoing causes the Archbishop of Dublin may have appeared to have lost, he recovered it so far, at least, as to be again included in the commission of the lords justices, in 1721 and 1722, on the temporary withdrawal of the Duke of Grafton from the vice-royalty, in conjunction with Richard Boyle, Viscount Shannon, commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland, and William Conolly, Esq., speaker of the House of Commons.

His disinclination
for office mis-
represented.

The growing infirmities of the archbishop seem to have made this honourable, but burthensome appointment, by no means an object of his desire, though there were those who attributed his reluctance in accepting it to only an assumed disinclination; for, speaking of him in a letter of March 1, 1721, Bishop Downes observes³: "His Grace seems not pleased with the trust reposed in him, and told me, that he was sure it would kill him. But I do not believe him: perhaps he would have been as uneasy if he had been left out of the government."

Letter from
Bishop Downes to
Bishop Nichol-
son.

And, again, in the following year, 1722, on another temporary withdrawal of the Duke of Grafton, he was appointed, with some apparent reluctance on his own part. "What you told me," writes Bishop Downes, on the 17th of February, "is, beyond my expectation, come to pass. The Archbishop of Dublin, after mature deliberation, has accepted of the government, as Mr. Fairfax did of the deanery of Down. But my opinion is, that they, who long hesitate about preferment, should go without it, especially such who think their accept-

³ NICHOLSON, ii., p. 536.

ance matter of obligation, and, consequently, not worth thanks. Whether our friends on the other side wanted power, or wanted courage, I cannot tell; I may say, that they wanted regard to us foreigners, who are put entirely into the hands of the natives.*”

The reader, however, will form his judgment of the propriety of these reflections, when he has perused the following statement of the archbishop's sentiments, as made in his private and friendly correspondence. On the 10th of March, 1721, he thus expressed himself to Francis Annesley, Esq.: “I write this in pain. The force used on me to put me in the government here, in which I can neither hope to do good nor prevent evil, and yet must bear a share of blame of what is done wrong, has put me into a violent fit of the gout, and God only knows when I shall get out of it.”

The archbishop's sentiments, in a letter to Mr. Annesley, March, 1721.

The archbishop continued to hold this office, jointly with the Viscounts Middleton and Shannon, and William Conolly, Esq., till the return of the Duke of Grafton to the lord lieutenantancy, in September, 1723. Meanwhile, the letters of Bishop Downes to Bishop Nicholson advert to him in the following extracts :

“ March 24, 1722. Last Thursday I preferred my petition to the board of justices for leave to cross the water, and, for the conveniency of the yacht, to do it in some state, and both were readily granted, without opposition; nor did the Archbishop of Dublin open or make a wide mouth upon the occasion. I wish you joy on this account; for I will warrant you will come off as well, whether you write to the lords justices, or write to the secretary to speak for you.”

In a former letter he had said :

“I fancy you and I shall not, without somebody's

* NICHOLSON, ii., p. 549.

grumbling, get leave to go and see our friends in England this summer. If we cannot, I think we may justly complain of false imprisonment, and apply for relief.⁵"

"October 31, 1722. All our talk is about the Archbishop of Dublin's return from the Bath without showing himself at court. He appears very gay, and in good humour; but I fancy he is inwardly very chagrined that his presence should not be thought necessary at this important conjuncture⁶."

"December 8, 1722. I believe the Archbishop of Dublin has made his colleagues sick of him; for he leaves the invidious work to them, as the signing the patents for the pensions, &c.; and serves himself at the expense of their and some other greater person's honour.

"He spent some time last week at Lord Molesworth's, where, I dare say, there was not a word spoken in favour of the king's ministry. He is much out of humour, but why I know not."

Want of kindness and respect for the archbishop.

Distinction between Irish and English bishops.

These extracts evince a want of kindly and respectful feeling towards the Archbishop of Dublin, connected probably with that strong line of distinction which was maintained between the prelates of Irish and English birth. English bishops, and other clergymen, promoted to benefices in Ireland, were at that time regarded with an eye of extreme jealousy, even by those whose immediate, or almost immediate, progenitors had been brought into the country, and there settled from a similar cause. They were considered and described literally as foreigners. A corresponding sentiment seems to have taken possession of the minds, and dictated the language, of the newly-promoted English clergy; and symptoms of it are evident in the letters of Bishop Downes, from which the following sentences have been extracted, in exemplification of the foregoing remark.

⁵ NICHOLSON, ii., p. 553.

⁶ Ibid., ii., p. 556.

Thus, speaking of complimentary addresses made to the lords justices, the 24th of November, 1719, by delegates from the city and the college, he observes⁷, “there was nothing said that was exceptionable by either; not so much as a touch upon foreigners, nor upon encroachments made upon their privileges or preferments by them.” On the 15th of January, 1720, he mentions⁸ “four foreign bishops, dining with their sister Kildare,” meaning the wife of the bishop of that see. In the following month he writes⁹, “I doubt not my good neighbour has told you, how we foreigners, and our foreign friends, are railed at by the natives of one, two, or more descents, since the resolutions were known, &c.” And in a passage already cited, doubting whether to attribute the appointment of Archbishop King to the government, in February, 1722, to want of power or want of courage in the English ministry, he adds, “I may say that they wanted regard to us foreigners, who are put entirely into the hands of the natives.” Agreeable to which is an observation further on in the same letter¹¹: “Brother Kilmore is brisk and well again; but cannot, any more than his other English brethren, boast of favours at court.”

Natives and
foreigners.

The death of Bishop Digby, in 1720, and the expected appointment of Bishop Downes to succeed him, gave occasion to the following letter, contained in the Archbishop's MS. Correspondence in Trinity College, addressed to Archbishop Wake:

Death of Bishop
Digby.

“*Dublin, April 12, 1720.*

“May it please your Grace,

“I had the honour of a long letter from your Grace of the 24th of March last, for which I am your debtor, and

Letter from
Archbishop King
to Archbishop
Wake, April 12,
1720.

⁷ NICHOLSON, ii., p. 497.

⁸ Ibid., p. 502.

⁹ Ibid., p. 509.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 549.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 550.

like to be for some time, being confined by a severe fit of the gout since this day month, in both my feet, one of my hands and elbows. I must not, therefore, pretend to answer your Grace on matters of so great moment as are contained in your Grace's, whilst in this lame condition; nor should I have put a force on myself to give your Grace the trouble of this, if the death of Dr. Digby, Bishop of Elphin, did not oblige me to say something on that occasion.

Character of
Bishop Digby.

"He was a gentleman of the Bristol family, and his father was Bishop of Dromore here. He was a great master of painting in little water-colours, and by that greatly recommended himself to men in power, and ladies; and so was early made a bishop. In the year 1678 he passed his letters-patent for Limerick, and was translated from thence by King William and Queen Mary, immediately after the Revolution. He generally lived out of his diocese; and, though his predecessor left him the shell of a very good house, yet he took no care to finish it, or, by what I can learn, to preserve it from decay. He left the diocese, as I understand from everybody that comes from thence, in a miserable condition: churches greatly wanting, and those that are, ill supplied. I am informed, that, though the diocese be large, there are only about thirteen clergymen in it.

State of the
diocese.

"Elphin is a very pleasant place, and a good country about it; and 'tis a pity it should want a resident bishop. There will be work enough for an active bishop for many years, to put the diocese in some tolerable order. I pray God we may have a bishop that will lay it to heart, and make it his business: we greatly need such.

Bishop Downes
expected to suc-
ceed.

"'Tis commonly supposed here, that the Bishop of Killala will succeed in it. He is very capable of doing good, if he will apply himself to it. The bishoprick he has is about 900*l.* per annum, besides a good mensal; and there is a tolerable house on it, in which his predecessor lived comfortably and hospitably, but he has not thought fit to imitate the example. If bishops take the course, that is too much in practice, to fix in Dublin, and only make an excursion once in the year into their diocese, I am afraid the gentry and people of the country will not easily find out of

what use they are; and to have a set of men looked on as useless, is, I am afraid, a great temptation to lay them aside.

“ Our lord lieutenant has disposed of five deaneries since he came to the government; and each has some benefice or benefices annexed to it with cures, and not one of them resides. This cannot but give any one, who is concerned for the good of the Church and the interest of religion, great uneasiness: but how shall we help it? I see no way but prayers and patience. However, it is some ease in such cases to open our grief to a friend; and I hope your Grace will excuse me for taking this liberty, and believe that I am with all respect,

Complaint of
non-residence.

“ My Lord,

“ Your Grace’s, &c.,

“ W. D.”

“ I am willing to believe, that the Bishop of Killala’s expectation of being translated to the next good vacant bishoprick, might be the reason of his not thinking of settling on his bishoprick; and, if his successor have the same expectations, I am afraid that diocese will be in an ill taking, the dissenters every day creeping into it.”

In effect, the see of Elphin being vacated by the death of Bishop Digby, the Bishop of Killala was appointed to succeed him; an event which he thus communicates in the P.S. to a letter of April 26¹²: “ I am likely to change my name, but not my nature; his Majesty being willing to translate me to Elphin, as his Grace the Duke of Bolton assured me by Sunday’s post, and his Grace of Canterbury, and our brother Norwich, by the packet of this day. I hear Dean Cobb will succeed me.” Dean Cobb, or Cobbe, was a native of Winchester, and, like his predecessor, Bishop Downes, a fellow of New College, Oxford. His deanery was that of Ardagh. From Killala, to the bishoprick of which he was now advanced, he

Bishop Downes
translated to
Elphin.

Cobb, Bishop of
Killala.

¹² NICHOLSON, ii., p. 519.

was subsequently promoted in succession to Dro-more, to Kildare, and finally to Dublin.

Condition and
revenues of
Elphin.

To Bishop Downes the best recommendation of Elphin was, that it was fifty miles nearer Dublin, and 500*l.* per annum better than Killala. But Papists swarmed there, as in other parts of Con-naught¹³. The rents, however, were but 1265*l.* 19*s.* a year, though the bishop thought they would bear doubling; and he expected next year to double his mensal, which was set at 100*l.*¹⁴

Visited by the
new bishop.

He visited his diocese for a temporary abode in the summer: and, as there was no episcopal residence fit for occupation at the time, he hired a small dwelling, and prepared it for his present reception and that of the Bishop of Meath, who accompanied him thither. "I spent about two months," thus he writes to Bishop Nicholson, September 15, 1720, "in my little hired cabin, which has been fitting up for me in the little town of Elphin, and upon which I have laid out near an hundred pounds, and must lay out more before it will be fit to receive my family, even in the summer-time. The great shell of the house is in so ruinous a state, that the best use that can be made of it is to pull it down and build a more convenient one in its room; towards which it will supply me with a great deal of good stone and some timber. But you will advise me to get a little money in my pocket before I put my fingers in mortar. My diocese is about seventy Irish miles in length, and yet has not above twenty clergymen in it, and but one parsonage-house, and that is the dean's at Elphin; about which I think the Papists are more numerous than at Killala, being fifty to one Protestant. But the gentry are generally

His letter to
Bishop Nichol-
son, Sept. 15,
1720.

Extent and
religious profes-
sion of the dio-
cese.

¹³ NICHOLSON, ii., p. 525. ¹⁴ Ibid., p. 527. ¹⁵ Ibid., p. 529.

Protestants, and very loyal; and the clergy are very well; and both clergy and laity are very respectful to their bishop: so that I seldom sat down but at a full table."

The same year, 1720, the death of Edward Smith, bishop of Down and Connor, drew from Archbishop King an expression of his desire for the promotion of the Dean of Clogher to that bishoprick. "I understand," he said, in a letter of November 12, to Bishop Stearne, "that the bishoprick of Down would please your dean very well, and I wish heartily he had it. But I doubt it will fall to the share of some chaplain that never served cure, and will think it ungentleel to trouble his head with the spirituals of his office. Such generally is their great modesty; contenting themselves with the mean, sordid part, the temporalities." The person, however, selected, who does not appear to have been a chaplain, and whose course of preferment is not mentioned by Mr. Harris, was Francis Hutchinson, a native of Derbyshire, a doctor of divinity of Cambridge, and a beneficed clergyman of St. Edmund's-bury, in the county of Suffolk, who was appointed to the united dioceses of Down and Connor, and consecrated in the ensuing January, when he immediately settled himself at Lisburn, in the centre of his dioceses. Following the example of his distinguished predecessors in the see, Henry Leslie and Jeremy Taylor, at his primary visitation at Lisburn, he preached a sermon, which he published at the request of his clergy; and amongst his somewhat voluminous writings, a list of which he communicated, in 1739, to Mr. Harris, for his insertion in WARE'S *History of the Irish Bishops*, then passing through

Death of Smith,
bishop of Down
and Connor.

Succeeded by
Hutchinson.

His voluminous
writings.

the press, together with several which relate to the history and statistical circumstances and improvement of Ireland, are others of a theological character, such as "A Defence of our Holy Bible, with respect to the History and Account of the Creation of the World, and our Race upon Earth;" "Advices concerning the Manner of receiving Popish Converts;" and "The Certainty of Protestants a safer foundation than the Infallibility of Papists." From his sermons preached at Christ Church, before the government and the House of Lords, on the 30th of January, the day of the king's accession, and the 5th of November, I infer him to have been eminent as a preacher; the last of these, delivered in 1731, is accompanied by an Appendix, proving Pope John to be Pope Joan.

His measures for
the improvement
of the isle of
Raghlín.

In one action of his episcopal career, Bishop Hutchinson was singularly happy, and deserves particular commemoration. At the distance of about six miles from the northern coast of the county of Antrim, and separated from it by a sea at all times of difficult navigation, and frequently, for many weeks, impassable, lies the island of Raghlín or Raghery. In the time of Bishop Hutchinson, in whose diocese of Connor it is situated, it contained about five hundred inhabitants, but had no resident clergyman, being annexed to the parish of Ballintoy, on the opposite coast, but deriving very scanty and uncertain means of spiritual benefit from the connection, for pastoral superintendence or the ministrations of the Church. The bishop and the parochial incumbent concurred in their wishes and purposes for its improvement. On application of the former to the trustees and governors of Queen Anne's Bounty, the great tythes of the island were

purchased by means of the first-fruits, and Dr. Archibald Stewart, the rector, surrendered the small tithes, and they were united for the endowment of a minister of Raghlin. "A state of the case of the island," also, having been drawn up, printed, and circulated by the bishop, the interest of the neighbouring gentry and clergy was aroused, and contributions raised, whereby a new church was built on the ruins of an old one, under the special auspices of the lord primate, in 1723. And, as the inhabitants were generally incapable of understanding the English language, the bishop procured the Church Catechism to be translated into the vernacular tongue, and printed in parallel columns of English and Irish, under the title of the *Raghlin Catechism*. Partly, also, at his own expence, and partly by the contributions of the Duke of Grafton, and other persons of benevolence and ability, he purchased a collection of books, and deposited them in the parsonage-house as a library for the incumbent. Through some neglect, which occurred before the incumbency of the present rector, the library was dispersed and lost; but the church still stands, a conspicuous object to those who pass between the isle of Raghlin and the mainland; a source of religious comfort and enlightenment to the inhabitants, such of them, at least, as choose to profit by the blessing, who would otherwise have been benighted in the darkness of infidelity or Romanism; and a permanent monument, as the simple inscription over the communion table denotes, to the honour and glory of Almighty God.

SECTION VII.

Great age and Death of Bishop Vigors. His Character. State of Dioceses of Ferns and Leighlin. Dr. Bolton recommended to fill the vacancy. Mr. Hort appointed. Report that he had never been Ordained. Its falsehood. His former Preferment litigated. Act of Parliament passed in consequence. Not Consecrated by Archbishop of Dublin. Archbishop's view of the subject. First instance of a Bishoprick conferred without a Degree. Death of Bishop of Clonfert. Wretched state of his Diocese. Tuam improved by Archbishop Synge. Dr. Bolton appointed to Clonfert. Archbishop King's letter of congratulation and advice. Testimony in his favour. Dr. Maule recommended for Deanery of Derry. Contemplated a History of Ireland. Archbishop King's sense of the difficulty of the undertaking.

Great age and death of Bishop Vigors of Ferns and Leighlin, 1721.

IN the autumn of 1721 the anxiety of the Archbishop of Dublin was again excited, first, by the infirmities and decay, and afterwards by the death, of an aged prelate, Bartholomew Vigors, who had been advanced to the episcopate in 1690, immediately after the Revolution, at the same time that King was made Bishop of Derry; and had occupied the see of Ferns and Leighlin for the last thirty-one years, with a character not unbefitting his office. His inability to join the assembled bishops in Dublin drew from the archbishop, in a letter of September 21, expressions of his sorrow at "so great a decay of his strength and health," accompanied by a prayer for his preservation; "for at present," observed the archbishop, "we can ill spare your Lordship, for reasons besides the private ones of losing a friend, which I believe will be obvious to you without my mentioning them. I beseech you take all care of

yourself, and let us live as long as we can, since we know not who will succeed us." From three or four subsequent letters of the archbishop, it appears that the Bishop of Ferns, though an octogenarian, and incapable of travelling, was alive to the calls of his office, and studious in discharging them. But on the 9th of January a communication from the archbishop to Mr. Southwell announced the bishop's burial. "We bury to-night," he observed, "the Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin. It is a small bishoprick, between 800*l.* and 900*l.*: it concerns me much to have an agreeable person for his successor: you know the other two suffragans, Kildare and Ossory, are in another interest."

The following letter from Archbishop King to the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the 13th of the same month, unfolds his sentiments and wishes in connection with the vacancy:

Letter of Archbishop King to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Jan. 13, 1722.

"I think myself obliged to acquaint your Grace, that it has pleased God to take to himself our brother, Dr. Vigours, bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, in a good old age, near eighty. He was a learned, good man, well acquainted with the discipline of the Church, and most sincerely affected to the government; he has left a farm, that he purchased, near the cathedral of Leighlin, and necessary for the accommodation of the bishop who shall reside; to that use it had been alienated by some of his predecessors. He has left, likewise, 300*l.* towards repairing his manse-house. In truth, he was an eminent example of Christian piety and charity through his whole life.

Character of the deceased prelate.

"These two dioceses are in a sad condition by impropriations, there being about two hundred parishes in those circumstances; the vicarages, where there are vicarages endowed, being so small, that, to my knowledge, sixteen yield the incumbent hardly 60*l.* per annum. The bishop has for several years been very feeble in body, though perfect in his understanding, and did as much as he could

State of the dioceses.

to serve the Church. Your Grace will, from this account, see how necessary it is to have a vigorous, active man, to succeed him, well acquainted with the state of the Church of Ireland in general, and of these dioceses in particular, and who will be able and willing to lay out both his time and money to supply the present defects; the bishopricks are valued to the annual produce of about or between 800*l.* and 900*l.*

Recommendation
of Dr. Bolton.

“ I recommend to my lord lieutenant Dr. Theophilus Bolton, my vicar-general, for this succession. He is owned by all, I think, to be the best civilian and canonist in the kingdom, and of clergymen, certainly the best skilled in the common law. He is not only well affected to the present government, but zealous for his Majesty’s interest, and I know none more able to defend our constitution.

“ I confess I have one reason, that particularly relates to myself, to desire him for my suffragan, and it is this: I am now grown old and infirm, and am not so able to go through my province as formerly, and, therefore, need the assistance of one that will be ready to help me, and whom I may trust with confidence. Now, my two other suffragans, the Bishops of Kildare and Ossory, are persons that seem to be in a different interest from that I have always espoused, and have given me great opposition in many instances; and, therefore, I can neither desire nor expect such assistance from them as I shall need, and which, I am well assured, Dr. Bolton would give me.

“ My Lord, your Grace is the only person on whom the clergy of this Church have their eyes, as their patron at court. . . . I make no apology for troubling your Grace in these matters, which concern the good and discipline of the Church”

Archbishop
King’s ignorance
about church
preferments.

The Archbishop of Dublin’s interposition, however, was ineffectual: and on the 3rd of February he received from the Archbishop of Canterbury intelligence, which, on a consideration of the dates and circumstances, seems to have apprised him of the intended successor to the vacant bishoprick. “ I acknowledge,”

he says, "the favour of your Grace's of the 25th of January last, which came to hand to-day with three pacquets. I know not who are consulted about the disposal of Church preferments or affairs, only I am sure I am not. I know not how the clergyman your Grace mentions behaved himself in your Grace's province, but his behaviour since he came here, if I should believe publick reports, has not been very clerical. I understand that hardly a more ungrateful person to all sorts of people could have been pitched on for a promotion. I wish he may prove otherwise."

In effect, the person appointed Bishop of Ferns and Leighlin was Mr., erroneously called Dr., Josias Hort: and with that error a curious anecdote is connected.

Mr. Hort appointed to the vacant see.

"The Bishop of Ferns," relates Bishop Downes, in a letter from Dublin, March 1, "was consecrated by our brother of Meath, assisted by Kilmore and Dromore, at Castle Knock, last Sunday. . . . You see in the *Whitehall Evening Post* what news concerning him was got to London, namely that the Archbishop of Dublin refused to consecrate him, as having been bred a dissenting teacher, and never received orders according to the usage of the Church of England or Ireland; and that the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, and Tuam, had, on that account, petitioned the King to recall his nomination¹."

Strange report concerning him.

The report here mentioned, so far as relates to the want of episcopal ordination, might be considered to be sufficiently accounted for by the circumstances of his having been born of a dissenting family, educated in a dissenting school, where he was a

Grounds of the report.

¹ NICHOLSON, ii., p. 536.

fellow-student with the celebrated Dr. Watts, and officiated at first as a dissenting minister: and of a tradition prevalent in his family, "that he had so greatly recommended himself to the court by his zeal and services in support of the Hanoverian succession, that, as he scrupled re-ordination, it was dispensed with, and the first preferment bestowed on him was that of a bishoprick in Ireland²."

Its falsehood.

The falsehood, however, of this family tradition will appear from the following statement, which, whilst it effectually controverts the report above cited, will, at the same time, serve to show wherefore, in fact, the metropolitan of the bishop-elect, the Archbishop of Dublin, did not consecrate him; and wherefore he was consecrated by three bishops, neither of whom was a suffragan of the archbishop, but all in a different province.

By what bishops
he had been
ordained.

Harris does not notice the report, but he supplies its contradiction and disproof by mentioning, in a manner contrary to his usual practice, the bishops by whom he had been admitted to both orders of the ministry. Born at Marshfield, in Gloucestershire, brought up at a grammar-school in Bristol, and afterwards a member of Clare Hall, Cambridge; he was ordained a deacon, in 1705, by Dr. John More, bishop of Norwich, and a priest, towards the end of the same year, by Dr. Simon Patrick, bishop of Ely. In 1706, he was instituted to the vicarage of Wendover, in Buckinghamshire; and in 1708, published a sermon, preached at the archdeacon's visitation at Aylesbury; and having, in 1709, attended the Marquis of Wharton to Ireland, in quality of his domestick chaplain, he obtained a patent for the parish of Kilskir, in the diocese of Meath, in the

His preferment
litigated.

² CHALMERS' *Biographical Dictionary*.

patronage of the crown ; but, the title of the crown to the advowson being litigated, he did not take possession of the benefice till after a procrastination of seven years, in which interval he was instituted to the rectory of Haversham, in Buckinghamshire, on the queen's nomination. In 1717, judgment having been at length given in behalf of the crown's title to Kilskir, he took possession of that benefice. In 1718, he was promoted by the Duke of Bolton to the deanery of Cloyne, and to the rectory and sinecure of Louth, which was likewise litigated and recovered. In 1720, he was removed to the deanery of Ardagh, and thence, in 1721, by favour of the Duke of Grafton, was advanced to the episcopate, under the circumstances already stated. By the litigation concerning the vicarage of Kilskir, which was finally concluded by a judgment of the British House of Lords, he lost more than seven years' profit of the benefice, which could not be recovered from the defendant by any law then in force. The consequence of this was an act "for better securing the rights of advowson and presentation to ecclesiastical benefices," passed in the sixth year of King George I., c. 2, for seven years; continued in the first year of King George II., c. 23; and made perpetual by the thirteenth of the same king, c. 4; by which, amongst other things, it is enacted, that in suits for recovery of usurped presentations, for the purpose of preventing vexatious delays, the intruding clerk is made accountable for the profits of the benefice recovered, allowance being made to him, or his curate, of a limited payment for the actual service of the cure.

Act of parliament
in consequence.
6 George I., c. 11.

From the particulars here related, it is sufficiently manifest that the report concerning the want of

Not consecrated
by Archbishop of
Dublin, and why.

episcopal ordination in the bishop-elect of Ferns was unfounded and fictitious. So far, however, as relates to the simple facts of the archbishop's refusal to consecrate him, and of his being in consequence consecrated by the before-mentioned prelates, the statement is correct, and it is explained by the following transcript from a MS. note in Mr. Austin Cooper's copy of Harris's edition of WARE's *Bishops*. "In his letters-patent, he was styled Jos^s. Hort, D.D., dean of Ardagh; for which misnomer of styling him doctor in divinity, the archbishop, Dr. King, refused to consecrate him, until he brought the opinions of Mr. Rogerson and Mr. Marlay, two eminent common lawyers, and also of Dr. Trotter, the civilian; who all agreed that Dean Hort was sufficiently described by the name Josias Hort, dean of Ardagh, and that the additional title of D.D. can be no good reason for the archbishop's refusing to consecrate him. However, the archbishop still refused to perform that office in person, and therefore issued a commission to seven bishops, empowering them, or any three of them, to consecrate him in any church of the diocese, upon which John, bishop of Meath, Timothy, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, and Ralph, bishop of Dromore, did consecrate him the 25th of February, 1721, in the church of Castle-knock."

By whom
consecrated.

Archbishop
King's view of
the subject.

The chief particulars in this anomalous and extraordinary affair have been here mentioned, as collected from different sources. The view, in which the subject offered itself to the mind of the archbishop, was represented by him in a letter to the lord lieutenant, the Duke of Grafton, and is preserved in his MS. Correspondence in Trinity College Library, which also contains Mr. Cooper's copy of WARE.

St. Sepulchre's, February 16, 1722.

Letter to the
Duke of Grafton,
Feb. 16, 1722.

"May it please your Grace,

"I have perused Dean Hort's patent for consecration. I am by it commanded to consecrate Josias Hort, Sacrae Theologiæ Doctorem, Decanum Ardaghensem : on inquiry, I find that he is so far from being a doctor of divinity, that he never took any degree in any university. So I conceive there is a misnomer here. I can find no such man as Josias Hort, doctor of divinity, dean of Ardagh. To consecrate any one bishop of any diocese in his Majesty's dominions, without sufficient warrant, is very penal. I therefore pray that I may have the attorney and solicitor's opinion in the case, whether such a misnomer be of consequence, and whether such a patent be a sufficient warrant in law to me to proceed to consecration.

Misnomer of the
bishop-elect.

"I am not in a capacity to perform it in person; and therefore must grant a commission to some others, and must recite the words of the patent in it. I am very unwilling to put a falsity under my seal; and therefore I intreat, that the attorney and solicitor would let me know, whether I may safely alter the words of the patent in my commission.

"I thought to have inquired the opinion of lawyers myself; but on second thoughts think better, that he should do it for my satisfaction, and the dispatch of his own business.

Opinion of the
crown lawyers
sought.

"About the year 1692 I was in England, and a certain dean was named by Queen Mary for a bishop in Ireland. His letter was ordered to be drawn, but the officer was at a loss for his style, and the clerk came to me to learn his degree. I told him the dean was doctor of laws; but further, on his inquiry, that he was not graduated in divinity; when her Majesty was informed thereof, she stopped his letter, and could not be prevailed on to make him a bishop.

Queen Mary's
refusal to make a
doctor of law a
bishop.

"Give me leave to acquaint your Grace, that this gentleman is the first I ever heard of, that pretended to a bishoprick without any degree at all. I am sorry the precedent begins in your Grace's government, for whom I have all possible respect; and shall, whilst I am,

First instance of
a bishoprick con-
ferred without a
degree.

"My Lord,

"Your Grace's most obedient servant,

"His Grace the Duke of Grafton."

"WILL. DUBLIN.

Dr. Bolton made
a bishop.

Dr. Bolton, who was thus ineffectually put forward on this occasion, was however again recommended on another episcopal vacancy at no distant period, when his patron, Archbishop King, being one of the lords justices, and being joined by his associates in the recommendation, the result was more favourable.

An exclamation
of Archbishop N.
Marsh explained.

It may be remembered, that soon after the Revolution, Narcissus Marsh, then archbishop of Cashel, thanked God in his Diary that he was not concerned in the consecration of an unworthy person then made Bishop of Clonfert. That he was not without cause of thankfulness, is evident from the following letter of the Archbishop of Dublin to the Archbishop of Canterbury, undated, but shown by circumstances to have been written in or about July, 1722:

Letter from
Archbishop King
to Archbishop
Wake, July, 1722.
Death of Bishop
of Clonfert.

“ My Lord,

“ Your Grace will find by the publick prints, that Doctor Fitzgerald, bishop of Clonfert, is dead. The poor man has had hardly any use of his reason for several years. I believe he was about the age of eighty-eight. About twelve years ago he married a young woman about twenty, who governed him and the diocese in a wretched manner; no discipline, no due care of spirituals or temporals, his manse-house gone to ruin, and everything out of order. His predecessor, Dr. Woolley, was as bad as he, though Sir James Ware gave a great character of him. These two have held this bishoprick with that of Aghaduy (in Latin, Duarensis,) since the year 1665. The case of the clergy is thus: there are no glebes; one-quarter of the tithes are held by the bishop; two-fourths have been generally in the hands of impropiators; so the clergy have been possessed of one-fourth. The diocese is pretty large; yet has but ten beneficed clergymen, and about half these non-resident. Your Grace will see from this account what necessity there is that a good active man should be placed in it, if any regard be had to religion.

Wretched state
of the diocese.

“The neighbouring diocese of Tuam was much in the same condition, by the negligence of the former archbishops; but, by placing Dr. Synge in it, it begins to change its face. His Grace has gone a great way in building a manse-house, which has already cost him about 2000*l.*, and will cost him, I believe, about 1500*l.* more, before he finishes it. He has given up the *quarta pars Episcopalis* held by all his predecessors, and yet, by his prudent management, has very little lessened the yearly revenue; and, I am persuaded, will, by the methods he prosecutes, leave it as good, if not better, than he found it; and all this without law-suits, and with the consent of the tenants. He has also got several new churches and cures, and is projecting more. I pray God preserve him to finish his good designs. The same may be done in Clonfert, if a right man be placed in it. We have recommended Dr. Theo. Bolton for it: he is a thorough, universal scholar, and absolutely the best civilian and canonist in the kingdom. He has a great reputation for prudence and piety, as well as learning; and especially our common-law judges have a regard for him and his opinion in the common law as in the civil. But what regard will be had to our recommendation, or these qualifications, time must show; but of this I am persuaded, that if he were made Bishop of Clonfert, who is a suffragan of the Archbishop of Tuam, and between whom there is an entire friendship, they would be a mighty assistance to one another, and soon put that province in a better condition than it ever has been; and the only contest between them would be, who should do best for his bishoprick and the publick.

Diocese of Tuam
improved by
Archbishop
Synge.

Dr. Bolton
recommended for
Clonfert.

“When I began this letter I did not think to give your Grace any trouble about this matter; but, on second thoughts, I concluded that I should be wanting to my duty, if I should not apprise you fully of the state and circumstances of it, which few can do better, having lived some years in that country, and made it my business to inform myself of everything in the province.

“Archbishop of Canterbury.”

The result of this recommendation is noticed in a letter of congratulation and advice, from Bath,

Letter to the
bishop-elect,
August 27, 1722.

August the 27th, 1722, addressed by the archbishop to the bishop-elect :

Congratulation.

“ My Lord,

“ This is to congratulate your nomination to the bishoprick ; and I pray God that you may manage the office with as much success and honesty as the means have been fair by which you have come into it. You will give me leave to desire the favour of you to take care of my court till I can come over and put it in order. You have the vicar-general's place for life. I am not sure whether your acceptance of a bishoprick voids it. I think not : if so, pray execute it whilst you stay in Dublin : and, if you be obliged to leave it before I return, you can appoint a commissary ; but, if the place be void, you and the Bishop of Kildare, by your commission, can appoint one, which I desire you to do. . . .

“ As to your own affair, you will not think of being consecrated till after Michaelmass, and I hope to be in Dublin in October : I wish I were able to assist at it.

Advice.

“ The first thing I would advise you to do, as soon as your patent is past, is to get your manse-house viewed by commissioners, and a report made by them what sum will put it in repair fit for your reception ; and then immediately send to the executors of the late bishop to pay the money, and, if refused, to commence a suit for it. It will be proper to advertise them of the commission, and to desire them to join in it : this will be a good precedent, and of good use.

“ The next thing will be to inquire into the money received out of the impropriations, and how it has been laid out.

High character of
Dr. Bolton.

“ As to yourself, you have obtained a great character both for ability and honesty, not only in Ireland, but likewise in England ; and it will concern you much, and all your friends who have helped you, and indeed the whole Church of Ireland, that you maintain it by suitable actions. Tricks and contrivances may serve a man on some occasions, but generally fail a man at last, and disappoint him, of which we have had very signal instances on his Majesty's accession to the throne, and with which you are well ac-

quainted; therefore, let me intreat you to resolve to act always according to your conscience, and to do it with diligence and courage, and neither fear the frowns of the great nor the clamour of the mob; for the world is not yet so bad but truth, honesty, and good sense are still able to support themselves. And though it should happen otherwise, yet the comfort of having acted in the honest part answers all the inconveniences which can happen to a good man. I tell you things which you know as well as I: but I am well pleased with such lectures from all my friends, and therefore you will take this in good part from him who wishes you well from his heart, and of whose hearty and continual prayers you may assure yourself, and desire the like return for,

“ My Lord,

“ Your most humble servant and brother,

“ W. D.

“ Dr. Bolton.”

A letter from Archbishop King to Archbishop Wake expressed his sense of the assistance derived from the English primate in attaining an object so desirable, as this was esteemed, for the Irish Church:

Letter acknowledging Archbishop Wake's assistance, Aug. 28, 1722.

“ *Bath, August 28, 1722.*

“ May it please your Grace,

“ I am honoured with your Grace's of the 21st instant. I am glad, on many accounts, that my lord lieutenant has procured the bishoprick of Clonfert for Dr. Bolton, though I could wish that he had been advanced to some less obscure and less difficult place; but I promise myself his Grace the lord lieutenant will have both honour and good-will by his promotion; not that I think it possible for him to put the diocese in the order that it should be, though he lived forty years in it; for I have laboured twenty years in my own, and spared neither cost nor pains, and yet I am very far from bringing it to any perfect regulation, and I have had many advantages to help me which he will want. I reckon we have had your Grace's helping hand in this affair, and am willing your Grace should be sensible

that we are sensible likewise of your good offices, and thankful.

Commendation of
Dr. Maule.

“As to Dr. Maule, I do not know any man whom I had rather have a bishop; and, to deal ingenuously with your Grace, for this particular bishoprick I would rather had him than Dr. Bolton, though both excellent men, and the latter the brighter; for which I have a reason, not to the disadvantage of either; but I learned, from an old saying, that one should drive the nail which will go. I hope his Grace my lord lieutenant will continue in the same mind, and extend his next favour to Dr. Maule, as you say he has encouraged him to expect.”

Testimony in fa-
vour of Bishop
Bolton.

A letter also to the lord lieutenant, the Duke of Grafton, November 6, 1722, reports from the archbishop, that the Bishop of Clonfert went immediately to his bishoprick as soon as consecrated; and conveys the writer's pledge that “his Majesty would find in him a faithful subject, the Church an useful bishop, and your Grace receive the grateful returns due to a patron.” And another letter, of the same date, addressed to the secretary, the Right Hon. Ed. Hopkins, Esq., together with the archbishop's grateful acknowledgments to the lord lieutenant, conveys a notice of the condition of the bishoprick of Clonfert, as well as the province of Connaught in general:

Confusion and
disorder of the
diocese.

“I am, and the kingdom, greatly obliged to his Grace for the promotion of the Bishop of Clonfert. He has been at his bishoprick ever since he was consecrated; but I expect him here this week or the next. I understand he finds everything there in the utmost confusion and disorder; and, in truth, it could not be expected it should be otherwise, the late bishop, who held it about thirty-one years, never having been very capable of the station, and for the last years of his life not himself. Connaught, where the see lies, is the most Popish country in Ireland, and requires the most active, prudent, and industrious clergy, if we ever

expect it should become Protestant. I think the present bishops are all very good; and if they can be prevailed on to reside, and apply themselves to their business, I believe a great deal of good may be done."

Of Dr. Maule, dean of Cloyne, to whom allusion was made in one of the last extracts, it may be convenient to take this opportunity for explaining, that in the course of the preceding spring, on the expected vacancy of the deanery of Derry, Archbishop King had made a great exertion in his favour; and had addressed letters commendatory of him to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Mr. Southwell, Mr. Hopkins, and the Duke of Grafton. The grounds on which these recommendations were made, were the position of the deanery of Derry, being "a great frontier against the dissenters, and having five great cures on it, and the necessity of a sixth in the isle of Inch, where there were an hundred families, and an old chapel, seven miles from the parish church, without the power of getting to any church without crossing the sea;" the necessity of a good man, to fill the station efficiently; and the peculiar qualifications of Dean Maule, distinguished as he was by his care for the souls under his charge, and his charity for the poor, his concern for the faith and discipline of the Church, his good affection to his Majesty, and zeal for his government and the publick good. These qualifications, as the archbishop observed to Mr. Hopkins, "speak loudly for him in this kingdom: but you know that will do him little good, except they be considered on your side of the water. I therefore entreat you to give what assistance you can conveniently to a good man, which, as it will be a publick service, so will it be an obligation on, Sir, your humble servant, W. D."

Character of Dr. Maule.

Recommended for the deanery of Derry.

His competitor.

The archbishop was induced to take steps thus early in behalf of Dr. Maule, by the exertions previously made to procure the deanery of Derry for another person. "I should not have encouraged him to make any motion that way," he writes on the 24th of May to the Archbishop of Canterbury, "had I not found that the bishop had written letters to secure it for a son-in-law of his Lordship's; and, as is suspected, gone over to England in person to that purpose. I understand there have fallen three benefices in the diocese since he came to it; one the very best in it, another the archdeaconry, and another one of the best: these he has got for his son and two relations or friends. My Lord, such proceedings will have an ill effect on the minds of both clergy, I fear, and laity, and add to that general discontent that of late too much appears everywhere."

He contemplated
a history of
Ireland.

Of the worth of the individual commended in these extracts, there will be occasion to speak with respect hereafter. At the present time it seems that he had in contemplation to write a history of Ireland: such, at least, is the interpretation which I put upon the following observations made to him by Archbishop King in a letter of May 8, 1722:

Archbishop
King's sense of
the difficulty of
the undertaking.

"As to the history of Ireland, I am very sensible there is one wanting, but doubt whether it be possible to supply it. It is observable that the beginning of all societies is generally obscure, insomuch that little account can be given of them; the reason is, because people are so busy in procuring a settlement for themselves, and providing necessities, that they have not time to tell the world what they have been doing; and this is so true, that it holds even in the settlement of the Church: for though the faith of Christ was preached through a great part of the world by the apostles, yet we have hardly any account of any other

apostle's labours but St. Paul's, and even that is imperfect, and doth not go through a great part of his latter time: in short, we find Christianity everywhere, but when, or how, or by whom planted, is in the dark.

“ Now this I take to be the state of Ireland. It has been in a continued state of unsettlement; and the few clergy, who are in it, are put to such shifts to live, so employed in the common offices of their duties, that they have not time to apply themselves to anything else: besides, our benefices, which are few, very few indeed, which would afford subsistence and leisure to look into the history and antiquities of the kingdom, are generally given to persons altogether unqualified and incapable of performing such a task. Our gentlemen do not apply themselves to learning; and those who are able to employ hands to collect and procure the sight of records, generally live out of the kingdom: and the offices, where our records lie, are kept or held by persons that neither live in the kingdom, nor, if they did, were capable of looking into the records. The poor harpy deputy has no view but to get money; never minds anything but what gets him the penny; hardly knows what records he has in his custody; and can neither find them if you inquire for them, nor let you peruse them without considerable sums and great costs: the case, then, is this, that those who have money and leisure have neither capacity nor will to apply themselves to such a work, and those who are capable and willing have neither leisure nor opportunity.

Unsettled state
of the country.

Want of encour-
agement.

Record offices ill
kept.

“ When I first came to this diocese, I had it in my mind to look into the antiquities, the civil, ecclesiastical, and natural history of the kingdom; but found everything in such disorder, the discipline so sunk, the cures so ill provided, so many churches wanting, and those in being so ruinous, that I looked on it as my immediate duty to take care of these, which I have done with all the diligence I could, and it has taken up most of my time, and what money I could spare. I want yet twelve churches, to accommodate the diocese with tolerable conveniency to the people; and, which is worst, want a maintenance for the ministers to serve them, if they were built. Of the churches which

Archbishop
King's inten-
tions, how frus-
trated.

are in repair, and continually officiated in, I reckon twenty-three have no sufficient maintenance; the allowance to the curates who serve them being from 20*l.* to 40*l.* per annum: and about forty-six have no glebe, which makes residence very difficult, and in some of them impossible. You may see from this that I have work enough, and that it is not possible for me to find either means or leisure to take care of an history, either civil, ecclesiastical, or natural.

Council-chamber
burnt.

“ I may farther observe, that the council-chamber being burnt about eleven years ago, we have lost the repositories of most of our Church affairs, and with it the surveyor’s office was burnt, where many inquisitions and maps relating to our endowments were destroyed.

Change of go-
vernours.

“ And farther, our chief governours and their secretaries, who are so often changed, commonly took with them all the records which came to their hands, insomuch that I believe there are more MSS. and papers relating to Ireland in the Lambeth Library, Bennett College, and my Lord Clarendon’s, than in all this kingdom.

MSS. relating to
Ireland.

“ A copy of my Lord Clarendon’s is printed, but I do not remember any printed of the other two: we have several Irish MSS. in the library here, but I know nobody that can or cares to peruse them.

“ Mr. Dodwell has often told me that we might have the ecclesiastical history of the Church of Ireland more entire, and from authors freer from fable than the English; particularly he mentioned the *Ulster Annals*, and *Tiger-nacus*.”

SECTION VIII.

Account of Bishop Bolton. Dean Swift's comment on his elevation. The Dean's opposition to his Diocesan. Refuses to attend his Visitation. The Bishop's refusal to ordain a person for his Curate. Archbishop King's practice in ordaining Candidates from other Dioceses. Dean Swift's continued opposition. His Letter to the Bishop of Meath. Death of the Bishop. His Benefactions to the Church. Episcopal Appointments. Settlement of the Controversy between Archbishop King and Dean and Chapter of Christ Church. Various Decisions in the Archbishop's favour. His final success. Letter of acknowledgment to Archbishop Wake. His Visitation of Christ Church. Jurisdiction settled.

THEOPHILUS BOLTON, who, on the death of Bishop Fitzgerald, was promoted to the bishoprick of Clonfert, in September, 1722, is recorded as “one of the most eloquent speakers of his time, a very learned man, and particularly skilled in ecclesiastical history¹.” He had been, together with Dr. Swift, chaplain to Charles Earl of Berkeley, when one of the lords justices of Ireland; and had been promoted to the deanery of Derry, which is said to have been promised to Dr. Swift; but that Mr. Bushe, the principal secretary, laid the latter aside, unless he would pay him a large sum, which the doctor refused with the utmost contempt and scorn. Dr. Bolton afterwards became Chancellor of St. Patrick's, in which capacity he had been brought into disagreeable collision with the dean, who, in a letter of July 9, 1717, to a common friend, Mr. Cope, threw upon the chancellor the whole blame of their disagreement: “I made a good many advances to your

Account of
Bishop Bolton.

¹ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., 29 ; xiv., 269.

friend Bolton, since I came to town, and talked of you; but all signified nothing: for he has taken every opportunity of opposing me in the most unkind and unnecessary manner; but I have done with him²."

Dean Swift's
comment on his
elevation.

It was accordingly with no great complacency that he heard or spoke of Dr. Bolton's elevation, as expressed in a letter to the same correspondent, October 9, 1722: "Strange revolutions since I left you: a bishop," (meaning Dr. Atterbury, bishop of Rochester,) "a bishop of my old acquaintance in the Tower for treason, and a doctor of my new acquaintance made a bishop." After an interval he adds, "Your new Bishop Bolton was born to be my tormentor: he ever opposed me as my subject, and now has left me embroiled for want of him. The government, in consideration of the many favours they have shown me, would fain have me give St. Bride's to some one of their hang-dogs, that Dr. Howard may come into St. Werburgh's;" a parish church in Dublin, annexed to the chancellorship of St. Patrick's: "so that I must either disoblige whig and tory in my chapter, or be ungrateful to my friends in power³."

The dean's oppo-
sition to his dio-
cesan.

What may have been the causes or circumstances of the opposition thus complained of, as offered to the Dean of St. Patrick's by "his subject" the chancellor, is not stated. But, reverting to a somewhat earlier period, we find a remarkable example of opposition offered by the dean himself, though in a different character, to his ecclesiastical superior. He was Vicar of Laracor, in the diocese of Meath, and, as such, subject to the jurisdiction of the diocesan, and bound to attend his visitations. From the

² SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., 83.

³ *Ibid.*, xi., 194.

following letter it appears, that in 1718 he had attended a visitation; but, from some offence conceived against the bishop, had determined to attend no more. In the following year accordingly he sent a proxy, appointing a substitute to appear for him: and on the proxy being refused to be accepted, this letter was addressed by the parochial minister to his bishop⁴:

“To the Bishop of Meath,

May 22, 1719.

His letter to the Bishop of Meath, May, 22, 1719.

“I had an express sent to me yesterday by some friends, to let me know that you refused to accept my proxy, which I think was in a legal form, and with all the circumstances it ought to have. I was likewise informed of some other particulars relating to your displeasure for my not appearing. You may remember, if you please, that I promised last year never to appear again at your visitations; and I will most certainly keep my word, if the law will permit me: not from any contempt of your Lordship’s jurisdiction, but that I would not put you under the temptation of giving me injurious treatment, which no wise man, if he can avoid it, will receive above once from the same person.

Refuses to attend the bishop’s visitations.

“I had the less apprehension of any hard dealing from your Lordship, because I had been more than ordinary officious in my respects to you, from your first coming over. I waited on you as soon as I knew of your landing. I attended on you on your first journey to Trim. I lent you a useful book relating to your diocese; and repeated my visits, till I saw you never intended to return them. And I could have no design to serve myself, having nothing to hope or fear from you. I cannot help it, if I am called of a different party from your Lordship’s, but that circumstance is of no consequence with me, who respect good men of all parties alike.

Expostulates with him for ingratitude.

“I have already nominated a person to be my curate, and did humbly recommend him to your Lordship to be ordained, which must be done by some other bishop, since you are pleased, as I am told, to refuse it: and I am apt to think

His remark on the bishop’s refusal to ordain a person for his curate.

⁴ SWIFT’S *Works*, xi., 119.

you will be of opinion, that, when I have a lawful curate, I shall not be under the necessity of a personal appearance, from which I hold myself excused by another station. If I shall prove to be mistaken, I declare my appearance will be extremely against my inclinations. However, I hope that in such a case, your Lordship will please to remember, in the midst of your resentments, that you are to speak to a clergyman, and not to a footman.

“I am, your Lordship’s most obedient,
humble servant,

“JON. SWIFT.”

An instance of
insubordination.

It is not my purpose to magnify unduly the episcopal office, still less to hold it forth as a defence of injurious treatment, or resentful or disrespectful language, from a bishop to his ecclesiastical inferior. What, however, had been the conduct or the language of the Bishop of Meath on this particular occasion, I am not aware that we possess means of ascertaining. Probably it was aggravated by the irritable temper of the complainant: the tone of whose letter altogether, and especially its language of crimination, and of independence on the judgment of the diocesan in the exercise of his episcopal power of ordination and admission of curates, deviated widely from the deference due from the ecclesiastical inferior to his bishop.

Ordination of
curates depend-
ing on the dio-
cesans.

As connected with the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in Ireland, let it at the same time be observed, that either the sanguine temperament of Dean Swift must have misled him into a supposition, that he could procure from some other bishop the ordination of a candidate for a cure, for which his own diocesan refused to ordain him; or great laxity of discipline must have prevailed in the Church. In juxtaposition, therefore, with his remark, I adduce two extracts from letters of Archbishop King, on

the 12th and 22nd of December, 1724. "I am pressed," he says to the Bishop of Cork, "to ordain a young man priest for a curacy in your Lordship's diocese to assist Dr. Maule. But I think every bishop ought to have the examination of such as are designed to serve the Church under his care, and I ordain none for other bishops except at their request. If your Lordship, however, desires it, I will not refuse to examine and ordain him."

Archbishop
King's practice.

And again: "The gentleman, whom Dr. Maule desired to have ordained for your Lordship's diocese, is one Mr. Hassett, I think of Kerry: he is a deacon, and only intended for an assistant, which is a proper employment for a deacon, it being the first design of their institution, and expressed in the office of their ordination, that they are to assist the priest. And I seldom ordain any priest till he have officiated as an assistant to some priest for a year, according to the rubrick, that I may know how he behaves himself in the service of God, and may be more perfect and better instructed in his duty: and finding your Lordship had demurred on ordaining him, it made me the more resolute in observing my rule of not ordaining any for another bishop's diocese, without being desired by the bishop."

The following case, likewise, is not unworthy of notice, where the bishop of another diocese having ordained a person on a title in the archbishop's diocese, without the archbishop's authority, the latter threw the responsibility of employing the person ordained, on the bishop who had ordained him:

Bishops bound to
provide for those
whom they
ordain.

"My Lord,

Dublin, Oct. 22, 1726.

"I understand that your Lordship has ordained a gentleman, one Mr. Hely, who, whilst a layman, had a

presentation, as I am told, to some small thing in my diocese. I never did such a thing for any of my brethren, but on letters-testimonial from them, and at their request. I wish I might have the same deference paid to the canons, and to me as a brother; but, since your Lordship has thought fit to ordain him, I hope your Lordship will be so kind as to provide for him in your own diocese, and not return him on me. I referred him to my commissioners, being absent, of which the Bishop of Kildare was the first, and had power to ordain whom he thought fit; but, on application to him, his Lordship did not think fit to lay hands on him. Your Lordship has taken it on yourself; and I also hope that you will take care of him, that I may have no further trouble on his account. I persuade myself that your Lordship will comply with this, as a reasonable request of,

“ My Lord,

“ Your most humble servant

and affectionate brother,

“ Lord Bishop of Down.

W. D.”

From these letters, written at a period not very remote from the date of Dean Swift's letter to his diocesan, it is evident, that he would have sought in vain, from the Archbishop of Dublin, for the ordination of a candidate, whom his own bishop refused to ordain. Possibly, other bishops may have been less scrupulous, as these pages, indeed, have given proof that they were, in upholding the Church's discipline.

Dean Swift's
continued oppo-
sition to his
diocesan.

I return, however, to the case of the dean, with the observation, that the offence, whatever it was, that had raised his displeasure, continued to be cherished in his remembrance. The next year a violent disorder obliged the Bishop of Meath to hold his visitation by commission; but, after an interval of two years, when the bishop's visitation was again announced, the following letter was

addressed to a confidential correspondent of the writer, the Rev. Mr. Wallis⁵:

" Sir, *Dublin, May 18, 1721.*

" I had your letter, and the copy of the bishop's circular inclosed, for which I thank you; and yet I will not pretend to know anything of it, and hope you have not told anybody what you did. I should be glad enough to be at the visitation, not out of any love to the business of the person, but to do my part in preventing any mischief; but, in truth, my health will not suffer it, and you, who are my proxy, may safely give it upon your veracity. I am confident the bishop would not be dissatisfied with wanting my company, and yet he may give himself airs, when he finds I am not there. I now employ myself in getting you a companion to cure your spleen.

" I am,

" Your faithful, humble servant,

" J. S."

The visitation accordingly was holden, and the proceedings produced the following letter from Dean Swift to the Bishop of Meath, dated July 5, 1721. In a note upon BISHOP NICHOLSON'S *Epistolary Correspondence*, it is characterised by the editor of that work as "an excellent rebuke⁶:" the reader will form his own estimate of its fitness, under the relative circumstances of the parties⁷:

" My Lord,

" I have received an account of your Lordship's refusing to admit my proxy at your visitation, with several circumstances of personal reflections on myself, although my proxy attested my want of health; to confirm which, and to lay before you the justice and Christianity of your proceeding, above a hundred persons of quality and distinction can witness that since Friday, the 26th of May, I have been tormented with an ague, in as violent a manner as

Letter to the
Bishop of Meath,
July 5, 1721.

⁵ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 163.

⁶ NICHOLSON, ii.

⁷ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 164.

His determination to avoid the visitation.

possible, which still continues, and forces me to make use of another hand in writing to you. At the same time I must be plain to tell you, that if this accident had not happened I should have used all my endeavours to avoid your visitation, upon the publick promise I made you three years ago, and the motives which occasioned it; because I was unwilling to hear any more very injurious treatment and appellations given to my brethren or myself: and, by the grace of God, I am still determined to absent myself on the like occasion, so far as I can possibly be dispensed with by any law, while your Lordship is in that diocese, and I a member of it. In which resolution I could not conceive but your Lordship would be easy, because, although my presence might possibly contribute to your real, at least future interest, I was sure it could not to your present satisfaction.

“If I had had the happiness to have been acquainted with any one clergyman in the diocese of your Lordship’s principles, I should have desired him to represent me, with hopes of better success: but I wish you would sometimes think it convenient to distinguish men as well as principles, and not to look upon every person who happens to owe you canonical obedience, as if———

“I have the honour to be ordinary over a considerable number of as eminent divines as any in this kingdom, who owe me the same obedience as I owe to your Lordship, and are equally bound to attend my visitation; yet neither I nor any of my predecessors, to my knowledge, did ever refuse a regular proxy.

“I am only sorry that you, who are of a country famed for good nature, have found a way to unite the hasty passion of your own countrymen with the long, sedate resentment of a Spaniard: but I have an honourable hope that this proceeding has been more owing to party than complexion.

“I am,

“My Lord,

“Your Lordship’s most humble servant.”

Death of Bishop
Evans, March,
1724.

In March, 1724, Bishop Evans died. Notwithstanding the severe and sarcastick reflections of

Dean Swift, he is repeatedly mentioned by Bishop Downes with esteem and kindness, and appears to have maintained with him and Bishop Nicholson a neighbourly and friendly intercourse. On his monument it is recorded, that, at his death, he devoted his property, as he had done during his life, to the benefit of the Church, both in England and in Ireland. And the record is confirmed by the fact of his having bequeathed his personal estate, in several portions, for building, if not built by himself, according to his intention, an episcopal house at Arddracan; for purchasing lands for the use of the rector of Llanlayhan, his native parish, in the diocese of Bangor; for purchasing glebes and impropriate tythes, with the consent of the governours of Queen Anne's Bounty, for the benefit of the poor clergy in England; and for purchasing glebes and impropriate tythes for the benefit and endowment of the several churches in the diocese of Meath, in the sole donation of the bishops of that see⁸. It were difficult to imagine a more judicious and appropriate distribution of property acquired from the Church, and thus devoted to her emolument.

His benefactions
to the Church.

The vacancy thus caused in the see of Meath, was promptly filled by the translation of Bishop Downes from Elphin, which was conferred on Bishop Bolton; and, thereupon, the bishoprick of Clonfert fell to the lot of Arthur Price, doctor of divinity in the university of Dublin, of whom Harris has noticed it as observable, that he had gradually passed through all the stations of the Church, having been, successively, first, reader, then curate of St. Werburgh's, in Dublin; vicar of Cell-bridge;

Episcopal
appointments.

Price, bishop of
Clonfert: his
gradations in
the Church.

⁸ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 163.

prebendary of Donadea, in Kildare; rector of Louth, in Armagh; archdeacon and canon of Kildare; and, finally, dean of Ferns, whence he was promoted to the bishopricks of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, in May, 1724.

Letter from
Bishop Downes to
Bishop Nicholson.

The arrangement of these bishopricks, and the influence by which they were distributed, are communicated by Bishop Downes to Bishop Nicholson, in the following letter, dated Dublin, March 24, 1724^o, the Duke of Grafton being lord lieutenant :

“ Dear Brother,

“ Whether you make a jest of it or no, perhaps I may be a privy counsellor before my betters: though, whenever that honour shall fall to my lot, if it were in my power I should be willing to resign it to one I could name, who is far more worthy of it.

Cause of his promotion to Meath.

“ It was not out of affectation of secrecy that I did not acquaint your Lordship with my hopes of success, which you contributed greatly to strengthen by the letters you wrote, particularly that to the Bishop of London, who, though he knew me very well, and I knew his power, yet, having never held any correspondence with him, I could not find out any way of coming at him to so good advantage as by your Lordship. Your readiness to use your interest in him, and his to use his interest at court in my favour, lays strong obligations upon me to both. I believe his Grace’s recommendation of me to Meath was no sooner received than approved, and the others also were soon agreed to; for on Sunday morning last the lord lieutenant received an account that his Majesty had signed all the three letters to his Grace’s great satisfaction; and, if he would be as quick in disposing of preferments in his own power, it might be more to the satisfaction of others and his own honour.

Accident to the
Bishop of Ferns.

“ Our brother Ferns, who is now on his visitation, on the road calling somewhat louder than usual to his man, as he rode by, to come up to him, quite lost his voice, and has

not yet recovered it; so that he will be able only to make signs, or whisper to his clergy, &c.

“Dean Price, who went along with him, had an express sent after him on Sunday, and he came hither last night, or early this morning, to take possession of his bishoprick of Clonfert, though there was no need of his making such post haste, none of our letters being yet come over, and perhaps none may, till they shall be called for and cleared off by the payment of the fees at the Privy Signet Office, which now we have desired Mr. Maddocks to do by the first post. And when they do come, mine must have finished its course before either of the others could begin theirs. All which shows that there was no necessity of whipping and spurring, unless it proceeded from an impatience to express his gratitude to his benefactors for a promotion which was most highly provoking to the lord chancellor, (Viscount Midleton,) and the first news of it made him swear: nor could he find in his heart to wish either brother Clonfert or me joy on the occasion, though he was in the room when we came in to return our thanks to my lord duke; and his Grace was pleased in his hearing to wish us joy; and afterwards turned about, and told the lord chancellor. Upon which occasion he only said he saw joy in our looks: but did not think fit to show any sign of his rejoicing with us. On the contrary, his countenance fell, and discovered no small concern at the evidence the duke had given of his power at court, which he, no doubt, reflected on as what one day might affect him.

Dissatisfaction of
Lord Chancellor
Midleton.

“I had a letter from our good friend the Lord of Canterbury by the last post. He seemed to expect that these preferments would not be disposed of till the duke came over; but heard, however, that I was safe. He complained that he should be the last that would be consulted in those matters; and therefore did not trouble his head or concern himself about them. I really feared that so it continued with him: however, I thought it not fit to suppose so much, or to seem to neglect him, by omitting to write to his Grace in this affair.

“Our best services wait on you and all yours, and are and shall be yours most affectionately, as above all others is

“Your most obliged,

H. E.”

Visitation of his
diocese by Bishop
of Meath.

An early visitation of his new diocese by Bishop Downes, produced a letter, of June 4, 1724, from which the ensuing extract is remarkable, in reference to the previous intercourse between his predecessor and Dean Swift: "I spent all last week in or near Trim. On Wednesday I held my visitation, and on Thursday a synod there; and, through the unexpected goodness of the Dean of St. Patrick's, was made perfectly easy on both days, as if he had a mind to atone, by his uncommon civilities to me, for the uncommon trouble he had given to my predecessor. The dean went with me, on Friday, to visit Arbracken, and to lay out the ground for my new house and gardens; but we returned *re infectâ*, not having allowed time for so necessary a work."¹⁰

Settlement of the
controversy
between Arch-
bishop King and
dean and chapter
of Christ Church,
1724.

The controversy concerning the power of the Archbishop of Dublin, in regard to the dean and chapter of Christ Church, which had existed for a long period of years, was brought to a close in the spring of 1724. The archiepiscopal jurisdiction in that cathedral was resisted, and two very tedious and expensive suits had been carried on against the archbishop, one of them for fourteen years and upwards, by the dean and chapter. One of these suits related to the instalment of his archdeacon, whom they refused to admit to a seat, and allow him a voice, in the chapter, to which he was said to be entitled by their charter. The other was on the question of the archbishop's general jurisdiction and visitation, which they rejected.

Various decisions
in his favour.

He had previously had "two other causes on the same foot," which passed all the courts in Ireland and in England, and at last were determined

¹⁰ NICHOLSON, ii., p. 574.

in the English House of Lords; besides, on a reference to Lord Chief Justice Holt, he had given his award in the archbishop's favour.

In the causes now under judgment, the archbishop had also had sentence in his favour, first in the Court of Common Pleas, in Ireland. The sentence was affirmed, on a writ of error, in the Irish Court of King's Bench. Again, on the like writ of error, it had been affirmed in the King's Bench, in England. But his adversaries proceeded thence, and brought the causes before the English House of Lords.

Of the conduct of the dean and chapter on this occasion, he speaks with the greatest indignation: "I must crave your pardon," thus he writes on the 4th of February, to Francis Annesley, Esq., "when I tell you, that you are much mistaken to imagine, that the dean and chapter of Christ Church are ashamed of anything. They live in opposition to all mankind, except their two lawyers, Mr. Nutley and Mr. Burk; squander away their œconomy; have turned their chapter-house into a toy-shop, their vaults into wine-cellars; and allowed a room in the body of their church, formerly for a grand jury-room, and now for a robe-room for the judges; and are greatly chagrined at my getting two or three churches built and consecrated in the parishes belonging to their body, which were formerly neglected, as several others still are; their cathedral is in a pitiful condition; and though St. Patrick's has not half the œconomy that Christ Church has, yet it is much better beautified, and great sums of money laid out on it. In short, the dean and chapter, and all their members, seem to have little regard to the good of the Church, or to

His indignation
at the conduct of
the dean and
chapter.

the service of God. This consideration has made me zealous to settle my jurisdiction over them, and the same makes them unwilling to come under it. One of them told me, when I objected these things to him, that he looked on these as a sure sign that they were not subject to the archbishop; for, if he had had power, he would not have suffered them."

His exertions to procure a hearing in the House of Lords.

The archbishop was desirous of bringing these questions to a close; and, that he might secure a hearing and a decision, wrote to several English peers, entreating their attendance, especially to the Earl Coningsby, the Lord President of the Council, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. To the last he expressed himself thus: "If your Grace cannot be there, I entreat you send as many of your brethren as you can influence . . . I beseech your Grace not to resent this trouble. You see how I am pushed in my jurisdiction. If this were by dissenters or Papists, I should bear it more easily; but it is by the members of my cathedral, who pretend to be mighty high churchmen, and whose church was built and endowed by my predecessors out of the bishoprick, who now will not own me, though constantly visited by all my predecessors, till I came in."

Final success.

Fresh attempts were made to postpone the hearing till another session; but "the House put themselves to more than ordinary pains in order to give judgment in them, and in both the causes gave judgment, with costs, in favour of the archbishop." His grateful acknowledgments for the expedition with which they were despatched were made in two letters, of May the 2nd, to the lord chancellor, Lord Macclesfield, and to the lord president; and in two letters of May 28, 1724, to Lord Townshend and

Earl Cadogan, to whose influence and exertions he was indebted for their being heard and brought to judgment. In the interval he addressed a long account of his condition with respect to Christ Church to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and it contains so many curious particulars, that I purpose to transcribe it at length, little pleasing, as it is, for an ecclesiastical exhibition, and little creditable to the churchmen whose portraits are comprised in the picture :

“ Dublin, May the 23rd, 1724.

“ May it please your Grace,

“ I was honoured with your Grace’s of the 23rd of April, which, to be sure, gave me great satisfaction, and obliges me to have a great sense of gratitude to your Grace, and to the whole House of Lords, who, as I understand, treated me with some distinction, which I gratefully acknowledge. I received your Grace’s letter in the beginning of a fit of the gout, which seized me in my hand, and I was unwilling to make use of another’s to your Grace. But finding it continue, I thought it more respectful to make my acknowledgments any way than delay them too long.

“ I hope this will put an end to the long and expensive contention in which I have been engaged, for which there was not the least ground. I have had three judgments in the Common Pleas here, some of them in the Queen’s time, when the judges were no ways favourable to me : four in the King’s Bench here, four in the King’s Bench in Great Britain, and four in the House of Lords there : in all which, by what I understand, the judges were unanimous. Besides these I have had the better in two appeals ; and surely this may satisfy any reasonable men.

‘ I am not yet sure whether my adversaries acquiesce ; but I hope they will. It will be my part not to treat them with resentment ; and I am resolved to act that part, though the provocations have been very great on their part. The clamour of both clergy and laity against them is so loud, that I do not see how they will be able to stand it ; for,

Letter of acknowledgment to Archbishop of Canterbury. May 23, 1724.

Numerous judgments in his favour.

General censure of the conduct of his opponents.

whomsoever they meet, they find themselves condemned. They have suffered extremely both in their interest and other advantages which were allowed them ; the clergy having withdrawn themselves from preaching in their church, which they formerly did by turns both on Sundays and holidays ; and the nobility and gentry absenting themselves, because they did not see that decency in the service of God and edification in the preaching which they used to have.

“The truth is, the members of it are generally treated with contempt, and looked on as persons of no conscience or prudence, as negligent of the orders of the Church, and all true piety, notwithstanding their pretensions to be mighty high churchmen.

Their irregularities.

“I never did, nor intend to, invade any of their rights and privileges, but think myself obliged to take care that they should do their duty. They have appropriated to their church about twenty-seven parishes, many of which are not supplied at all, and most of them very indifferently. They will not concur to rebuild churches where they are necessary, for fear they should be obliged to supply them with curates. These and several other irregularities I take to be the reasons they have been so unwilling to submit to their bishop ; and this management had, before I came, very bad influence on the whole diocese ; for, though my predecessors all visited them, yet these visitations signified very little, because the archbishops did not know the extent of their own power, and were unwilling to exert themselves, for fear of being involved in an expensive contention. I thought myself obliged to give your Grace this account, for my own justification.

Archbishops of Dublin ill treated by the crown.

“My Lord, give me leave to observe to your Grace, that the archbishops of this see have had very hard measure from the crown ; for this church was founded by my predecessors, built, and endowed by them ; the parishes appropriated to them were all of the archbishop’s advowson, and given by him ; the archbishop was their patron, abbot, and visitor ; he confirmed their prior, whom they elected by a *congé d’elire* from him, and he admitted their canons. They never resigned to the king, nor, indeed, could they ; for cathedrals are not in our act of dissolution of religious

houses, nor was the king ever seized of their church. Yet, without consent of the archbishop, he turned them into a dean and chapter, by a mere act of power; made the four dignitaries, that is, the dean, chantor, chancellor, and treasurer, donatives; and the vicars, which afterwards King James the First made prebendaries, elective by the dean and chapter, with power to put them in possession of their stalls without license from the archbishop; so that, if the foundation of their present constitution were looked into, it would not be found to be very solid, I am sure not reasonable.

“Whereas the bishoprick of Glandelagh is united to the archbishoprick of Dublin from the very foundation, and has its cathedral, dean, and chapter; this was dissolved and seized by the king, with all its dependence, under the notion of a collegiate church; so that, till it was restored again by Queen Mary, they did not leave to the archbishop so much as the naming of a vicar in both his cathedrals.

Bishoprick of
Glandelagh seized
by King Henry
VIII.

“My Lord, I hope you will excuse the length of this, since I thought it fit to let your Grace see by this account how the Church has been treated in Ireland; and that it is due to the prejudices the people have contracted from such proceedings, with others in the civil management, that the natives are so strangely averse to the Reformation.

“Let me conclude, with my greatest respects and thankfulness to your Grace that are possible to be entertained by,

“My Lord,

“Your Grace’s most humble servant and brother.”

No immediate consequence appears to have followed; but, November 2, the archbishop writes to Mr. Annesley, “I visited Christ Church the 27th of last month, and was received there with submission, on which the contempt was purged. I proceeded without any harshness or reflection, but told them what I expected at the next visitation. How matters will go then, if I live till that time, I will give you an account.”

Archbishop’s vi-
sitation of Christ
Church, October,
1724.

The foregoing particulars are taken from another "Transcript Book," containing letters between August, 1723, and May, 1725, in the possession of Robert Butler Bryan, Esq. They do not comprise the date of the archbishop's next visitation; but the MS. Correspondence, in Trinity College Library, by a letter to Lord Palmerstown, of October 5, 1725, relates, that "the archbishop had settled his jurisdiction, and the dean and chapter become amenable to him so far as not only to yield him reasonable submission, but to join with him in making some provision for the cures dependent on them."

Jurisdiction settled, Oct. 1725.

SECTION IX.

Lord Carteret Lord Lieutenant. Death of Primate Lindsay. His Character. Desire of Archbishop King's friends for his Promotion. His Letters and Sentiments on the occasion. Speculations on the Vacancy. Dean Swift. Bishop Downes. Appointment of Dr. H. Boulter. Account of him. His unexpected Advancement. His Letters. Motive to his Appointment. Anecdote of Archbishop King. Primate Boulter's maintenance of the English interest. Archbishop King's Illness. Primate's Sentiments on new Appointments. Recommendation of Dr. Burscough for See of Limerick. Political Qualifications for Preferment. Archbishop King's Sentiments on Church Patronage. Little encouragement to the Clergy. Dean Swift's Letter to Lord Carteret on Church Patronage.

Lord Carteret
lord lieutenant,
May, 1724.

It was in the interval between the settlement and the conclusion of the late episcopal changes, that an alteration was made in the ministry; when Lord Carteret became lord lieutenant of Ireland instead of the Duke of Grafton, who was appointed lord chamberlain; and the Duke of Newcastle succeeded

Lord Carteret as secretary of state. On the Duke of Grafton's withdrawal to England, and in the absence of the Lord Carteret, on the 21st of May, the Viscounts Middleton and Shannon, and William Conolly, Esq., were re-sworn as lords justices, which station they had before occupied during the absence of the Duke of Grafton, in company, however, with the Archbishop of Dublin, who was not now re-appointed.

On the 13th of July, 1724, Primate Lindsay died, having laboured under severe indisposition for several years.

Death of Primate
Lindsay, July 13,
1724.

From a contemporaneous record, cited in Mr. STEWART'S *History of Armagh*, his funeral was solemnised at Dublin, with great pomp and circumstance. In a procession to the cathedral of Christ Church, where the body was to be deposited, the pastoral staff was borne by the Chancellor of Armagh, accompanied by the eight chaplains of the deceased prelate, in long cloaks of close mourning, the Chantor of Armagh, who bore the episcopal crosier, and the king at arms, in mourning, wearing the royal arms, and carrying a mitre on a velvet cushion. The Bishops of Meath and Clonfert, the Deans of St. Patrick's and of Armagh, Dr. Travers, and the Vice-provost of Trinity College, supported the pall.

His funeral.

Primate Lindsay had been a liberal benefactor to the cathedral and choir of Armagh, especially in maintaining the fabrick, and in providing for the better celebration of the choral service: in his private charities also he was bountiful. But in relation to his diocese in general, and still more to the Church of Ireland at large, there are few of those who have filled his station of pre-eminence, of

His character.

whom there is so little recorded in commemoration of their value. In a letter to Dr. Maule, of June the 9th, 1722, concerning the purchasing of glebes, Archbishop King remarks: "We are not like to make any great hand of the matter, till my lord primate is pleased to act with more vigour and less nicety." And in a letter of the 31st of the ensuing October, Bishop Downes informs his correspondent, "We have all of us this day received a summons from the primate, to meet at his house upon business on Saturday next at twelve o'clock. I little expected to have gone there again upon that errand. We shall then see, whether he has been so weak a man as he has generally, on both sides of the water, been reported to be¹." And again, "As to the late primate," said Archbishop King to Mr. Annesley, in a letter of June 23, 1727, "I confess he deceived all his friends, especially the clergy, who were so zealous for his promotion; but it must be acknowledged, that he did something, that he believed to be good for the Church. He expended above 4000*l*. to purchase 200*l*. per annum, to maintain a choir at Armagh. I think likewise that he purchased bells. Perhaps the money might have been better laid out; but sure every one ought to be allowed to dispose of his charity as he thinks fit."

Desire of Archbishop King's friends for his promotion.

From the other "Transcript Book," lately mentioned, containing letters from August, 1723, to May, 1725, in the possession of Robert Butler Bryan, Esq., it appears, that Archbishop King was engaged in his triennial visitation of his province, when he was overtaken at Kildare by letters from friends in Dublin, acquainting him with the death of the primate, and urging him to make application to

¹ NICHOLSON, ii., 553.

several persons of high station in England, so as to secure the appointment of an eligible successor to the primacy; and, as the most eligible, of the archbishop himself. He complied with the advice, so far as regarded the appointment generally; but he declined to make application for his own promotion. The friends, from whom the suggestion came, were Dr. Marmaduke Coghill, and Chief Justice Whitshed, who were supported in their sentiments by Mr. Conolly, one of the lords justices.

The name of Dr. Coghill is one which will occasionally occur in the course of these pages; it is convenient, therefore, that he should be made known to the reader, which cannot be better done than in the words of Archbishop King, who, in a letter of July 15, 1728, thus presented him to the Bishop of London:

Dr. Marmaduke
Coghill.

“I presume by this to introduce and recommend the bearer, Dr. Marmaduke Coghill, a gentleman of a good estate and family, judge of the prerogative, and one of the privy council. He has been of great use to the government here, and to his Majesty’s interest; if your Lordship be inclined to know anything of the state of the Church or kingdom here, I know not any man more able to inform you.

His character.

“The knowledge of the canon and civil law is very young among us; few of our bishops talented that way. What progress has been made of late in that science is chiefly due to the bearer, and to some other encouragements given in this city to that study. We still want something to perfect our processes, especially as to proper delegates: if anything relating to that matter comes before his Majesty, we promise ourselves your Lordship’s countenance and assistance, which will be of very great moment.”

In a letter of similar introduction to Sir Paul Methuen, the archbishop represents Dr. Coghill as joining with his other qualifications, “prudence, knowledge, and probity.”

It was this most respectable gentleman, who, in conjunction with the Lord Justice Conolly, and Whitshed, chief justice of the King's Bench, urged the condition of the Church, under the circumstances of the primate's death, on the attention of the Archbishop of Dublin.

His letters on the occasion

The archbishop, in consequence, addressed letters on the 14th of July, to Lord Carteret, the lord lieutenant; to the Archbishop of Canterbury; the Duke of Grafton; the Bishop of London; the Lord Harcourt; and Sir Peter King, chief justice of the Common Pleas. Of these distinguished personages he severally besought the good offices with his Majesty and his ministers, for "securing to Ireland such a primate, as might answer the expectation of the publick, and serve his Majesty, and the kingdom, and the Church, effectually." "Your Grace is sensible," he observed to the Duke of Grafton, "that both the Church and kingdom have been incommoded by my lord primate's indisposition, and other circumstances that attended his administration; and your Grace knoweth of what moment it is to have one in that post, well affected to his Majesty's person and government, who is well acquainted with the state of the kingdom and Church, and may be an assistant to the governours thereof." "We have suffered much," he writes to the Bishop of London, "by the unhappy circumstances of his late Grace of Armagh; and it will require a person of spirit and knowledge to set things in order in that province, and particularly in that diocese." He reminds Lord Harcourt, that "the lord primate is the chief member of the Church under his Majesty, and a great minister of state; and therefore ought to be a man of knowledge and weight; otherwise he makes

To the Duke of Grafton;

To the Bishop of London;

To Lord Harcourt;

himself and station contemptible. I have known," he adds, "great inconveniencies happen to his Majesty's service and the publick, by the unfitness of the person who possessed that high station." And to Lord Chief Justice King he remarks, "The lord primate is of great consequence to the State, but of much greater to the Church; the great affairs thereof passing through his hands. All faculties and dispensations being in his disposal, all references relating to the Church are made to him: he is at the head of the council, of great weight in the parliament, and in all meetings of the bishops and clergy he presides. The affairs, therefore, of both Church and State, suffer very much when a weak, insufficient, or an ill-affected person filleth that place, of which we have had but too much experience."

To Chief Justice
King.

Whilst, in compliance with the advice of his friends, the archbishop exerted himself in endeavouring to "procure a knowing, prudent, and well-affected person, for their primate," he signified to them his gratitude for their solicitude in his behalf, and his own personal sentiments as to his promotion, which he regarded as of very questionable benefit. To Dr. Coghill he wrote as follows:

"Sir,

Kildare, July 15th, 1724.

His letter to Dr.
Coghill, July 15,
1724.

"I was favoured with your very kind letter of the 13th instant. I am at a loss how to acknowledge your extraordinary concern for my interest expressed in it: nor can I make any other return, but to assure you, that I look on it as such an instance of friendship that shall never be forgotten while I live. I have struggled with myself what to do in so critical an affair. I never asked any preferment for myself, and alway thought I had as much as I deserved. I am now almost superannuated, and at present very lame. I have now brought my diocese to a pretty good regularity,

His disinclination for the appointment.

and am settled, to my heart's content, at St. Sepulchre's. To remove at this time of day, and begin the world anew with a prospect of a disorderly diocese, where you would have me go, and the retrospect on that in which I have taken so great pains, and which I may perhaps see turned topsy-turvey, as it has happened to Derry, are things so mortifying they grate my very heart.

"However, I have not been obstinate to the advice of friends, who, I am persuaded, mean well to the publick and to me. I have therefore writ all the letters you required me to write, but could not prevail with my own mind to ask anything for myself.

"If Providence should throw this upon me, I submit : but I am persuaded, if it should, I should never make that figure in the primacy that I have done in the archbishoprick of Dublin. . . ."

To Chief Justice Whitshed he wrote, on the 19th, to the same effect, mentioning, at the same time, his opinion concerning the disposal of the vacant preferment :

Letter to Chief Justice Whitshed, July 19, 1724.

"I am much obliged to Mr. Conolly and Dr. Coghill, and have returned both of them my thanks, and leave the whole to Providence. My own opinion is, considering the state of the late primate's health for several years, that his successor was long ago determined, and that none of this kingdom must pretend to it. Whether I be right in this time will show."

To Dr. Coghill.

A few days later, namely on the 21st of July, he resumed the subject, with the following remarks to Dr. Coghill :

"If I could convince myself that my succeeding the late primate were of as much moment to the Church and kingdom as you seem to think it, I would immediately, lame as I am, pass into England and solicit it. But I can by no means be of that opinion, nor imagine how a crazy, lame, and superannuated primate can be of any service to either. We have already suffered sufficiently under such. If twelve or twenty years ago I had been put into that post, I believe I might have done something.

“Tunc ego debueram capienda ad Pergama mitti. But now I can neither expect continuance of life, nor have I vigour of body to do any great matter. However, I cannot but value, and receive with the greatest sense of gratitude, the opinion of my friends, who are pleased to make me believe that they think otherwise.”

At the same time, a mark of respect was shown to the archbishop by the dean and chapter of Armagh, who constituted him administrator of that diocese during the vacancy, an honour which he gratefully accepted as an act of kindness in them, and an instance of their good affection to him, which, said he, “I greatly value.”

Archbishop King
administrator of
Armagh diocese.

The primate's decease naturally gave occasion for various surmises and reports, some of which are extant, as commemorated by contemporary documents.

Speculations on
the vacant
primacy.

Dean Swift, having reconciled his difference with Archbishop King, had thus expressed his sentiments in a letter of September 28, 1721²: “I believe you seriously, that you will take care of your health to prevent a successor; that is to say, I believe you tell truth in jest; for I know it is not the value of life that makes you desire to live, and am afraid the world is much of your mind. For it is out of regard to the publick, or some of themselves, more than on your own account, that they wish your continuance among us.”

Dean Swift to
Archbishop
King, Sept. 28,
1721.

On the day following the death of Primate Lindsay, the dean thus noticed it to the Archbishop of Dublin, with a communication of a general rumour, and of his own wishes, on the subject:

The dean's letter,
July 14, 1724.

“Your Grace will have received, before this comes to your hands, an account of the primate's death, who died yesterday at twelve o'clock at noon. . . . The vogue

² SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 178.

is, that your Grace will succeed him if you please: but I am too great a stranger to your present situation at court to know what to judge. But if there were virtue enough, I could wish your Grace would accept the offer, if it should be made you: because I would have your name left to posterity among the primates; and because entering into a new station is entering, after a sort, on a new lease of life; and because it might be hoped that your Grace would be advised with about a successor; and because that diocese would require your Grace's ability and spirit to reform it; and because — but I should never be at an end if I were to number up the reasons why I would have your Grace in the highest stations the crown can give you."

The foregoing is an extract from a letter in Dean Swift's printed *Epistolary Correspondence*. The answer is in the archbishop's MS. "Transcript Book," in the possession of Mr. Bryan. It runs as follows:

Archbishop
King's answer,
July 20, 1724.

"Dear Dean, *Catherlow, July 20th, 1724.*

"I had the satisfaction of yours of the 14th instant, and it gave me great pleasure to find you remembered me so kindly in my absence. I had a return of my gout three days after I left Dublin, and I have gone through the offices of confirmation and visitation in a very lame manner. I am still in pain, but must go on if possible.

"How the primacy will be disposed of, I can't guess. but, considering how many years the late primate was dying, I am apt to think it was long ago determined who should be his successor; for I understand that it is the method taken by this ministry to determine on supposition, that, should such or such die, who shall succeed. I have been importuned by my friends to apply for myself: but, having never asked anything, I cannot now begin to do so, when I have so near a prospect of leaving the station in which I am another way. . . ."

Bishop Downes
to Bishop Nichol-
son.

Other projects were formed at the same time in different quarters. Having alluded to the primate's death in a letter of July 16, Bishop Downes informs

Bishop Nicholson³: "On Tuesday, about three o'clock in the afternoon, the lords justices dispatched away the packet with their letters. But Lord Shannon being out of the way upon a review of the forces in Munster, the two remaining lords justices could not, as I hear, agree upon recommending any single person. You cannot wonder, if Mr. Conolly should be as unwilling to come into a recommendation of the Archbishop of Tuam, as my lord chancellor to that of the Archbishop of Dublin."

And in a postscript he adds: "The schemists have laid out Armagh for the Archbishop of Dublin, and you are to come to Dublin. Others say, that Armagh will fall either to your lot, or to that of your humble servant; but I believe they say what nobody yet knows. I cannot say that I should more rejoice in its being mine, than if it was yours."

But "the vogue" and "the schemists" were in error. Neither were they the lords justices who recommended, nor was it the see of Dublin or of Tuam, of Meath or of Derry, which furnished a successor to the primacy; but under the immediate patronage of Lord Townshend, one of the secretaries of state, and with the approbation of the Duke of Newcastle and the Lord Carteret, the archiepiscopal see of Armagh was conferred on Dr. Hugh Boulter.

With reference to this appointment, Archbishop King wrote to Dr. Coghill, on the 1st of August, the following letter, now first published from Mr. Bryan's MS.:

"I suppose you are now convinced that I judged better of matters than my kind friends did, to whom, nevertheless, I reckon myself as much obliged as if their endeavours had met with all the success they desired. There has nothing

Appointment of
Dr. H. Boulter.

Archbishop
King's letter to
Dr. Coghill on
the appointment,
August 1, 1721.

³ NICHOLSON, ii., p. 580.

happened contrary to my wishes : and, as I have a signal instance in this of their sincere affection towards me, which I greatly value, so I hope it will show them how much I am under their power, and how ready I am to sacrifice my own inclinations to their judgment.

“ I am of opinion that if things had succeeded as they proposed, it would have shortened my life : for I should have looked on myself as obliged to answer their expectations, which would have obliged me likewise to such efforts of doing my duty, as in my crazy circumstances must have every day endangered my life.

“ I know nothing of Dr. Boulter’s character. If he be not tainted with Hoadly’s principles, I hope we may preserve our Church and religion : but our trust must be on God, and he will not fail us if we be not wanting to ourselves.”

His remark on
Boulter being
made a bishop,
1720.

It may be thought, perhaps, a little remarkable, that, although few notices of episcopal appointments in England occur in Archbishop King’s Correspondence, in a letter of his to Dr. Charlett, January 7th, 1720, the following sentence appears, with reference to the death of Bishop Smalridge, and the nomination of his successor : “ The Bishop of Bristol is a considerable loss to the Church : what his successor is, I cannot tell, having, that I remember, never heard his name before. The *Gazette* spake him bishop. I wish the second temple may equal the first.”

Account of the
new primate.

Hugh Boulter, now elevated from the bishoprick of Bristol to the archbishoprick of Armagh, and primacy of Ireland, was born in London, January the 4th, 1671, and educated in Oxford, at Magdalene College, of which he was elected a demie, together with Dr. Wilsted, Dr. Joseph Wilcox, and the celebrated Joseph Addison. The merit, talents, and learning of these young men were so eminent, as to induce Dr. Hough, president of the college, to

dignify this election with the honourable appellation of "the golden election." Boulter became, in course, a fellow of his college. After leaving the university, he held, at several times, the offices of chaplain to Tennyson, archbishop of Canterbury; rector of St. Olave's, Southwark; archdeacon of Surrey; chaplain to King George I.; and preceptor to his grandson, Prince Frederick. Recommended by his ability and faithfulness to the king, he was consecrated Bishop of Bristol, with which station he held also the deanery of Christ Church, Oxford.

Consecrated
Bishop of Bristol,
Nov. 15, 1719.

From the bishoprick to which he had been consecrated the 15th of November, 1719, he was preferred to the Irish primacy, and entered upon his new dignity in November, 1724.

His appointment had been entirely unexpected and undesired by himself. Whilst engaged in a visitation of his diocese of Bristol, he received, by a messenger from the secretary of state, a letter, apprising him of the king's pleasure, that he should be translated to the primacy of Ireland. His first consideration of the subject induced him to prefer a request, that he might be permitted to decline the preferment, to which he afterwards acceded, in obedience to his Majesty's absolute commands. He proceeded, in a short time, for his new charge, and reached Dublin in November. A letter of that date informs the Archbishop of Canterbury of his first arrival and settlement in Ireland, observing, that he "missed little there but friends and acquaintance, and had little to complain of, but that too many of our own original esteem us Englishmen as intruders." This letter is the first of a series, continued to December, 1738, through rather more than fourteen years, addressed to many persons in

His unexpected
preferment to the
primacy, Nov.,
1724.

His letters.

England, of the highest distinction in Church and State, and containing a large fund of intelligence concerning affairs, ecclesiastical and civil, during that period.

Letter of Bishop Downes to Bishop Nicholson.

A few weeks previous to his arrival, Bishop Downes writes thus, in anticipation of it: "I had a letter from the primate this day," September 22, 1724, "under his own hand, in which he speaks of coming over next month, either a little before or a little after the lord lieutenant, such great bodies not being very fit to move together. But, if his Grace does not come over before his Excellency, perhaps he may never see Ireland; for, though he be ordered to come over, perhaps, if his instructions should not be agreeable on a certain point, he may choose to keep at home."

Expected arrival of the primate.

Motive to Bishop Boulter's appointment.

Without disparagement of Archbishop Boulter's other qualifications, the chief motive to his elevation was of a political tendency, the object of the English ministry being to place in that situation a confidential adviser, who might support what was called the English interest in Ireland. And this will suffice to account for the non-appointment of Archbishop King, who was at the head of the Irish party, though a pretext for it was ostensibly put forward in his advanced time of life.

Anecdote of Archbishop King.

Connected with this is a curious anecdote, which is thus recited in a note on DEAN SWIFT'S *Epistolary Correspondence*⁵:

"When our author was chaplain to Lord Berkley, he was set aside from the deanery of Derry on account of youth; but, as if his stars had destined to him a parallel revenge, he lived to see the Bishop of Derry afterwards set

⁴ NICHOLSON, ii., p. 533.

⁵ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 243. ;

aside on account of age. That prelate had been Archbishop of Dublin many years, and had been long celebrated for his wit and learning, when Dr. Lindsay died. Upon his death, Archbishop King immediately laid claim to the primacy, as a preferment to which he had a right, from his station in the see of Dublin, and from his acknowledged character in the Church. Neither of these pretensions were prevalent; he was looked upon as too far advanced in years to be removed. The reason alleged was as mortifying as the refusal itself; but the archbishop had no opportunity of showing his resentment, except to the new primate, Dr. Boulter, whom he received at his own house, and in his dining-parlour, without rising from his chair; and to whom he made an apology, by saying, in his usual strain of wit, and with his usual sneering countenance, ‘My Lord, I am sure your Grace will forgive me, because, you know, I am too old to rise.’”

Whether or not this anecdote be true, the previous statement is manifestly erroneous, contradicted, as it is, with regard to the archbishop’s claims, by what has been related concerning his correspondence with his friends on the occasion.

But, whatever pretext may have been assigned, it appears with undeniable certainty from Primate Boulter’s correspondence, what was the motive to his appointment. And the like motive avowedly actuated the publick appointments which he recommended, urging, as he did, the necessity of the English interest being constantly maintained, by the selection of persons who could be depended on for maintaining it.

In the month of January, within a few weeks of his arrival in Ireland, he wrote thus to the Duke of Newcastle⁶: “The Archbishop of Dublin has of late been very ill, so that his life was almost despaired

Error in the foregoing narrative.

Primate Boulter’s maintenance of the English interest.

Primate’s letter to Duke of Newcastle, Jan., 1725.

⁶ BOULTER’S *Letters*, i., p. 11.

of; but his illness has since ended in a regular and painful fit of the gout, so that I do not apprehend he is in any present danger. Your Grace had heard from me sooner on this subject, if I had known his condition before the worst was over: all that I shall say now is, that I think his Majesty's service absolutely requires that, whenever he drops, the place be filled with an Englishman, and one with whom I may hope to have a very good agreement. But of this I shall write further, as your Grace shall give me encouragement."

Letter of March 4,
1725.

And, on the 4th of the ensuing March, he thus resumed and enlarged upon the subject⁷:

Canvasson report
of Archbishop of
Dublin's illness.

"It is now about a month ago since I troubled your Grace with a very long letter, relating to the affairs of this nation; and I should not have written again on any of the subjects therein mentioned, till after receiving your Grace's commands, if there were not repeated advices from England, that, upon the report of the Archbishop of Dublin's illness, there was a very great canvass on the bench about his successor, without the least regard to what might be represented from hence as of service to his Majesty. Your Grace knows very well, that I was very content with what I had in England, and my just expectations there; and that it was purely in obedience to his Majesty's pleasure that I came hither; and, now I am here, the only thing that can make me uneasy is, if I should not be enabled to carry on his Majesty's service here, the prospect of doing which is the greatest comfort I have in my present station. But, if the bishopricks here are to be disposed of elsewhere, without leaving me room for anything more than, as it may happen, objecting against a person, who may be sent over to the best promotions here, when I have done so; and if I be not allowed to form proper dependencies here, to break the present Dublin faction on the bench, it will be impos-

⁷ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 12.

sible for me to serve his Majesty further than in my single capacity.

"I do not speak this as if I did not think there are some on the English bench who would do very well in Dublin, and would heartily join with me in promoting his Majesty's measures; or that I do not esteem it wise gradually to get as many English on the bench here as can be decently sent hither; but that I think, being on the English bench alone is not a sufficient qualification for coming to the best promotions here; and that an imprudent person may easily be tempted by Irish flattery to set himself at the head of the Archbishop of Dublin's party in opposition to me. And, besides, as there is a majority of the bishops here that are natives, they are not to be disobliged at once.

Qualifications for a successor.

"I hope I shall never behave myself so as to be thought unfit to take care of his Majesty's interest on the bench here; and by that, till it be found I am, I may be effectually supported in that authority and dependence which I can assure your Grace I desire for no other end than to be the more able to serve his Majesty."

Primate Boulter's sentiments as to new appointments.

Meanwhile his views extended to civil as well as ecclesiastical appointments; and on the 29th of April, 1725, he thus addressed himself to Lord Townshend, secretary of state^a:

"My Lord,

"I am sensible that I have been guilty of a very great omission in not having sooner returned your Lordship my most hearty thanks for recommending me to his Majesty to so great a post, both for dignity and profit. I can assure your Lordship it has not been owing to want of either gratitude or duty to your Lordship. But whatever my post is here, the only thing that can make it agreeable to me, who would have been very well content with a less station in my own country, is, if I may be enabled to serve his Majesty and my country here, which it will be impossible for me to do according to my wishes, if the English interest be not thoroughly supported from the other side. When I

Letter to Lord Townshend, April, 1725.

His sentiments on civil as well as ecclesiastical appointments.

^a BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 17.

left England I did not doubt but your Lordship was sufficiently sensible how much this had been neglected for many years, and of the necessity there was of taking other measures for the future ; but those of us from England, whose hearts are still with our country, fear all this is forgotten, when we hear that the mastership of the rolls, which, as it is for life, is one of the greatest places in the law here, is permitted to be sold to a native of this place. As I believe the thing is past revoking, I shall trouble your Lordship no further about that affair. We should likewise be very much alarmed if we took it for any other than an idle report, that our attorney-general is to be made lord chancellor here ; against whom the English here have nothing to object, but that they think the only way to keep things quiet here, and make them easy to the ministry, is by filling the great places with natives of England : and all we would beg is, where there is any doubt with your Lordship about the consequence of a place here, that you would have the goodness to write hither to know its weight before it be disposed of. None of us desire to recommend to any such places ; but we would intreat, that in filling them up a strict regard may be had to the English interest ; which if it be neglected in some more instances of consequence, though I am effectually pinned down here, yet others, who are very able, and thoroughly disposed to serve their country, will think of returning thither again. I will only add, that, as all accounts from England are positive we are to have a new chancellor, I heartily wish we had one sent as soon as may be, that he may have time to look a little about him, and know somewhat of things and persons here before the next session of parliament is opened.

“Your Lordship will have the goodness to excuse these lines, which I have taken the freedom to trouble you with purely out of my zeal for his Majesty and his service here.

“I am, &c.”

And on the same day he wrote to the same effect, though less briefly, to the Duke of Newcastle^o :

^o BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 19.

Regard to be paid
to the English
interest.

Letter to the
Duke of New-
castle.

“ My Lord, *Dublin, April 29, 1725.*

“ I have by this post, at the desire of some of his Majesty’s hearty friends here, written to my Lord Townshend what a blow we think is given to the English interest, by the creation of a new master of the rolls, and the uneasiness we are under at the report, that a native of this place is like to be made lord chancellor. I must request of your Grace, as I have of his Lordship, that you would both use your interest, to have none but Englishmen put into the great places here for the future ; that, by degrees, things may be put into such a way, as may be most for his Majesty’s service, and the ease of his ministry. Your Grace will be so good as to excuse this freedom from,

“ My Lord, &c.”

On the vacancy, which it was afterwards understood was about to be caused by the resignation of Viscount Midleton, to the recommendation of Lord Chief Baron Hale to succeed him, the primate, in a letter to the duke, of May 1, 1725, does not object, commending him as “ a worthy man, and heartily in the English interest ; and I believe,” he adds, “ very capable of filling that post : but I must intreat, in the name of all of us here, that if he be thought of, a proper person from England may be sent to succeed him in his present post, or the English interest will go very much backward here¹⁰.”

And on the arrival of intelligence, the 7th of May, of the death of Bishop Smyth of Limerick, who had occupied that see for thirty years, on the following day the primate seconded, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Carteret’s recommendation of a successor. “ On this occasion I find the lord lieutenant recommends his first chaplain, Dr. Burscough, to succeed in that see. As Dr. Burscough is of some standing, and has supported a

Death of Bishop
Smyth of Limerick.

Recommendation
of Dr. Burscough.

¹⁰ BOULTER’S *Letters*, i., p. 19.

very good character, and is well affected to his Majesty and his family, and I am assured he will constantly concur with me in supporting his Majesty's interest here, I make bold likewise to recommend him to your Grace, for his Majesty's favour for the said bishoprick¹¹."

Principle of appointment to high offices.

The foregoing cases, all of which occurred within four months of each other, and within six of Archbishop Boulter's elevation to the primacy, are mentioned here in exemplification of the principle by which appointments to high offices in Church and State were avowedly regulated. With respect, indeed, to appointments in the Church, with which our subject chiefly connects us, it can hardly be supposed, but that regard was had to the professional qualities of the persons advanced to its stations of dignity, emolument, and trust: the rather, because in the performance of his own pastoral duties, as a parochial clergyman, he is related to have been distinguished for his zeal; and to have discharged the duties of his high office, when Bishop of Bristol, with the most unremitting attention¹². But it is remarkable, and it is calculated to excite a sentiment of dissatisfaction and disapprobation, on perusal of the primate's letters, that very little is, in fact, said of the religious, the moral, the theological, the literary characters of those, who are put forward for supplying vacancies in the episcopate, and that their recommendations rest in a prominent degree on political and secular considerations.

Political qualifications for preferment.

Character of Bishop Burscough.

No question is hereby intended to be intimated as to the fitness of Dr. Burscough's appointment; for he is recorded, in the *History of Limerick*, in which

¹¹ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 21.

¹² STEWART'S *History of Armagh*, pp. 425, 426.

see he sate for thirty years, as a good preacher, and a man of great learning, piety, and candour. In two letters, of May the 27th and June the 5th, Bishop Downes speaks of his nomination having been approved of by the [king, and of Mr. Cotterel having been appointed to succeed him in the deanery of Lismore; and he adds, "Our brother of Dublin," meaning, of course, Archbishop King, "does not like the disposal of preferments without him; but Lord Carteret will go on as he thinks fit¹³." Bishop Bursecough's letters-patent were dated June 25; and he was consecrated by the primate, with assistant bishops, in the ensuing July. His deanery of Lismore was conferred on Mr. Alcock; the death of the dean of Raphoe having vacated that more valuable deanery for Mr. Cotterel, whom Bishop Downes represents as "a young but very ingenious and good-natured man¹⁴; and my best brother and friend," he adds to the Bishop of Derry, "will not like him the worse, if he thinks him my friend, or me his; who am always, your Lordship's most affectionately,
H. MEATH."

In justice, however, to the Archbishop of Dublin, as well as from respect to historical truth, let his own views with respect to Church patronage, in connection with these occurrences, be cited from his unpublished letters in Mr. Bryan's "Transcript Book."

Archbishop
King's senti-
ments on Church
patronage.

In a letter to Samuel Molyneux, Esq., of November 24, 1724, giving an account of Lord Carteret's "noble entertainment at the college" on his arrival, the archbishop says:

Letter to Mr.
Molyneux, Nov.
24, 1724.

"I find he has three chaplains from Oxford; these must first be provided for: and I took the liberty to tell his

¹³ NICHOLSON, ii., p. 604.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 607.

Excellency, that it was an even lay, if three good benefices fell in one governour's time. You'll perceive by this, what encouragement our university is like to have. Nor are we like to be better helped by our bishops; for most bring with them chaplains and dependents enough to engross all their favours."

Letter to Bishop
of Cork, Dec. 12,
1724.

On the 12th of December, the same year, the archbishop writes thus to the Bishop of Cork :

"Mrs. Blair was with me, and I presented a petition in her husband's favour, that he might have Ronglorran, of which he has served the cure. I could obtain no promise from his Excellency, for I believe all that Dean Francis had is little enough, in his opinion, for his first chaplain, Dr. Burscough; so that I do not see any hope for him, except your Lordship could take some care of him, of which your extraordinary kindness gives him some prospect. It is a miserable thing, to see men who have spent their strength and youth in serving the Church successfully, left destitute in their old age, and others, who never served a cure, have heaps of benefices thrown upon them. But this is the way of the world; the more the pity. 'Tis a grief to me to consider, that I have above forty curates in my diocese, most of them worthy men, and some that have served near twenty years, and I not able to give or procure them a vicarage. If your Lordship could any way assist Mr. Blair, I should think it an act of charity, and an obligation on me."

Little encourage-
ment for the
clergy.

And in a letter of the following May, 1725, he thus describes his condition :

"It is a great comfort to me, to observe several young men, who might pretend to another way of living, offer themselves to the service of the altar, especially when there is so little encouragement for those of this kingdom to apply themselves that way; but I hope the ease will not always be so. As to my own case, I have a good number of clergy-men employed in my diocese, but most of them curates, at 30*l.* or 40*l.* per annum; the good benefices are generally in the gift of the crown, or other patrons; insomuch that

Curates unpro-
vided for.

there are not seven in my disposal worth 100*l.* per annum ; nevertheless, I have by one means or other helped forward a very great many deserving men, and hope it may yet be in my power to help others."

Surely such sentiments as these reflect no discredit on the archbishop who entertained them : and if in his anxiety to promote the interests of those with whom he was officially connected, and whose merits he was well capable of appreciating, he exerted such influence as he may have possessed with the government, his conduct was entitled, not merely to forbearance and indulgence, but to respect and honourable commendation.

It was with evident allusion to these preferments to the bishoprick of Limerick and the deanery of Raphoe, that Dean Swift addressed the following letter to the lord lieutenant, July the 3rd, 1725¹⁵."

Letter from Dean Swift to lord lieutenant, July 3, 1725.

" My Lord,

" I am obliged to return your Excellency my most humble thanks for your favour to Mr. Sheridan, because, when I recommended him to you, I received a very gracious answer ; and yet I am sensible, that your chief motive to make some provision for him was, what became a great and good person, your distinguishing him as a man of learning, and one who deserved encouragement on account of his great diligence and success in a most laborious and difficult employment." (That of a schoolmaster.)

" Since your Excellency has had an opportunity, so early in your government, of gratifying your English dependents by a bishoprick, and the best deanery in the kingdom, I cannot but hope that the clergy of Ireland will have their share in your patronage. There is hardly a gentleman in the nation, who has not a near alliance with some of that body ; and most of them who have sons, usually breed one of them to the Church, although they

Irish clergy recommended for patronage.

¹⁵ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 272.

have been of late years much discouraged and discontented, by seeing strangers to the country almost perpetually taken into the greatest ecclesiastical preferments; and too often, under governours very different from your Excellency, the choice of persons was not to be accounted for either to prudence or justice.

Consequence of
bishops from
England.

“The misfortune of having bishops perpetually from England, as it must needs quench the spirit of emulation among us to excel in learning and the study of divinity, so it produces another great discouragement, that those prelates usually draw after them colonies of sons, nephews, cousins, or old college companions, to whom they bestow the best preferments in their gift: and thus the young men, sent into the Church from the university here, have no better prospect than to be curates, or small country vicars, for life.

Appeal to lord
lieutenant's jus-
tice and reason.

“It will become so excellent a governour as you, a little to moderate this great partiality; wherein, as you will act with justice and reason, so you will gain the thanks and prayers of the whole nation, and take away one great cause of universal discontent. For I believe your Excellency will agree, that there is not another kingdom in Europe, where the natives, even those descended from the conquerors, have been treated, as if they were almost unqualified for any employment either in Church or State.

Recommendation
of distinguished
individuals.

“Your Excellency, when I had the honour to attend you, was pleased to let me name some clergymen, who are generally understood by their brethren to be the most distinguished for their learning and piety. I remember the persons were Dr. Delany, Dr. Ward, of the north, Mr. Ecklin, Mr. Synge of Dublin, and Mr. Corbet; they were named by me without any regard to friendship, having little commerce with most of them, but only the universal character they bear: this was the method I always took with my Lord Oxford, at his own command, who was pleased to believe that I would not be swayed by any private affections, and confessed I never deceived him; for I always dealt openly when I offered anything in behalf of a friend, which was but seldom; because, in that case, I generally made use of the common method at court, to solicit by another.

“ I shall say nothing of the young men among the clergy, of whom the three hopefulest are said to be Mr. Stopford, Mr. King, and Mr. Dobbs, all fellows of the college, of whom I am only acquainted with the first. But these are not likely to be great exectors under your Excellency’s administration, according to the usual period of governours here.

“ If I have dealt honestly in representing such persons among the clergy, as are generally allowed to have the most merit, I think I have done you a service, and am sure I have made you a great compliment, by distinguishing you from most great men I have known these thirty years past; whom I have always observed to act, as if they never received a true character, nor had any value for the best; and consequently dispensed their favours without the least regard to abilities or virtue. And this defect I have often found among those from whom I least expected it.

“ That your Excellency may long live a blessing and ornament to your country, by pursuing, as you have hitherto done, the steps of honour and virtue, is the most earnest wish and prayer of,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Excellency’s most obedient, and
most humble servant,

“ JON. SWIFT.”

SECTION X.

Primate Boulter's Services for the Church. Circular letter to his Clergy. Subscription proposed. Its success. Rules for First-Fruits: their disposal. Irregularity about Commendams. Archbishop King's sentiments about them. Case stated by Primate Boulter. Evil of Pluralities. Holding of a Benefice by a Fellow of the College. Case of Dr. Delany. Primate's Visitation and Charge. Character and Contents of it. Parliament of 1725. Collision between the Governours of the Church. Case of a Clergyman named Power. Letters from Archbishop King on Government Patronage. Visit of Dean Swift to England. His interview with Sir Robert Walpole.

Primate Boulter's services for the Church.

PRIMATE BOULTER has left a name, which is honoured, and deserving to be had in perpetual honour, for the benefit which he bestowed on the Irish Church by the bestowal of his property for its improvement. This object very early occupied his thoughts; and was expressed in a circular letter to his suffragan bishops within a few weeks of his elevation¹.

Circular letter to his suffragans.

“ My Lord,

Dublin, Dec. 24, 1724.

“ As I am very desirous to serve the Church, to which it has pleased God to call me, I have, since my arrival, been inquiring into the wants of the clergy here, and the produce of the fund given to supply those wants. And finding that the fund will probably raise but 300*l.* per annum *communibus annis*, and that this scanty fund is about 1500*l.* in debt; I have been talking with my brethren, the bishops, about encouraging a subscription among them and the inferior clergy, to bring the fund out of debt, and make a small beginning of a larger supply to the wants of the Church; in hopes that we may, after

¹ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 4.

having done somewhat ourselves, with the better grace apply to the laity for their assistance.

“ And the proposal at last agreed upon by the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishops of Meath, Dromore, Elphin, Clonfert, and myself, to be communicated to our brethren, the bishops, and, if approved by them, to be by them recommended to the inferior clergy in their respective dioceses, for their concurrence, is this: That every archbishop and bishop would be pleased to subscribe, at the rate of 2 per cent. per annum, for three years, out of his yearly income, to be rated by himself, *deductis oneribus*; and, in like manner, and for the same term, that every clergyman, possessed of above 100*l.* per annum, subscribe at the rate of 1 per cent. And that every clergyman, possessed of preferment from 50*l.* to 100*l.* per annum, subscribe ten shillings. Any one, notwithstanding, to be at liberty to subscribe a larger proportion if he thinks fit.

Subscription
proposed.

“ This is designed to be employed in aid of the fund of first-fruits: the money so gathered to be lodged in the hands of Dr. Coghill; and to be laid out in purchasing glebes or impropriations, as the bishops shall direct. Several of the clergy, who have been talked with here, have expressed a readiness to come into the design, if the bishops would subscribe a double portion of what the clergy were desired to subscribe on this occasion. The whole is desired to be entirely voluntary. I have reason to believe the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam will cheerfully come into this design.

Its application.

“ I doubt not of your Lordship's readiness to concur with anything that may be of service to religion; but I must desire your opinion concerning this proposal, as being satisfied you are a better judge of what may be done in prudence to advance the worship of God and the Protestant religion in this nation, than myself, who am so newly arrived here.

“ I am, my Lord,

“ Your Lordship's very affectionate brother,
and humble servant,

“ HU. ARMAGH.”

Success of appeal.

To what extent this appeal was successful does not appear. In a letter, indeed, of May 22, 1725, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the primate says, "I thank your Grace for your kind prayers, and hope I shall always make it my endeavour to promote the good of this Church, though I fear I shall not always meet with that ready concurrence I could wish for here²." And in explanation of this the editor has appended a note, that his Grace's scheme recommended in his third letter had then failed. But this is certainly a mistake. For, although this collection of the primate's letters contains no further information of the scheme, in the epistolatory correspondence of Bishop Nicholson are two letters, one from Bishop Downes, the other from Archbishop Boulter, to Bishop Nicholson, of dates later than that quoted above, namely, on the 27th of May, 1725, and the 14th of June, 1726, which prove that the scheme was at those times in progress.

Letter from
Bishop Downes to
Bishop Nicholson.

An extract from the letter of Bishop Downes to Bishop Nicholson is as follows³:

"Dublin, May 27, 1725.

"Dear, very dear Brother,

"Your kind letter met me at this place, just upon my return from my visitation at Trim, where nothing happened worthy of notice; only my clergy, who were generally averse to a strict ecclesiastical cess, according to the value of their livings, seemed very willing to come into a voluntary subscription, which they did believe would raise more money than the other."

Letter of the
primate, June 14,
1726.

This was in 1725: the subjoined carries the subject forward into the following year, being the primate's account of the prospect which he then had of success:

² BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 25.

³ NICHOLSON, ii., p. 602.

“ My Lord,

June 14, 1726.

“ I have received your Lordship’s of the 20th past, and am very glad to hear you met with so good success at your visitation, and that, notwithstanding the discouragements you apprehended, your clergy came in so cheerfully to the design of augmenting poor livings. The Bishop of Meath is just returned from his visitation, and reports, that his clergy have actually subscribed 93*l.*; and, I find it is thought, the absent clergy may make it up 110*l.* A clergyman of the diocese of Raphoe was with me this day, and tells me the clergy of that diocese are universally disposed to contribute to this good design. So that, from what is already done or doing, I have great hopes that my province will set a good example. I should be very glad to hear that our brother of Clogher, notwithstanding his rash declaration at the board, is promoting the subscription.”

Beyond this no further progress is stated, so that it may reasonably be supposed, that from want of universal co-operation in the province of Armagh, and perhaps from a backwardness in the other provinces, the primate’s good purposes were defeated.

In the year 1725 several rules were laid down for regulating the disposal of the fund of first-fruits: and alterations were subsequently made, the 3rd of May, 1728, at a meeting of the trustees, of whom there were present the lord primate, the three other metropolitans, thirteen bishops, and six other members; and who then agreed upon what, for a long succession of years, formed the standing orders of the Board. They are recited in a pamphlet published in 1780, under the title of “*Valor Beneficiorum Ecclesiasticorum in Hibernia: or, the First-Fruits of all Ecclesiastical Benefices in the Kingdom of Ireland, as taxed in the King’s Books: with an*

Rules for the fund, 1726.

Statement of its disposal in 1780.

⁴ NICHOLSON, ii., p. 611.

Account showing how this Royal Fund, vested in Trustees, hath hitherto been disposed of." In the preface of the publisher to the reader it is stated, that, "for the further encouragement of the original pious design, the bishops in 1726, finding the money arising from the fund insufficient to answer the necessities of the Church, had very liberally augmented the same out of their private bounty by subscriptions, which was also much increased by the generous contributions of the clergy." This should seem to have reference to the contributions mentioned in the foregoing correspondence. An account is also given of the progress made by the trustees in purchasing glebes and impropriate tithes, and assisting poor incumbents in the building of houses: whence it appears that, to the date of that publication, there had been sixteen glebes purchased at the cost of 3543*l.* 2*s.* 7*d.*, and tythes for fourteen incumbents, for 5855*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, and assistance given for the building of forty-five glebe houses, by gifts of 4080*l.*

Irregularity
about commenda-
tions.

Soon after the primate's arrival, there was brought under his notice a strange practice with respect to the holding of ecclesiastical benefices, which he was altogether unacquainted with in England, and which, being illegal, he immediately set himself to correct. For an incumbent to hold a second benefice, the primate's licence, technically called a faculty, was requisite. But the late primate, Archbishop Lindsay, having in some cases refused to grant a faculty, a stratagem was devised for attaining the same end. Accordingly a fiat was executed under the lord lieutenant's warrant, containing his Majesty's grant and donation of a second

or third benefice, or even more, to be holden in commendam by an incumbent, together with such other benefice or benefices as he previously held, and to be entered into without institution, induction, installation, or other solemnity.

An allusion to this case occurs in a letter of the Archbishop of Dublin, April the 10th, 1722, where it is condemned in terms of strong reprobation: "You proposed," he observes to Dr. Coghill, "when here last night, that those who have got commends should resign them, and take presentations, if my lord primate would grant them faculties; and that you believed they might be prevailed on to take that course. I look on those commendams to be so mischievous, so irregular, and, in truth, contrary to law, that I should look on any expedient, that would effectually discourage and prevent them, ought to be embraced, and, I am of opinion, what you propose would do it; and, if you can bring it to that, I doubt not but I shall prevail to let Mr. Whalley's faculty pass."

Archbishop
King's opinion of
the irregularity.

Whether, however, from disinclination in Primate Lindsay to take the steps necessary for abolishing the evil, or from the inactivity incidental to his increasing years and infirmities, or from whatever cause, no remedy was applied to the evil. From the foregoing extract, it sufficiently appears what were Archbishop King's sentiments on the subject, and what would have been his course, had he been in a station to call for or warrant his interposition. Such, however, was not his station, so that it remained for the new primate to apply a corrective to the irregularity, and he was prompt in making the application.

Means for cor-
recting it.

"I have enquired," observes the primate, in reporting Letter from

primate to Archbishop of Canterbury, May 22, 1725.

this case to the Archbishop of Canterbury, May 22, 1725, "whether there is any act of parliament here that gives the crown any such power, and I am assured there is none; so that I think it stands on the same bottom as a bishop taking a commendam after consecration. I have discoursed with my lord lieutenant of the illegality, as I conceive it, of this practice, and of the dangerous consequences of it, since I can apprehend it no other than the sequestration of a benefice, granted by lay powers, without being accountable for the profits received, and without being charged with the cure of souls; and I do not see but, in time, they may proceed to make such grants of benefices to laymen. I told his Excellency, if he pleased to give the several persons concerned in these extraordinary grants, which are, as far as I can learn, about half-a-dozen, legal grants of the same preferments they now possess, I will readily grant them faculties for the holding them, that things may be brought into the legal way, and farther abuses may be prevented. His Excellency seemed very much surprised at this method of granting commendams to presbyters, and is very ready to put this affair into the right channel. But, before I proceed any further in this matter, I shall be obliged to your Grace for your opinion, whether what has been already done is legal, that I may occasion no needless disturbance here; and I am sure your Grace's opinion of this matter will thoroughly satisfy his Excellency⁵."

Evil of pluralities.

No further mention of this case occurs, so that it may be presumed to have been settled in the manner proposed by the primate, and approved by the lord lieutenant. But although this expedient may have corrected the irregularity of the proceeding, it must have left the evil of pluralities as it was. In the fiat, a copy of which was transmitted in the foregoing letter, for the purpose of giving the Archbishop of Canterbury the better understanding of the nature of this new tenure, an individual clerk

⁵ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 24.

was empowered to hold a deanery, then void, together with a prebend, a rectory and vicarage, an entire rectory, and another vicarage.

In the course of the same year, but a few months later, the primate saw cause to interfere for preventing another irregularity with respect to the holding of a benefice, in the case of a fellow of the college. Dr. Delany, one of the senior fellows, derived from his fellowship and pupils an income, supposed to be 600*l.* or 700*l.* a year. The chapter of Christ Church were desirous of giving him a parish in the city, then vacant, and of which they were the patrons. But without a royal dispensation he could not keep his fellowship with this new living. And the primate, in consequence, requested the Duke of Newcastle, that any application which should be made for such dispensation might not be granted.

Holding of a benefice by a fellow of the college.

“Dr. Delany,” says the primate, in a letter of October 12⁶, “is a great tory, and has a great influence in these parts; and it were to be wished, for his Majesty’s service, that he might be tempted by some good country living to quit the college; but, if he has St. John’s, with his fellowship, there can be no hopes of his removal.” But another and a better reason was assigned in a subsequent letter, of the 11th of November⁷: “As to Dr. Delany’s affair, when I was in England, and belonged to the university, I was always against persons holding any tolerable preferments with their fellowships, as being a hindrance to succession in colleges, and excluding some or other, that may want that help in their education, from getting upon a foundation; and

Case of Dr. Delany.

⁶ BOULTER’S *Letters*, i., p. 40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

though a power is reserved to the crown to dispense with the statutes of the college here, yet I would hope it will not be done merely for being asked for, where there is not some very good motive beside."

Petition to the
crown.

Meanwhile, a petition had been presented to the crown, in terms which were calculated to convey an erroneous apprehension of the kind of preferment for which the dispensation was sought. Such, at least, was the view taken of it by the primate: "By his petition, I perceive your Grace might apprehend, that it was only a dignity, of the nature of a sinecure, that he desired to hold with his fellowship, as is the case of prebends in England; but this prebend, as most other dignities here, has a parish, with cure of souls annexed to it^o."

Primate's suc-
cessful oppo-
sition.

The petition, however, was ineffectual, and the primate succeeded in his opposition. "I am very much obliged to your Grace and the other lords justices," he writes to the Archbishop of Canterbury, December 8, 1725^o, "for rejecting Dr. Delany's request for a faculty to hold a living with his fellowship. I can assure your Grace it was not out of any ill will to the person, that I opposed it; but that his Majesty's friends here think it would be very much for his Majesty's service, if he were removed from the college to some other part of the kingdom, instead of having a living here in town, and such an addition to his fellowship, as may put him beyond any temptation, but that of a wife, to quit it. This was my reason then, and still continues so; but I am now a little surprised with what I did not then know, that his application was not to be dispensed with from the obligation of any statute, but of an oath he had taken never to hold such a benefice;

^o BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 45.

^o *Ibid.*, p. 47.

this, where there is not an express clause in the oath, *nisi tecum aliter dispensatum fuerit*, seems to me altogether new."

In the course of this summer, Archbishop Boulter held a diocesan visitation, which he reported to the Duke of Newcastle in a letter from Dublin, of July 3, 1725¹⁰:

Primate's visitation,

" Since I had the honour of your Grace's of June 29, I have been employed on a visitation of my diocese, where I have, by my charge to the clergy, made the Protestant dissenters in those parts easy, and have, I hope, given some courage to his Majesty's friends. I met with all the civility I could desire, both from the gentry and clergy; and as the latter desired me to print my charge, and as some others think it may be of some service to the government, at least by giving me the more weight among the well-affected, when they see my sentiments in print, I have thoughts of speedily putting it to the press."

And charge.

The charge was accordingly printed, and copies sent to Lord Townshend, with a request that one might be presented, with the author's most humble duty, to Prince Frederick, grandson of the king, and eldest son of George, at that time Prince of Wales, and afterwards George the Second; to whom it has been before mentioned that he had been preceptor.

It is a sensible pastoral address, but contains no remarks particularly striking. He speaks of the discouraging situation that he should feel under the disadvantage of his being a stranger in Ireland, "if he could not at the same time observe, that he is descended from the same blood, from whence most of his clergy or their progenitors were sprung; that he is here under the government of the same prince,

Character of it,

¹⁰ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 28.

and, as to the main, of the same laws, as he was before; that he is come to a Church professing the same faith, enjoying the same institutions, and exercising the same discipline with that which he had left; that we have," said he, "the same common interest, and the same common enemies to our happy establishment, both in Church and State, with our fellow-subjects on the other side of the water; and that our safety is so interwoven with theirs, that no ruin can overtake them, which will not equally involve us, nor can we be finally ruined without drawing them into the same common destruction."

And contents.

Professing then, "that the time he had spent in this nation had been too little for him to come to a knowledge of the particular wants of his diocese, and the consideration of the most proper remedies to be applied to them," he contents himself with a general admonition on the common duties of clergymen, and the qualifications required for the work, concluding with some observations on the behaviour required to those who are without the Church. Kindness and gentleness, and the unblameable conversation of the clergy, he thinks, will go a great way towards drawing dissenters over to our communion. And he particularly recommends to the clergy, by the like means practised towards the Papists, and by relieving them in their necessities, to try to gain their love and esteem; "which if you can compass, it will be no hard matter gradually to obtain some weight and authority with them."

Kindness recommended to the clergy.

Condition of Protestantism.

"I do not know enough of the case, to lay any particular blame on you or others: but I cannot but esteem it a reproach to the Protestants of this country, that so few converts have been made from Popery, in the several seasons of settled peace this nation has from time to time

enjoyed. But it will be still a greater shame to us, if any descended from Protestant parents either go over to Popery, or, though they keep out of the Church of Rome, are as ignorant of the doctrines of Christ, as the members of that Church generally are.

“ I must therefore desire of you, my brethren, that you would be diligent, by your preaching and other ways, in instructing your flocks in the principles and duties of our holy religion; and that you would direct and encourage them to read pious and useful books at home, for their greater growth in Christian knowledge; and that you would carefully catechise the children and youth under you, clearly and familiarly explaining to them the articles of our faith. And I must recommend to you, that when you have laid open and confirmed to them any doctrines of the Gospel, you would, if the matter admits of it, show them how those truths have been corrupted or enervated by the Papists.”

Ministerial diligence enforced.

A brief allusion to the necessity of loyalty to his Majesty and his royal family is added :

“ And all of you, who retain any sense of religion, cannot but know, you have bound yourselves with the most sacred ties to his royal family, exclusive of all pretenders to the crown, by the oaths you have taken. So that I think it superfluous, where the obligations you lie under are of the greatest weight possible, to acquaint you, that affection to his Majesty is a necessary qualification in all those who expect any countenance and favour from me.”

Loyalty to the king.

The unusual occurrence at that period of an episcopal, at least an archiepiscopal, charge from a prelate of the Church of Ireland, the station of the individual at the head of that Church, and the religious circumstances of the country, have induced me to dwell on this composition longer than its intrinsic value may seem to require. For, in fact, it is not characterised by any peculiar excellence of remark, or strength or elegance of style; and it fails altogether of gratifying curiosity by any intelligence

concerning the state of religion in the kingdom, the province, or the diocese.

A parliament,
Sept. 1725.

Collision between
the governours
of the Church.

The primate's in-
vidious remark.

In September, 1725, the parliament assembled, but there was not anything particular in the bills, especially relating to the Church, as Primate Boulter informed the Archbishop of Canterbury, observing that, if there had been, he should have given his Grace advice of it¹¹. The meeting, however, gave occasion for a collision between the chief governours of the Church, on account of an address to his Majesty upon the lord lieutenant's speech. On the appointment of his Excellency, the address was moved by the Archbishop of Armagh; and an amendment proposed by the Archbishop of Dublin, and supported by the Archbishop of Tuam. The amendment consisted of the introduction of two words, which Archbishop Boulter resisted, as a reflection on the ministry: he expresses himself also as "sensible that one thing, which in part disposed some to be peevish, was the seeing an English primate there¹²:" a censure, which the editor of his letters observes must be invidious, as most of the primates of Ireland, since the Reformation, had been from England. In the end, the amendment, having been at first carried, was subsequently left out of the address, after a long debate, which terminated in a division of twenty-one against twelve. The struggle was considered by Archbishop Boulter as a fair trial of strength between the parties; and in agreement with that was an observation of Dean Swift, in a letter of the ensuing November, that "the primate and the Earl of Cavan governed the House of Lords¹³." He at the same time alludes to an

¹¹ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 48.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 37.

¹³ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 312.

attack made in the castle on the primate by the Archbishop of Dublin, for preferring an improper person to a good living. His allusion, which is obscure, is conveyed in language of such vulgar scurrility, as to preclude transcription. However, the Archbishop of Dublin's attack was not without foundation.

It seems that, before the primate left England, Lord Townshend had recommended to his care a clergyman, named Power, whom, in September, 1725, he had an opportunity of providing for, by giving him a living of about 150*l.* a year¹⁴. That this person was soon discovered to be unworthy of such patronage, is evident from the following letter addressed to him on the 24th of the ensuing February, by the primate's secretary, Mr. Ambrose Philips: and the circumstance of date makes it most probable, that this was the case upon which the Archbishop of Dublin's attack had been founded, and which, having been investigated by the primate, was judged deserving of this expression of his Grace's displeasure :

Case of a clergy-
man named
Power.

" To the Reverend Mr. Power¹⁵.

" Sir,

Dublin Feb. 24, 1726.

Letter from Am-
brose Philips to
Mr. Power.

" I received yours of the 24th of November, in answer to mine of the 20th, and delivered your present, which was kindly received.

" What I write to you now is by the express orders of my lord primate, to inform you that his Grace hears from persons of credit such things of you as are highly displeasing to him. You are represented as a person who have neither discretion in your words and conversation, nor proper decency in your actions and conduct, nor a due regard to the offices of your function ; and that the result of your whole behaviour has given such offence to the generality of your

¹⁴ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 32.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

parishioners, that your congregation falls off daily from you. I am ordered to acquaint you, that my Lord is very much troubled to have so indifferent a character of a clergyman whom he has promoted, and that he will not rest satisfied with such a behaviour as brings a scandal on religion and a disrepute on himself.

“I am, Sir,

“Your very humble servant,

“AMBR. PHILIPS.”

System of government patronage.

The system, upon which the government patronage was now disposed of, appears to have excited the apprehensions of the Archbishop of Dublin, whose influence had been much abated by the late alterations. “I am glad,” he writes to the Bishop of Cork, on the 7th of December, 1725, “when I can do any service to any of my brethren of our bench, but more especially to your Lordship, to whom I am very much obliged, more than to others, to whom I have had opportunity to do much greater services than I ever could to you. I have had the mortification to be deserted by most of my brethren, and by some who owed me the greatest obligations. I was not much concerned on my own account, but could not but regret their making themselves ridiculous and contemptible, which happened to their grief and my vexation; for all such accidents weaken the Church. I wish you had sent up your doctor’s certificate, or affidavit, of your indisposition; for ’tis alleged that no man is to be believed in his own cause. Pray, take care of your health; for, if a vacancy should happen at this time, we should not know how it would be filled.”

Letter from Archbishop King to Bishop of Cork, Dec., 1725.

Letter to Mr. Southwell.

In a letter, of the 29th of the same month, to Edward Southwell, Esq., the system of patronage is again noticed with severe censure, in several particu-

lars, of which I cite that only which relates to ecclesiastical affairs. The case, in which the primate's name is mentioned, probably refers to the individual whose ill-advised preferment was the subject of the attack made by the archbishop at the council-board, and of the letter of the primate's secretary. For the "Walton blacks" I propose to substitute "Waltham blacks," a well-known horde of deer-stealers in Hampshire, whose enormities about this time had been such as to give occasion for the statute of 9 Geo. I., c. 22, commonly called "the black act."

Walton for Waltham.

"I told you in my last," says Archbishop King, "that since my lord lieutenant was nominated to the government, about 18,000*l.* annual rent have been given in benefices, employments, and places, to strangers, and not 500*l.* to any in Ireland; but I find I was mistaken; for I find there have been above 20,000*l.* disposed that way, and I understand several have not yet come to my knowledge. There are several vacancies now in prospect to the value of some thousands, and I hear strangers are already named for them.

"The bishops sent us from England follow the same track in many instances. The Bishop of Derry, since his translation to that see, has given about 2000*l.* in benefices to his English friends and relations. Lord Primate hath had two livings void since his translation: one he has given, of about 200*l.* per annum, to one of his Walton" (*Qy.* Waltham?) "blacks, whom he since ordained priest, and the other to one Mr. Blennerhassett, whom they commonly call an Hottentot; I know not for what reason.

"I tell you what is generally said and believed. Whether in all circumstances true or not, it sheweth the sense of the kingdom as to the treatment they meet with from the government. The Bishop of Waterford has not only given all livings of value in his gift to his brothers and relations, but likewise his vicar-generalship and registry, though none of them reside in the kingdom."

Meanwhile, the political principles and attach-

Letter of primate to Duke of Newcastle.

Visit of Dean
Swift to England.

ments of the Dean of St. Patrick's naturally made him an object of observation to those in the opposite party; so that we read without surprise the intimation conveyed by the primate to the Duke of Newcastle, in a letter of the 10th of February¹⁶: "The general report is, that Dean Swift designs for England in a little time; and we do not question his endeavours to misrepresent his Majesty's friends here, wherever he finds an opportunity. But he is so well known, as well as the disturbances he has been the fomentor of in this kingdom, that we are under no fear of his being able to disserve any of his Majesty's faithful servants, by anything that is known to come from him; but we could wish some eye were had to what he shall be attempting on your side of the water."

His interview
with Sir Robert
Walpole,

The primate's anticipation turned out to be well-founded. The dean sought an interview with the prime minister, Sir Robert Walpole, with whom he had, in consequence, more than an hour's conversation, "with design of representing the affairs of Ireland to him in a true light, not only without any view to himself, but to any party whatsoever." What passed between them he related, in a letter of April the 28th, to the Earl of Peterborow, who had, at the dean's request, obtained for him the interview. It contains a specification of grievances, of which the two following have particular reference to the Church¹⁷: "That whereas there is a university in Ireland, founded by Queen Elizabeth, where youth are instructed with a much stricter discipline than either in Oxford or Cambridge, it lies under the greatest discouragements, by filling all the principal employments, civil and ecclesiastical, with persons

And specification
of grievances.

¹⁶ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 51.

¹⁷ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 326.

from England, who have neither interest, property, acquaintance, nor alliance, in that kingdom, contrary to the practice of all other states in Europe, which are governed by viceroys, at least what hath never been used without the utmost discontents of the people:" and "That several of the bishops sent over to Ireland, having been clergymen of obscure condition, and without other distinction than that of chaplains to the governours, do frequently invite over their old acquaintance or kindred, to whom they bestow the best preferments in their gift." "What part of these grievances," he observes, in conclusion, "may be thought proper to be redressed by so wise and great a minister as Sir Robert Walpole, he perhaps will please to consider; especially because they have been all brought upon that kingdom since the Revolution, which, however, is a blessing annually celebrated there with the greatest zeal and sincerity." A remarkable position this, if understood with reference to his complaints concerning the Church; for certainly the same practices, whether right or wrong, with respect to the preferment of English ecclesiasticks, had, to a considerable extent, prevailed in Ireland long before the Revolution.

SECTION XI.

Primate Boulter's Dispute with Archbishop King. Power of granting Marriage Faculties, given to the Primate, claimed by the Archbishop. Opinions of Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. Report concerning Dean Swift's appointment to a Bishoprick contradicted. Maule, Bishop of Cloyne. Recommended by Primate and Archbishop King. His Character. Infirmities and Death of Archbishop Palliser. Bishop Nicholson made Archbishop of Cashel. His Death, Character, and Publications. Contest for the vacant Archbishoprick. Projects of the Primate. Exertions for Bishop Bolton. Archbishop King's Appeal to Lord Lieutenant. Letters of Primate Boulter on the subject. Disposal of the vacant Sees. Interrupted by King George's Death. Project concerning Kilmore and Ardagh. Dispute between Archbishop King and Dean Swift.

Primate Boulter
a lord justice,
April, 1726.

IN April, 1726, Lord Carteret went to England; whereupon the Archbishop of Armagh, Lord Chancellor West, and William Conolly, Esq., were made lords justices, and sworn into office. In May the archbishop found himself again engaged in dispute with the Archbishop of Dublin, by whom he considered himself very much aggrieved in some points of such a nature, that he could not, without prejudice to his successors, suffer them to go on without looking out for some remedy. He was, however, unwilling to take any step without the opinion and advice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, as to the measures most proper to be taken by him, or rather by the crown, which he thought to be at least as much concerned in the case as he was. He accordingly laid the following statement before Archbishop Wake, in a letter of the 21st of May, 1726¹:

His dispute with
Archbishop
King.

¹ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 61.

“The power the Archbishop of Armagh claims of granting licences for marriages, at uncanonical hours and places, is as follows:

Letter to Archbishop Wake,
May 21, 1726.

“In the twenty-eighth of Henry VIII. there was a statute passed here, entitled ‘The act of faculties,’ which, for the bulk of it, is only a recital of the English statute of the twenty-fifth of Henry VIII., concerning ‘peter-pence and dispensations;’ with an application at the end to the kingdom of Ireland. There is, likewise, another statute past here the second of Elizabeth, entitled ‘An act for restoring to the crown the ancient jurisdiction over the estate ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign authority repugnant to the same:’ which act is almost verbatim the same with the English statute tenth of Elizabeth of the same title, as to the general part; and, as to the repealing and reviving part, repeals or revives, such statutes of Phil. and Mary, or Henry VIII., as were thought proper to be repealed or revived. And, in both these acts, there is a power lodged in the crown, to authorize such person or persons as the crown shall think proper, to exercise the several powers therein mentioned in this kingdom.

Power of granting faculties for marriages

“In virtue of these two statutes, which, in the beginning of the grant, are mentioned as the foundation of the several powers therein granted, King James I., by letters-patent to Christ. Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh, dated April 10, *anno regni* of England 20, and of Scotland 55, did among other things grant full power, authority, and jurisdiction, to him the said Christ. Hampton, and his successors, Archbishops of Armagh for ever, from time to time, and at all times requisite, to give, grant, and dispose of all manner of such licences, dispensations, compositions, faculties, grants, rescripts, delegacies, instruments, and all other writings, of what kind, nature, or quality soever they be, as by force of the said act of parliament may be given and granted, in the most large and ample manner: and did likewise, by the same letters-patent, enable Christ. Hampton, and his successors, &c., to appoint a commissary or commissaries under them. In virtue of these letters-patent, my predecessors have from time to time appointed commissaries, who, as occasion has offered, have granted faculties for

Lodged in the Primates.

marriages at uncanonical hours and places, which are here usually termed 'prerogative licences.'

Claimed by
Archbishop of
Dublin.

"The authority of these licences never has, that I can learn, been disputed, nor is it now; but his Grace of Dublin is pleased to set up his licences as of equal force with the prerogative licences: which licences of his differ no farther from the common episcopal licences in England, than what necessarily follows from their being directed here to the clergyman who is to marry the parties; whereas, in England, they are directed to the parties to be married. The canons indeed here are very severe against any clergyman marrying in uncanonical places or hours: the 52nd canon here punishing the so doing, in a beneficed clergyman, with deprivation, in a non-beneficed clergyman by degradation; whereas, by the English canon, the punishment is only suspension *per triennium*.

Clergy encouraged to marry
at uncanonical
hours.

"But to give a currency to the common episcopal licences, which are all his Grace of Dublin even pretends to grant, he has been pleased, both in private conversation and at his publick visitations, to encourage his clergy to marry at any hour, and in private houses, purely in virtue of one of his licences; assuring them they need not be afraid of the canon, since he is the only person who can call them to account for breach of the canon, and that they may depend upon it, he never will call them to such account.

Archbishop of
Dublin's usurpa-
tion.

"The use the Archbishop of Dublin makes of his licences in this way, by making them serve for marrying at uncanonical hours and places, is usurping a power, which no ways belongs to him by any law or custom. And as the power I claim depends on the supremacy given to the crown in spiritual matters by these acts of parliament, and is derived to me and my successors from the crown, I take this proceeding of his Grace to be a direct invasion of the authority of the crown, as well as an injury to me. And, therefore, I think the crown as much concerned to stop these irregular proceedings as I am.

Opinion sought
of Archbishop
Wake and Bishop
Gibson.

"Now what I desire of your Grace is, to inform me which is the most proper method for either the crown or myself, or both, to put a stop to this illegal practice: and likewise which is the best and easiest way of convicting and

punishing any clergyman in the diocese of Dublin, who breaks the canon in this manner though his proper ordinary will not meddle with him.

“And as the ignorance, I have observed in the most eminent common lawyers of England in ecclesiastical matters, ‘persuades me that I can have very little help from consulting the lawyers of this country, who are much inferior to those of England for skill and experience, I am the more desirous to have your Grace’s advice in this matter: and the grievance I labour under on this head is the greater here, because the people are more vain than in England; and those of moderate fortunes in this country think it beneath them to be married at the regular time and place. And in the way his Grace of Dublin has put this affair, the breaches of the canon relating to marriages, and the invasions of that power granted by the crown to the Archbishops of Armagh, are more numerous here than they would be if any bishop made the like attempt in England.

Ignorance of the lawyers.

“I shall in a post or two send a copy of this case to the Bishop of London, to desire his opinion likewise: for I have a troublesome and perverse opponent to deal with, and cannot have too much assistance. I hope his Lordship will wait upon your Grace to discourse over the subject with you; that upon any difficulties, which either may offer, I may have your joint sense, or if opportunity should not offer of your consulting together, I shall be very thankful for your Grace’s advice singly.”

But both Archbishop Wake and Bishop Gibson were cautious in encouraging proceedings, without full investigation and deliberation, and after such assistance as he could procure for his guidance in Ireland. The former advised him not to be too hasty to engage with so litigious and obstinate a person, whatever his grievance might be². The advice of the latter was, not to begin any information against any offender, till he had thoroughly mooted the point in Dublin³. The lord chancellor

Their cautious answers.

² BOULTER’S *Letters*, i., p. 74.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

was entirely of the Bishop of London's opinion, as to the course to be taken in the affair, which, in consequence, appears not to have been prosecuted.

Report concerning Dean Swift.

The visit of the Dean of St. Patrick's to England, lately alluded to, gave occasion for a report which had as little foundation in likelihood as in fact. Having gone thither upon some affairs of a private nature, he was accidentally brought into personal intercourse with some persons of high rank and station, especially with the Princess of Wales, afterwards Queen Caroline, consort of King George the Second, and with Sir Robert Walpole, prime-minister, and other chief members of the administration; so that he was reported to have received an offer of the bishoprick of Cloyne, vacated about that time by the death of Bishop Crow. In truth, however, there is no indication of his having been thought of for the purpose, either by the English or Irish government. And the report was positively contradicted by the dean himself, in a letter from Pope's residence at Twickenham, to Mr. Worrall, July 15, 1726⁴; and again more fully to Dr. Stopford, with several explanatory circumstances, on the 20th of the same month⁵.

Contradicted.

His letter to Dr. Stopford, July 20, 1726.

"I have chiefly lived about two months with Mr. Pope, since the town grew empty. I shall leave him the beginning of August, and so settle my affairs to be in Ireland by the end of that month, for my licence of half a year will be then out. I came here to see my old friends, and upon some business I had with two of them, which, however, proves to be of little consequence. The people in power have been civil enough to me; many of them have visited me. I was not able to withstand seeing the princess, because she had commanded, that whenever I came hither,

⁴ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 335.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 336.

as the news said I intended, that I should wait on her. I was latterly twice with the chief minister; the first time by invitation, and the second at my desire for an hour, wherein we differed in every point. But all this made a great noise, and soon got to Ireland; from whence, upon the late death of the Bishop of Cloyne, it was said I was offered to succeed, and I received many letters upon it; but there was nothing of truth, for I was neither offered, nor would have received, except upon conditions which would never be granted. For I absolutely broke with the first minister, and have never seen him since; and I lately complained of him to the princess, because I knew she would tell him. I am, besides, all to pieces with the lord lieutenant, whom I treated very roughly, and absolutely refused to dine with him."

His difference
with Sir Robert
Walpole.

This statement of Dean Swift, as to his own want of concern in the transaction, was accompanied by a remark to Mr. Worrall, that "the promotion was, as he was told, given immediately to Maule." And this corresponds with the intelligence in Primate Boulter's letters. Apprised of the Bishop of Cloyne's dangerous state, and desirous of "preventing any surprise in naming his successor; for some here," as he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, June 25, "are not without fears that interest may be made for a tory on this side, to succeed to that or the next vacancy on the bench⁶;" he made the duke acquainted with the expected vacancy. And immediately on its having occurred, he wrote, on the 28th, to the duke, with a recommendation of Dr. Skirret, who had attended him to Ireland as his chaplain, if acceptable to his Grace and the ministry: but, he added, "if your Lordship thinks he is not so fit, I would recommend Dr. Maule, dean of Cloyne, to succeed to the bishoprick: he is counted one well affected to his Majesty, and is very diligent in the

Dr. Maule, bishop
of Cloyne.

⁶ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 68.

discharge of the cures he has at present, and has the honour of being known to several bishops in England."

Recommended
by primate and
Archbishop
King.

It is somewhat remarkable, that the same individual, thus recommended by the primate, should have had the good fortune also of being recommended by the Archbishop of Dublin; who thus wrote to the lord lieutenant in his favour:

"May it please your Excellency,

"I understand that the Bishop of Cloyne is dead: I hope your Lordship will pardon me if I give you my sense on this occurrence. Your Excellency hath indulged me to use great freedom; and I can assure you I never made any exercise of that liberty, but with a real design for your service.

"I have heard that Dr. Maule had promises from some great men in the ministry, that he should succeed in it when vacant: he is beneficed in that diocese; has a great reputation there for his charity, piety, and zeal for religion and his Majesty's interest; and if so preferred, it will be a gratification to that whole country.

"The circumstances of that diocese are such, that he runs a great hazard that accepts of it; for there is about two thousand five hundred pounds to be paid to his predecessor for his improvements, and five hundred more will not pay his fees and settle him in it. If a person in low circumstances should be put into it, he would be hard put to it to raise the money; and if he should die soon, (the bishoprick not being, as I have been informed, worth above eight or nine hundred pounds per annum,) his family would be undone; but Dr. Maule, having a good temporal estate, may be able to bear it.

"But I hear that Dr. Howard will be recommended; to be sure I have no objection against him. . . ."

This individual recommendation by the primate, addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, and repeated in substance to Lord Carteret, was followed on the 30th by a common letter from himself and the other

two lords justices, relative to a successor to the late Bishop of Cloyne, in which three persons were named: Dr. Maule, dean of Cloyne; Dr. Howard, dean of Ardagh; and Mr. Gore, dean of Down, who was also chaplain to the House of Commons, and brother to Sir Ralph Gore, Bart. Dean Maule, the senior of the three, was preferred, as communicated to the primate by the Duke of Newcastle, in a letter of the 9th of July. Lord Carteret was backward in reporting the selection, which appears not to have been satisfactory to his Excellency. The bishop-elect was a native of Arklow, and had been altogether educated and beneficed in Ireland: he bore the character of a very worthy and respectable man; and became one of the first promoters of the Protestant charter schools, to which our attention will be required, about six years later, as established for the reception and education of the children of Papists⁷.

His character.

Towards the close of the year 1726, the great age and rapidly increasing infirmities of Archbishop Palliser foreboded an early vacancy in the see of Cashel; when the Archbishop of Dublin, in anticipation of Lord Carteret's resumption of the vice-regal office, drew his attention to the subject in the following letter:

Infirmities of
Archbishop Pal-
liser.

"Dublin, December 21, 1726.

"May it please your Excellency,

"I believe the next packets will bring you an account of Dr. Palliser, archbishop of Cashell's death; for Dr. Molineux assures me, that he cannot live two days. That diocese and province has been in effect without an archbishop for some years, the archbishop, by reason of his age, being incapable of managing the office; and your Excellency will be sensible how necessary it is to have it filled

Letter of Arch-
bishop King to
Lord Carteret,
Dec. 21, 1726.

⁷ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 335, note.

with a man of experience, activity, learning, and piety; and how improper it would be to have a novice or a slug in it. I thought proper to 'give your Excellency timely warning of the vacancy, that you might use your timely endeavours to have it well filled. I hope to see your Excellency again in the government here, and wish it may be easy to you.

Lord Lieutenant's
responsibility in
appointing a suc-
cessor.

Your Excellency will find your interest and advantage in the prudent disposal of this see; for nobody doubts but you know a good man from a bad, a proper and agreeable from an improper. If, therefore, such a person be thrust upon us, 'twill be concluded either that you had not interest enough to prefer a good one, or that you had not kindness enough for the kingdom to engage you to use your power in its service. I am sure if either of these opinions prevail, that will be to your Excellency's disservice. Your Excellency has always indulged me to discover my thoughts freely to you; and I hope my freedom in this, being well-intended, will not be displeasing to you. To convince your Excellency that I have no design, besides serving your Excellency, the Church, and the publick, I do not presume to name or recommend any person to you. I only add my hearty and earnest prayers, that God would direct you in this and every step of your life, and preserve you and all yours in health and happiness; and that I am, with all respect and submission,

" My Lord,

" Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

" W. D.

" His Excellency Lord Carteret."

Bishop Nicholson
made Archbishop
of Cashel.

In the following January, the event anticipated in this letter occurred; and the death of Archbishop Palliser, in the eighty-fifth year of his age, caused a vacancy in the metropolitan see of Cashel, which was conferred upon Bishop Nicholson of Derry. He appears to have been not ambitious of the change from any motive personal to himself, but to have accepted the preferment less on his own account than on that of Bishop Downes of Meath, for whom

the see of Derry had some special attraction, and who was translated thither on the recommendation of the lords justices, as well as through the particular favour of Lord Carteret and Bishop Nicholson himself. A very grateful and affectionate letter to the latter from "his most obliged and affectionate brother, friend, and servant, H. Meath⁸," records the translation, which is confirmed by Archbishop Boulter's letters. "If," said the primate, in two letters to the same effect, written on occasion of the vacancy, and proposing a scheme for filling it and others incidental to it, to the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Carteret—"If it be thought proper to break this scheme, by sending some bishop from the bench in England to Cashel, Derry, or Meath, I hope we shall not have one sent for being troublesome or good for nothing there, for such an one will do the English interest a great deal of mischief here; and I hope regard will be had to his being likely or unlikely to agree with me. I remember I have in conversation mentioned two that I should not desire to see here; one for the restlessness of his temper, the other for the great liberties he was pleased to take with my character upon my being made primate⁹."

Bishop Downes
translated to
Derry.

But the caution was superfluous: Cashel and Derry were bestowed in the manner already mentioned, and Meath was filled by the translation of Bishop Cobb from Killala, to which see Dr. Howard was promoted from the deanery of Ardagh.

To one, however, of these translated prelates his promotion was little more than nominal, and indeed detrimental to the affairs of his family. The new Archbishop of Cashel, who had been elevated to the

Death of Arch-
bishop Nichol-
son;

⁸ NICHOLSON, ii., p. 616.

⁹ BOULTER, i., pp. 8, 9.

metropolitan dignity, on the 28th of January, 1727, but had not yet taken possession of his see, was seized with apoplexy on the 13th of February following, and found dead on the floor in his room at the palace of Londonderry. Archbishop Boulter expressed his great sorrow for the loss of a very valuable and useful, a very learned and worthy man. Of his professional character I find no particular record. His learning seems to have prevailed chiefly in the department of antiquities, in his fondness for which Mr. Harris reports that he was said to have built an apartment near his garden at Derry, for the preservation of the manuscripts and records belonging to his see¹⁰. Among his numerous publications the principal were the *English*, the *Scotch*, and the *Irish Historical Library*, three several works, indicating most of the authors and records, in print or in manuscript, which might be serviceable to the compilers of a history of either of the three kingdoms. Harris has remarked¹¹, that, for want of sufficient acquaintance with the Irish manuscripts and language, he fell into many errors in the last work; notwithstanding which, he adds, that "much thanks are due to him for the extraordinary pains he took to inform himself about the materials which may be had for improving Irish history."

His character,

And publications.

Contest for the archbishoprick.

Projects of the primate.

The appointment to the vacant archbishoprick was much sought after and contested, and various pleas were urged upon the English government, in whose hands the patronage was reserved. Bishop Ellis of Kildare made immediate application to the lords justices, and "desired to be considered as being the oldest bishop upon the bench, except the Arch-

¹⁰ WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 488.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 296.

bishop of Dublin." "I must do him the justice to say," observes the primate to the Duke of Newcastle, and in much the same terms to Lord Carteret, "he is an hearty Englishman, and I believe a thorough enemy to the Pretender : his only fault is, that he is rather counted a tory here¹²." Bishop Ellis.

Next to the Bishop of Kildare, the primate recommended Bishop Godwin of Kilmore, an Englishman, and one whom he describes as "the best beloved by his Majesty's friends of any that have been mentioned from England, as standing here in competition for the see of Cashel, as well as much senior to others, which used to be a consideration of weight in England; and the English here think it of great consequence that it should be given to an Englishman¹³." Bishop Godwin.

Another project of the primate's was, as being for his Majesty's service, "to fill Cashel from the bench in England, or to send one from England to the bishoprick vacant by any translations made here." "If the first is done," he adds, "I hope nobody will be sent hither from the bench in England for being restless or good for nothing there, or who is not likely to agree with me, since this will certainly weaken the English interest here. If the latter method be taken, I hope a divine of some character will be sent hither." This recommendation was founded upon a computation, made by the primate and the Lord Chancellor Wyndham, "that if some person were not brought over from England to the bench, there would be thirteen Irish to nine English bishops out of twenty-two; which," says he, "we think will be a dangerous situation¹⁴." If an An Englishman recommended.

¹² BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 110.
¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

Englishman were sent over to Cashel or Kildare, he thinks that "if it were one that would be a proper person to succeed to Dublin upon a vacancy, it would be the less invidious, but in that view it ought to be one from the bench in England." He acquaints Lord Carteret also, that "the oldest friend he has on the bench in England is Dr. Smalbroke, bishop of St. David's, and that he should be very glad to see him here:" also he "should be satisfied if the Bishop of Gloucester or Bangor were sent hither either on this occasion, or to Dublin when it falls: but I have formerly mentioned two on the bench to your Lordship, whom I should be sorry to see here." The editor of the primate's letters notices, that the Bishop of Bristol was certainly one of the two.

Bishop Bolton.

In opposition to these recommendations of an Englishman, powerful influence was used for the translation of Bishop Bolton from Elphin to Cashel. He was a native of Ireland, a high tory, and a friend of Dean Swift's: a man withal of great learning, and vast abilities. He was at first mentioned as a competitor for the archbishoprick in the common letter of the lords justices, but his pretensions found their principal support in the friendship of Mr. Conolly, and his cause was subsequently espoused by Lord Carteret. His appointment, however, was earnestly resisted by the primate for such reasons as these: that "it would be too dangerous a step to trust him in that post;" that "he was an enterprising man, and would soon set himself, if he had that station, at the head of the Irish interest;" that "he should be kept longer in a state of probation;" that "he was much a junior, and as dangerous an Irishman as any on the bench;" that "his great friend

was Mr. Conolly, and that most of those who solicited here for him were set on by him;" that "all the English here thought it would be a dangerous step to make the Bishop of Elphin archbishop."

Meanwhile the Archbishop of Dublin again ventured to appeal to the lord lieutenant, in a letter of March 18, on the second vacancy of Cashel :

Archbishop
King's appeal.

"Your Excellency's disposal of the late preferments has, as there is reason, been very acceptable; and it is hoped that your Excellency, having gained this step, will be able to proceed in the same track, especially since the person you recommended to the archbishoprick of Cashel never was installed, or had any emolument from it; and, consequently, your Excellency had not the benefit of his Majesty's favourable condescension to your recommendation.

"I doubt not but there are many in England desirous of our preferments, which, by our zeal for the Church, and our good laws, are become considerable; whereas, I do not find that the bishopricks in England, by the indolence and covetousness of the possessors, are much better, if anything at all, than they were at the Reformation. Methinks, therefore, it seems a little hard, that, because we have been honest and industrious for the common good, we should be excluded from the improvements we have made, and those given to such as have made none. 'Sic vos non vobis, &c.'

Irish bishopricks
an object of
English competi-
tion.

"It is confidently reported here, that ten English bishops were striving for this void archbishoprick; if this be so, I conclude, when it pleaseth God to remove me, twenty will contend for mine; but I am no ways inclined to throw a bone of contention amongst my brethren, and, therefore, am resolved to take all possible care of my health, and do all that I can to prolong my life, so long as God and nature will allow me."

His own views, at the same time, continued to be urged in several letters by the primate on the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Carteret, the Archbishop

of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, to whom, after a lapse of more than two months from the vacancy, when the appointment had not yet been determined he again wrote as follows¹⁵:

Primate's letter
to Bishop of
London, April 25,
1727.

"To the Bishop of London.

"My Lord, *Dublin, April 25, 1727.*

"As I have heard nothing from your Lordship since mine of the 1st instant, and as we have not yet had any orders about the archbishoprick of Cashel, I cannot help writing a line or two more on that subject, though it may possibly come too late.

"It is reported here, that our speaker has wrote, that the House of Commons will be very much disoblged if the Bishop of Elphin has not Cashel. I am, on the contrary, assured, that among the whigs of that House, setting aside the speaker's creatures and dependents, there is hardly one who will not be better pleased to have the Bishop of Kilmore made archbishop, than the Bishop of Elphin.

"I must, likewise, inform you, that I have discoursed with every Englishman of consequence in this town, whether clergy or laity, and can assure you, that there is not one who is not of opinion, that the giving the archbishoprick to Bishop Bolton will be a very great blow to the English interest in this kingdom. I would beg of your Lordship, if the affair be not over, to represent this to the ministry.

"I shall, likewise, write a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, to desire the ministry to consider who is the proper person to recommend to bishopricks here, an Irish speaker or an English primate. I shall trouble your Grace no further at present, and am,

"My Lord, &c."

Still on the 20th of May the question remained undecided, and on that day the primate again pressed his recommendation on the Duke of Newcastle in the following letter¹⁶:

¹⁵ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 126.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

“ My Lord,

“ I have so long forborn troubling your Grace about the archbishoprick of Cashel, in expectation of our speedily receiving his Majesty’s commands about it; but, as no orders are yet come, and the reports we have here about what is intended are various, and as his Majesty’s speedy going abroad must occasion some determination in that affair very soon, your Grace will excuse my giving you this trouble, to renew my recommendations of Dr. Godwin, bishop of Kilmore, to the archbishoprick of Cashel, and of Dr. Hort, bishop of Ferns, to the bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh.

Letter to Duke of
Newcastle, May
20, 1727.

“ The present Bishop of Kilmore has been some years longer on the bench than any that have been talked of for the archbishoprick, and is, I may safely say, the best beloved, by his Majesty’s friends here, of any English bishop; the Bishop of Ferns is senior to the Bishop of Elphin.

“ If it be designed I should have that weight with the bishops, as to dispose them to unite in his Majesty’s service here, I think my recommendation ought to be regarded on this occasion; and I can assure your Grace it is not any particular friendship to the Bishop of Kilmore, but a regard to his worth, and to the most likely method of keeping up a good understanding among his Majesty’s friends on the bench, that makes me so hearty in recommending him. I hope I may depend on your Grace’s friendship to support me in this affair, and shall always remain, &c.”

The perseverance of the lord lieutenant, in insisting on the advancement of Bishop Bolton to the archbishoprick of Cashel, co-operated with the pressure of business, of much greater consequence to the publick, in retarding the Duke of Newcastle’s answer to the primate’s last letter: but on the 6th of June the primate intimates, that “ by his Majesty’s letters received yesterday, he finds he was not forgot; and most humbly thanks the duke for supporting his recommendations.” Accordingly, Bishop Godwin

Disposal of pro-
ferments.

was translated from Kilmore and Ardagh to Cashel, and Bishop Hort to Kilmore and Ardagh from Ferns and Leighlin; which bishoprick was conferred on Dr. John Hoadly, who had been chaplain to Bishop Burnet, and was Archdeacon of Salisbury, brother of Dr. Benjamin Hoadly, at that time Bishop of Salisbury, and subsequently of Winchester. This promotion was satisfactory to Archbishop Boulter, on account of his personal friendship with the two brothers, and, as being agreeable to his recommendation on the vacancy of the archbishoprick, that after some translations the last bishoprick should be filled up from England.

Hoadly, bishop
of Ferns and
Leighlin.

To the Archbishop of Dublin they were less satisfactory; for in a letter of June 22, he observes to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "We have nothing to trust to in effect, but the prudence and diligence of the bishops and clergy to press and make the best advantage of a good cause. And if we consider the preferments that have been of late, many are of opinion that much is not to be expected from them."

These appointments, however, were not completed till the ensuing reign. For soon after the grant of the several sees by letters of King George I., his Majesty died suddenly and unexpectedly at Hanover, on the 11th of June, and the patents were afterwards procured on the 3rd of July, the 27th of July, and the 4th of August respectively, soon after the accession of King George II.

Project con-
cerning Kilmore
and Ardagh.

Meanwhile, on the determination of translating the Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh to the archbishoprick of Cashel being known, it appeared to the Archbishop of Dublin a favourable occasion for disuniting those two bishopricks, and thus giving

additional efficacy both to the Church and to the Government: and he accordingly recommended the measure to the adoption of the lord lieutenant in a letter of June the 6th, 1727 :

“ I understand,” he said to Lord Carteret, “ that the bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh are void. Those bishopricks are large and well inhabited, and, if divided, (as they were by King William, of glorious memory, and by the Earl of Stafford, when chief governor of Ireland,) will each of them be worth about 1,000*l*. Your Excellency, by dividing them now, will do a great service to the Church, and strengthen his Majesty’s interest, both in the kingdom and parliament. I hope your Excellency will not take it amiss, that I give you this hint, for I am sure it will make you more grateful to both laity and clergy. If I obtain no more by it, yet it pleases me, inasmuch as it gives me the opportunity to do myself the honour of assuring your Excellency, that I am, with the greatest respect,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Excellency’s most obedient servant,

“ His Excellency Lord Carteret,

W. D.

lord lieutenant of Ireland.”

It was whilst this negotiation was in progress, that a collision occurred between two eminent dignitaries of the Church, whose high stations and celebrated characters require that it should not be passed over without notice. There was occasion, not long since, to speak of an ecclesiastical difference between the Dean of St. Patrick’s, in his capacity of a parochial incumbent, and his diocesan, the Bishop of Meath. We have now to observe the same dignitary, in his decanal capacity, opposed to the Archbishop of Dublin.

Dispute between
Archbishop King
and Dean Swift.

At the archbishop’s visitation of the dean and chapter, which occurred in the spring of this year, during the dean’s absence in England, an exercise of

archiepiscopal power was attempted by the diocesan, and resisted and resented by the dean, to whom an account of the occurrence was forthwith transmitted. Whatever sentiments of respect, or feelings of kindly regard, may have been revived in him, after a season of estrangement, appear to have been again obliterated by this occurrence: and the result was the following letter, addressed to the Archbishop, on the 18th of May, 1727¹⁷:

The dean's letter
to Archbishop
King, May 18,
1727.

“ My Lord,

“ I understand, by some letters just come to my hands, that, at your Grace's visitation of the dean and chapter of St. Patrick's, a proxy was insisted on from the dean, the visitation adjourned, and a rule entered, that a proxy be exhibited within a month. If your Grace can find, in any of your old records, or of ours, that a proxy was ever demanded for a dean of St. Patrick's, you will have some reason to insist upon it; but, as it is a thing wholly new and unheard of, let the consequences be what they will, I shall never comply with it. I take my chapter to be my proxy, if I want any; it is only through them that you visit me, and my sub-dean is to answer for me. I am neither civilian nor canonist; your Grace may probably be both, with the addition of a dexterous deputy. My proceeding shall be only upon one maxim; never to yield to an oppression, to justify which no precedent can be produced.

His proxy
demanded.

The dean's causes
of complaint.

“ I see very well how personal all this proceeding is, and how, from the very moment of the queen's death, your Grace has thought fit to take every opportunity of giving me all sorts of uneasiness, without ever giving me, in my whole life, one single mark of your favour, beyond common civilities. And, if it were not below a man of spirit to make complaints, I could date them from six-and-twenty years past.

His claims on the
archbishop's
regard.

“ This has something in it the more extraordinary, because, during some years, when I was thought to have

¹⁷ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 400.

credit with those in power, I employed it to the utmost of your service, with great success, where it could be most useful against many violent enemies you then had, however unjustly, by which I got more ill-will, than by any other action of my life, I mean from friends.

“ My Lord, I have lived, and, by the grace of God, will die, an enemy to servitude and slavery of all kinds ; and, I believe, at the same time, that persons of such a disposition will be the most ready to pay obedience wherever it is due. Your Grace has often said, ‘ You would never infringe any of our liberties.’ I will call back nothing of what is past ; I will forget, if I can, that you mentioned to me a licence to be absent. Neither my age, health, humour, or fortune, qualify me for little wrangles ; but I will hold to the practice delivered down by my predecessors. I thought and have been told, that I deserved better from that Church and that kingdom ; I am sure I do from your Grace. And, I believe, people, on this side, will assert, that all my merits are not very old. It is a little hard, that the occasion of my journey hither, being partly for the advantage of that kingdom, partly on account of my health, partly on business of importance to me, and partly to see my friends, I cannot enjoy the quiet of a few months, without your Grace interposing to disturb it. But, I thank God, the civilities of those in power here, who allow themselves to be my professed adversaries, make some atonement for the unkindness of others, who have so many reasons to be my friends. I have not long to live, and, therefore, if conscience were quite out of the case for me to do a base thing, I will set no unworthy examples for my successors to follow ; and, therefore, repeating it again, that I shall not concern myself upon the proceeding of your Lordship, I am, &c.”

With reference to this affair, on the 24th of June, the dean thus expresses, to Dr. Sheridan, his determination to maintain, at any cost, what he esteems the rights of his station¹⁸: “ If the archbishop goes on to proceed to *sub pœna contemptûs*, I would

His determination to maintain his rights.

¹⁸ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 408.

have an appeal at proper time, which, I suppose, must be to delegates, or the crown, I know not which. However, I will spend 100*l.* or 200*l.*, rather than be enslaved, or betray a right which I do not value threepence, but my successors may."

Archbishop's
forbearance.

The archbishop, however, does not appear to have taken any further steps, possibly from a conviction of error, or it may be from an unwillingness to give a fresh stimulus to a morbid irritability of temper, which may, in some degree, apologise for the tone of the foregoing letter, which seems little suited to the relative ecclesiastical positions of the two parties, even on the supposition, that the dean's judgment of the question in dispute was well founded.

CHAPTER IV.

CHURCH OF IRELAND IN THE REIGN OF

KING GEORGE II. . . . 1727—1760.

HUGH BOULTER, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH

AND PRIMATE 1742.

JOHN HOADLY 1742—1747.

GEORGE STONE 1747.

SECTION I.

King's Accession. Hopes entertained from it. Universal satisfaction attending it. Division of Kilmore and Ardagh recommended by Archbishop King. State of the Papists. Primate's communications with English Government. Condition of Popish Priests. Address to the King from Dublin College. Provost Baldwin. Parliament assembled, Nov. 28, 1727. Want of Churches. Acts for better maintenance of Curates; for Chapels of Ease; for enabling Clergy to reside; for Recovery of Tithes; for securing Rights of Advowson; for enabling Ecclesiastical Persons to part with Advowsons; for Division of Parishes; for removing Sites of Churches; for regulating Admission of Barristers, &c. Papists not intitled to Vote at Elections. Privileges of Parliament. Importance of these Acts. State of Popery and Papists. Encouragement given to Papists.

IMMEDIATELY on the arrival of the intelligence of the late king's death, proclamation was by order of the council made of his successor. "The ceremony was performed with great solemnity," relates Archbishop King, in a letter of June 20th to Edward Southwell, Esq.: "mighty crowds of people, and all signs of satisfaction. Surely," he adds, "his Majesty has not more obedient people or more zealous

King's accession.

Honours entertained from it

for his interest, than the Protestants of Ireland, though they do not think that they had a proportional share in his late Majesty's favours: and, to deal ingenuously with you, they hope better from the present. The taste they had from his government, when intrusted by his father, left a mighty impression on their minds; and if he proceed in the methods he then took, he will be the most admired and loved prince that sat on the throne since Queen Elizabeth."

Universal satisfaction attending it.

And in a letter of Sept. 5th to Lady Carteret, he thus impressively signified the universal satisfaction by a comparison with the accession of former sovereigns, of whom the archbishop's advanced age enabled him to cite no less than seven: "His late Majesty's death was a surprise to everybody. But we are over comforted by his Majesty's accession to the throne of his father. I remember the coronation of five kings and two queens, none of which came to the royal seat with that universal satisfaction, tranquillity, and pleasure, that has accompanied his Majesty's accession. I pray God he may continue long and long in his kingdom, and reign in the hearts of his people, as I am sure he doth at present."

Division of Kilmore and Ardagh recommended by Archbishop King.

It has already been noticed that the archbishop was desirous of taking advantage of the vacancy of the sees of Kilmore and Ardagh for dividing them. And he seized the earliest moment for again putting forward and pressing the division. "I understand," he continued to Mr. Southwell, "that the patents are not yet past the seals for Cashel, and Kilmore and Ardagh: so that new letters must be procured for them. If it might please his Majesty to divide the latter, as they formerly were, it

would, in my opinion, be for the good of the Church, gratify the kingdom, and be for his Majesty's interest. They would be each about 1000*l.* per annum, and are capable of being raised at half value. I have nothing to ask, nor any other part to act but that of using all my endeavours to promote his Majesty's service, which, with the help of God, I will do to the utmost of my power."

And in a letter of the 22nd to the lord lieutenant he revived the subject, which he had previously urged on his Excellency's consideration:

"I find the patents for the bishopricks are not yet passed; and I cannot refrain putting your Excellency in mind of what I wished before, of dividing the bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh. There must be, I conceive, new letters for them; and, if his Majesty could be prevailed on to divide them, it would be a grateful beginning of his Majesty's reign to the Church and people of Ireland: the bishopricks are large, and reach almost quite across Ireland, from Sligo in the west, to near Dundalk in the east.

"The Papists have more bishops in Ireland than the Protestants have, and twice (at least) as many priests; their priories and nunneries are publick; it is in vain to pass laws against them, for the justices of the peace are no ways inclined to put such laws in execution; and, to help the matter, there is a notion prevails universally that the government is so engaged with the neighbouring Popish powers by treaties and confederacies, that they are obliged to connive at the practices of their Popish subjects. The consequence of this is, that we have little else to depend on for the support of religion, but the diligence of the bishops and clergy: and some, who reflect on the late run of preferments, do not expect much assistance from the zeal or ability of such as are preferred. I do not offer this as mine own opinion, for I do mine endeavour to disabuse those opinionators; but I find the general sense of Protestants is against me."

State of the
Papists.

Supported by
foreign Popish
powers.

The archbishop's advice concerning the sees of Kilmore and Ardagh was not followed; and the appointments previously settled, were completed.

Effect of king's
accession on the
Church.

The accession of King George II. to the throne seems to have had no immediate effect on the Church of Ireland, the affairs of which continued to be administered under the superintendence and advice of the lord primate, the vice-regal authority being still lodged in the hands of Lord Carteret.

Primate Boulter's
communications
with English
government.

At the period of the late king's sudden and unexpected death, Archbishop Boulter was engaged in the triennial visitation of his province, which he had not half finished, and was disposed to proceed with, since the new king would be proclaimed, and all the usual orders given, before he could possibly reach Dublin. By the importunity, however, of his friends, especially of the other lords justices, Lord Chancellor Wyndham and Mr. Conolly, who were uneasy at his absence, he returned to Dublin, whence he immediately wrote to the principal ecclesiastical and civil authorities in England, with intelligence of the prevailing quiet in Ireland, and the universal satisfaction given by his Majesty's declaration in council. To the lord lieutenant, in one of these letters, he observed, he could not but suggest, though he was under no fear of the experiment being made, that anything which looked like bringing the tories into power here, must cause the utmost uneasiness in this kingdom, by raising the spirits of the Papists of this country, and exasperating the whigs, who, your Lordship knows, are vastly superior among the gentlemen of estates here¹: which, the editor of the

Letter to the
lord lieutenant.

¹ BOULTER's *Letters*, i., p. 139.]

archbishop's letters observes, was no bad admonition to Lord Carteret, who appeared to have been much inclined to favour the tories.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury he wrote as follows²:

And to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

“Your Grace knows I have nothing to lose; but I may be made more or less capable of serving his Majesty, of doing good in the Church, and of supporting the English interest, which labours under great disadvantages in this country, according as I have more or less countenance from England. I have in particular done my endeavours here to serve his late Majesty with the greatest faithfulness, and shall serve our present Sovereign with the same fidelity: but the services I can do will be much lessened, if I am not supported in my station: and as I am satisfied your Grace will come in for a great share of power under the king, I must beg the favour of you to give me your support here upon proper occasions.”

In his letter to the Bishop of London, incidental mention is made of a subject, which shows the degrading state of religious ignorance, which still continued to characterize the Popish clergy:

And to the Bishop of London.

“The priest your Lordship mentions has been several times with me, and I do not find any of my brethren object to his sincerity; but most of the priests here are so ignorant, and there is so much hazard in trusting them in our Church, that it is very hard to put them in any way here of getting their bread. If O'Hara could be put into some little business in the West Indies, I believe it would be better for him; but I have not yet talked with him, whether he is willing to go thither, nor shall I till I know whether your Lordship would be willing to send him³.”

Condition of Popish priests.

The accession of the king, who had been chancellor of Dublin College, caused an address to be

Address to the the King from Dublin College.

² BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 141.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

presented to his Majesty from that body, for the purposes of congratulation and of knowing his pleasure concerning the chancellorship. The provost, Dr. Baldwin, was the bearer of the address. It appears that there had lately been an election of a fellow in the College, and a quarrel had ensued, in which he had been very much misrepresented and abused, and threatened with a petition being preferred to the king, in order to the reducing of the power which was conferred by the statutes on the provost. In consequence of this, Archbishop Boulter gave Dr. Baldwin a letter of introduction to the Archbishop of Canterbury, requesting his Grace's protection, as there might be occasion, and recommending him as "a very worthy gentleman, a man of learning, and extremely well-affected to his Majesty and his family, and one who showed himself to be so in the latter end of the queen's time, when he was vice-provost." "The power he has," observes the primate, "is indeed beyond anything any head of a college has in Oxford, but is all little enough to keep the college here from being a seminary of Jacobitism, through the strength of a faction in the college against him⁴." The consequence was, the Archbishop of Canterbury's kind reception of Dr. Baldwin, and promise to support him if there was occasion⁵. What authority the primate had for his intimation of the jacobitical tendency of the society he did not state; but the editor of his letters, jealous of the character of the fellows of the University of Dublin for loyalty, as well as for charity, piety, religion, and learning, as great as any other college in Europe, since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, attributes the charge to a great mistake in the primate,

Dr. Baldwin provost of the College;

His character

Primate's supposed error about the University.

or to his having been grossly imposed upon by ignorance and malice.

The parliament being dissolved by the king's death, another was assembled, and began the 28th of November, 1727, before Lord Carteret, the lord lieutenant.

Parliament assembled, Nov. 28, 1727.

The want of churches and resident ministers was painfully felt; and in consequence of there not being a sufficient supply to meet the exigencies of the country, many of the people who were descended from members of the Church of Ireland, as well as others who had professed themselves to be such, had fallen off, and connected themselves with the Papists or Presbyterians. To correct this evil, if possible, and to give greater scope and efficacy to the Church's ministrations, several bills were introduced into this parliament, under the auspices of Archbishop Boulter, who was diligent in providing for their enactment by means of those in authority in England, so that, when submitted for the sanction of the English council, they might not fail there of success. Apprehensions at the same time were entertained of their failure in the Irish House of Commons, on account of a great jealousy which prevailed there of increasing the wealth of the Church.

Want of churches.

Bills for improving the Church's means of ministration.

The chief support in England on which the primate depended, was that of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, to each of whom he communicated the proposed enactments, together with a statement of the reasons for them, and the views which were entertained in Ireland of the benefits likely to result to religion in that country. For the reader's satisfaction, our best course will probably be to particularise the several acts, and to

Primate's views of proposed enactments.

annex, from Archbishop Boulter's correspondence with the English Prelates, extracts in explanation of his intentions and of the provisions of the acts.

Act for better
maintenance of
curates.

1 Geo. II., c. 22.

The two acts to which attention is first to be directed are chapter 22, "for explaining and amending an act, intituled an act for the better maintenance of curates within the Church of Ireland;" and chapter 15, "for rendering more effectual an act, intituled an act for the better enabling of the clergy having cure of souls to reside upon their respective benefices, and for the encouragement of Protestant schools within this kingdom of Ireland." In exposition of the views which prompted these acts, the primate expresses himself thus⁶:

Insufficiency of
ministers.

"There are probably in this kingdom five Papists, at least, to one Protestant. We have incumbents and curates to the number of about 800, whilst there are near 3000 Popish priests of all sorts here. A great part of our clergy have no parsonage-houses, nor glebes to build them on. We have many parishes eight and ten, twelve and fourteen miles long, with, it may be, only one church in them, and that often at one end of the parish. We have few market-towns that supply convenient food for the neighbourhood, nor farmers that can supply the common necessities of life, which may be had at most farmers' in England; so that all agree no clergyman in the country can live without a moderate glebe in his hands; and as there can be no hopes of getting ground of the Papists without more churches and chapels, and more resident clergymen, we have been framing two bills, one for explaining and amending an act for the better maintenance of curates in the Church of Ireland, 6^o *Georgii*.

Former act of
George I.
amended.

"By that act, a bishop was enabled to cause one or two chapels of ease to be erected in any parish where a number of Protestants lived six miles from the church, and that was understood to mean six country miles, which are, at least,

⁶ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 169.

nine measured miles, and in many places twelve. We have reduced that distance to five measured miles, the incumbents' and patrons' consent we have omitted, as what, we fear, will render the bill useless. The consents we have made necessary are such Protestant inhabitants as may want a chapel exclusive of those of the mother church, or on the other side of it, as they must contribute towards building it. At the instance of the clergy, we have, likewise, excluded such as live within two miles of a neighbouring church. The bishop has the same power of appointing a salary for these new curates as that act allowed.

“ We have, likewise, there provided for the building of chapels of ease in cities and towns corporate.

Provision for
chapels of ease.

“ The other is an act to explain an act for the better enabling of the clergy, having the cure of souls, to reside on their respective benefices, &c., 8 George, c. 12. There is, by the old act, a power of giving land, under forty acres, for a glebe, at half the improved rent, or more; but, as most of the estates here are under settlements, it has little effect; and there are now three or four gentlemen that would grant fifteen or twenty acres, if they were at liberty. This act, therefore, is to empower those that are under settlements, to give a glebe at the full improved rent, to be settled by a jury, on condition of building and improving.

Act for enabling
clergy to reside.

“ Beside the benefit of distress for arrears of rent, the bishop is empowered to sequester the whole living upon complaint, to pay such arrears. And that the successor may not have an unreasonable arrear come upon him, the bishop is obliged to inquire, at every annual visitation which we hold here, whether the rent is paid, and to sequester and see it paid. The same power of giving a glebe is extended to perpetual curacies in livings appropriate or impropriate.

Power of granting
glebes.

“ Having endeavoured to provide glebes, we oblige all future incumbents having convenient glebes to build. All are allowed three-fourths of what they lay out; but we see nothing but force will make them build.

Incumbent
required to build.

“ As there are several schools, of whose endowments I am trustee, that have, some no house, others inconvenient little ones, without land near them, the same encouragement is given to them to build as to the clergy, and they

Encouragement
for school-houses.

are empowered to exchange some land for a convenient demesne, under proper inspection."

Act for recovery
of tythes.

1 George II., c. 12.

An act "for the more easy recovery of tythes and other ecclesiastical dues of small value," was another of the statutes passed in this parliament of the first year of King George II., chapter 12, which the primate thus explains⁷:

Its provisions,

"We had the English act before us, but have altered some things to please the Commons, who have twice thrown out a bill of the same nature; *oblations* and *obventions* are omitted to please them. We have, likewise, excluded clergymen from being the justices before whom such causes may be tried, that they might not play the game into one another's hands; for, in many places here, one-fourth or fifth of the resident justices are clergymen, for want of resident gentlemen.

And necessity.

"The bill is exceedingly necessary here, since the recovery of little dues costs more than they are worth, and the justices will not help. People stand contempt and excommunication, and the taking up costs, too much, and, beside, most of them must be absolutely ruined, if taken up."

Act for securing
rights of advow-
son. 1 George II.,
c. 23.

Another act was the revival of one, of which an account has been already given in the reign of King George I., but which was then enacted for a limited period. This was chapter 23 of the present parliament, and was intituled, "An act for the better securing the rights of advowson and presentation to ecclesiastical benefices." The primate describes it as one⁸ "which has been in force seven years already, by which the incumbent, that has been a wrong clerk, is accountable for the profits received after such allowances made for serving the cure. The laity in both houses are very eager for it, and the English bishops are for it: there having been

⁷ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 171.

⁸ *Ibid.*

formerly very extraordinary things done here by bishops in putting clerks in possession that scarce had the shadow of a title."

Another act of this parliament, being chapter 18, was to "empower archbishops, bishops, and other ecclesiastical persons to part with the advowson of benefices under 30*l.* per annum, or more:"

Act empowering
ecclesiastical
persons to part
with advowsons.
1 George II., c. 8.

"My brethren, the bishops," observes Archbishop Boulter^o, "consented to this bill before it was offered. And that your Grace may the better understand the expediency of this bill, it will be proper to inform you, that, in many parts of this kingdom, by means of impropriations, there are vicarages or curacies worth but 5*l.*, 10*l.*, &c., per annum; that, in several places, the bishops let the same person enjoy three or four, on to seven or eight, of these, which possibly, all together, make but 60*l.* 80*l.* or 100*l.* per annum, or little more; and there is, it may be, but one or two churches, on all the denominations, which is the name we give these parishes; that the patronage of the greatest part of these is either in the crown or in the bishops; that there might be difficulties raised as to the crown parting with its rights, but we think there can be no objection to suffer bishops to part with their right for the good of the Church, and procuring additional clergymen; and we have the more reason to try what effect this temptation of the sole patronage to a lay-benefactor may have, since the act of King Charles I., by which any one, who restored tythes to the Church, was to have a turn with the old patron, in proportion to the value of the tythes given, in respect of the old income of the Church, has had very little effect. We have, in the same bill, encouraged people to build and endow chapels of ease, by giving them and their heirs the nomination of such chapels.

Its expediency.

"Your Grace will see, that, in this act, we had before us the act passed in England, 1 George I.; only we have no fund to help such benefactors, as there is in England.

Modified in an
English act.

And, as there are trustees of the first-fruits here for buying glebes or tythes for small livings, we have in this act made them the repositories of the authentick value of small livings, and of all augmentations in virtue of this act, that there may be some to see that the grants are such as they ought to be for value and validity.

“ In this kingdom, the clergy paid the twentieth, not the tenth, to the crown, as in England, and first-fruits ; but the twentieths were given off by Queen Anne, and the first-fruits are the only fund the trustees have, which *communibus annis*, rises no higher than from 300*l.* to 400*l.* per annum, deducting charges, without a power to receive any benefactions. I hope it may please God in time to dispose the parliament to permit these trustees to receive benefactions for so good purposes, since what we are now doing in our church bills seems to be very well liked ; though, when I first came hither, the laity would not have heard with patience the least proposal of what we are now attempting.

“ The clause in this bill, by which the patron of a chapel of ease may nominate, if the chapel be not actually filled then, though the nomination be then lapsed to the bishop or crown, is taken from the English bill. There was, this day, added to the said bill a clause to empower bishops, &c., to encourage their tenants by a proper lease to inclose and preserve copse-wood, which will be of service to all parties.”

Act for division
of parishes.

1 George II., c. 19.

There is one other act in this important session, namely, chapter 19, being an amendment of some former statutes, which demands notice in connection with the history of the Church, and which is thus introduced by Archbishop Boulter to the notice of Archbishop Wake and Bishop Gibson¹⁰:

“ As many of the parishes here are very large and intermixed with other parishes, and others of too little income to subsist by themselves, and little enough for extent to be united to some other parish or part of a parish, there was an act passed in the 14th and 15th of King Charles II., by

¹⁰ BOULTER's *Letters*, i., p. 175.

which parishes might be divided or united for conveniency's sake, with proper consents, and the approbation of the chief governour and the council. As that act was expired, a new act was passed in the 2nd of George I., for the real union and division of parishes, in which was a proviso, that no union, made in virtue of the former act of King Charles II., should be capable of being dissolved, nor any part of such union be united to any other parish, unless the parish-church of such united parish does lye three country miles from some part of such parish.

"Now, as three country miles are often five or six measured miles, and as several of those unions were made without regard to the conveniency of the people, but purely to make a rich benefice, as we are now endeavouring to make it possible to have the worship of God celebrated in all parts of this kingdom, we find it necessary to repeal this clause, and to lay such parishes open to a division, as well as other old parishes.

Motives to the enactment.

"There is another clause added to that bill, which relates to the removing of the site of churches. By the act of 2nd George I., for the real union and division of parishes, it is enacted, that the site of an inconvenient church may be changed for one more convenient, with the consent of the patron, &c.

Clause for removing sites of churches.

"Now, with us, many churches stand at the end of a long parish, or on the wrong side of a bog or river, in respect of the greatest part of the parishioners, or, at least, Protestants; so that it would be very convenient to change such a situation of the church. But, where the king is patron, as his consent is to be had, the expense of having a letter from England, to give his Majesty's consent under the broad seal here, to such a change, and passing a patent for it, is so great, as to discourage these removals; and I can assure your Grace, 10*l*. is harder to be raised here upon a country parish, than 100*l*. is in England, upon a parish of the same extent, and our gentry part with money on such occasions as unwillingly as the peasantry.

"It is, therefore, provided in the same bill, that the chief governour, &c., may consent for the king, where the king is patron; and as the king's patronage cannot be hurt

Chief governour may consent for the king.

by such a change of the site of a church, but the parish will probably prove of better value; and as the taking off of this expense may occasion the building several more convenient churches, we hope the bill will be returned to us. And I can assure your Grace there are instances, in two or three acts already, where the chief governour, &c., is empowered to consent for the king."

Act for regulating
admission of barr-
isters, &c.
1 George II., c. 20.

To the foregoing statutes may be added, as a measure of protection for the Church, chapter 20, of which the following account is given by the primate¹¹:

"There is another bill gone over, to regulate the admission of barristers, attornies, six-clerks, solicitors, sub-sheriffs, deputy officers, &c., which is of the last consequence to this kingdom.

Practitioners of
the law mostly
new converts.

"The practice of the law, from the top to the bottom, is at present mostly in the hands of new converts, who give no farther security on this account, than producing a certificate of their having received the sacrament in the Church of England or Ireland, which several of them, who were Papists at London, obtain on the road hither, and demand to be admitted barrister in virtue of it at their arrival: and several of them have Popish wives, and mass said in their houses, and breed up their children Papists. Things are at present so bad with us, that if about six should be removed from the bar to the bench here, there will not be a barrister of note left that is not a convert.

Evil resulting
therefrom cor-
rected.

"To put some stop to this evil, this bill endeavours to obtain some farther security of the sincerity of these converts: 1st. By obliging all that come to the bar hereafter, or practise as attornies or solicitors, &c., or act as sub-sheriffs, sheriffs' clerks, or deputy officers in the courts, to make a declaration against Popery, and take the oath of abjuration before they are admitted, or practise; 2nd. That every convert shall have been so five years before his admission, or so practising or acting; 3rd. That he shall breed up all his children under fourteen, as well those born before his conversion as those after, in the Protestant religion; and 4th. That whoever fails in any of these points shall incur the penalties and dis-

¹¹ BOULTER's *Letters*, i., 182.

abilities to which those relapsing from the Protestant religion to Popery are liable.

“Everybody here is sensible of the terrible effects of this growing evil, and both Lords and Commons are most eagerly desirous of this bill.

“We have likewise, by this bill, inflicted the same penalties on every convert or Protestant who shall breed up any child a Papist. But if the latter part be thought too severe, or have too strong a party against it, I hope, however, that what relates to lawyers, attornies, solicitors, sub-sheriffs, &c., will be granted us, or the Protestant interest must suffer extremely here.

Provision as to children of converts or Protestants.

“I should flatter myself, that as in this bill we have not meddled with the Papists, but only with persons professing themselves Protestants, the foreign ministers cannot, with any reason or decency, make any application to his Majesty against this bill.”

With respect to the above-mentioned clause, on which the primate expresses some misgiving, no objection was taken, at least no effectual opposition was made to it, for it stands as part of the act. Nor does it appear that any opposition was offered to a clause in chapter 9, being “an act for further regulating the election of members of parliament,” whereby it was enacted, “that no Papist should be entitled to vote at the election of any member of parliament, or of any magistrate for any city or other town-corporate.” Of the introduction of this clause into the act the history is not clearly ascertained: probably it was occasioned by opposition at that period shown by Popish electors to the Protestant interest; but in any case it was a salutary caution against the dangers which were at that time apprehended, and which were in the event realised by the restoration of the political power, of which the Papists were deprived by this enactment.

Papists not entitled to vote at elections.

Purpose of holding a convocation not accomplished.

During this session of parliament, we learn from a letter of Archbishop Boulter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated January 13, 1728, that the holding of a convocation had been under consideration. According, however, to the report of the lord lieutenant, the ministry were not desirous that one should sit; nor did the primate desire it, "except they had some useful business to do, and that he was thoroughly certain they would confine themselves to that. I have had no great occasion or leisure," he observes¹², "to inquire into the nature of our convocation here; but as it is made up of the clergy of four provinces, I find some of our bench question, whether they have ever been settled in such a regular method of being called, as to make a truly legal assembly."

Act relative to privileges of parliament.

Another act passed in this session gave occasion for a difference among the spiritual peers, or rather for one member of the episcopal bench to place himself in opposition to the body of his brethren.

1 Geo. II., c. 8.

Chapter 8 is intituled "An act for preventing inconveniences that may happen by privilege of parliament;" and it enacts, that all members of either house of parliament, and all other persons having parliamentary privilege, may be sued after fourteen days following the dissolution or prorogation, till fourteen days before the meeting or re-assembling.

Opposed by several temporal peers,

The bill was, from the first, opposed by several of the temporal peers, who had the character of "being very much in debt, and of valuing themselves upon paying nobody¹³:" but "the great opposition made on this occasion, was formed and managed by the Bishop of Elphin, Dr. Bolton, who put himself at

And by Bishop of Elphin.

¹² BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 166.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

the head of those lords, and drew in some others, with a view of making himself considerable, by being at the head of a party of lay lords against the bench of bishops." "All the lay lords," as the primate writes to the Duke of Newcastle, April 20, 1728, "that oppose the government in whatever they can, joined against the bill. There was no bishop against it, but the Bishop of Elphin, and of Waterford, for whom he was proxy. The Lord Middleton was the first who spoke against the bill, and that very prolixly, and to little purpose: he was very well answered by the Archbishop of Tuam. After this the Bishop of Elphin made a speech, with very false reasonings, and some inflaming passages against England; though in the close of his speech he was rather, as circumstances now stand, for the passing of the bill. He has very much lost himself with both sides, for his shuffling speech on this occasion. As his speech did no hurt to the bill, we let the debate drop without answering him."

The bill was carried in the House of Lords by a majority of twenty-five to nineteen; there being one proxy among the twenty-five, and seven among the nineteen. The opposition, made by Bishop Bolton, strengthened the objection previously entertained by the primate to his higher advancement in the Church. "I hope," he observes, "it will not be thought proper, when a vacancy happens of an archbishoprick, to reward one with it, who has endeavoured to form a conspiracy of lay lords against the bishops here, who are the persons on whom the government must depend for doing the publick business."

Primate's objection to Bishop Bolton.

The primate ends his letter with remarking very truly concerning the enactments of this parliament, "We shall probably conclude our sessions next

Importance of these acts.

Monday, when more truly useful bills will have passed, than have passed for many sessions put together."

Archbishop
King's remarks
on the privilege
bill.

The passing of this bill was esteemed of such importance, that it drew the Archbishop of Dublin out of the retirement, to which age and infirmity now for the most part confined him, and constrained him to give it his parliamentary support. "There was a strong party," he observes, in a letter of April 27, 1728, to Edward Southwell, Esq., "made in the House of Lords against the privilege bill, at the hearing whereof was my Lord Middleton, and Dr. Bolton, the Bishop of Elphin. This obliged me to go to the house, though I had not been out of my house for near six months, and in a very bad state of health. But I looked on the bill to be of so great moment, that I thought worth my venturing to assist in the passing of it. The young indebted lords were generally against it; and had not my lord lieutenant espoused it, and joined his influence, I doubt whether it would have past. I believe there will be no difficulty about any of the rest; four already have passed the Commons, and all the rest will this day either be before the Lords or Commons. This passing of all the bills will be much to the honour of my Lord Carteret's government, the like, as you have observed, not having happened to any lord lieutenant before."

State of Popery
and Papists.

Some remarks, which the archbishop makes in the same letter, concerning the then state of Popery and the Papists in the kingdom, may be also deemed not undeserving of attention.

Letter to Mr.
Southwell, April
27, 1728.

"Give me leave to acquaint you, that I remember something of Ireland for sixty years, and made some observ-

ations on the state of it; but cannot call to mind that the Papists seemed to be so much indulged and favoured as at present, excepting in King James's time. They insult the king's officers everywhere that are concerned in the revenue. Nobody dare accuse their priests, or hinder their insults; for amongst their mobs they either maim them or knock them in the head. They take away by force women of fortune, and they depend on Popish ambassadors' interest for a pardon. They have proposed to themselves, as I understand, two maxims: the first is to underlive the Protestants, as to expenses; and the second is to outbid them for all farms that are to be new set. By this means they worm out Protestant farmers, and yet run no hazard; for they bid much more than the farm will yield: when they have made the best of it the last year or two, and find they can't pay the rent, they run away and leave it. Several landlords have been thus used, and yet they will not learn wisdom.

Two maxims of
the Papists.

"As to the trade of the kingdom, they have got the best of it into their hands, and have several advantages of the Protestants. A Popish merchant is better received in Popish countries with which we trade than Protestants; and the generality of farmers and graziers in Ireland being Papists, they choose to put their goods into the hands of those of their own religion; and lastly, the country assists them in running their goods both out and inward. . ."

Their advantages.

To the Bishop of Killala, in the August of the same year, he thus expressed himself on the same subject:

Letter to Bishop
of Killala.

"What you observe concerning Popery, we not only know, but feel to be true. I have known Ireland for near threescore years with observation, and never remember Popery so rampant, or so much encouraged, as at present, except in King James's time. I am not so far let into the management of affairs, as to find out the policy of it; but see that it is so not only here, but through all Europe. The suitableness of the principles of that religion to the corruption of men's hearts, recommends them to all loose and vicious persons, that is, to the generality of the world; and

Encouragement
given to Papists.

inclines most men to embrace them, for by them they are able to reconcile their lusts with the hope of heaven: whereas the principles of the Protestant religion are such, that men of wicked lives can have no hope by them, and therefore turn obstinate infidels; and it is observable, that in Popish countries the most vicious persons turn bigots, thinking that their zeal for Popery will atone for their wickedness, whereas our debauchees often turn atheists.

Mismanagement
of the gentry.

“I am sensible that the gentlemen much mismanage themselves, their estates, and their children; we can only tell them of it, and persuade them against it, and if we could prevail with a few of the principals to change their measures, their examples might be a means to reform the rest.

“I am glad that you have so increased your clergy, and don’t doubt but you will add daily to them, and procure churches for them. I can give you no assistance, except that of my prayers, which I shall not fail to do; if you can think of any other way that I may be serviceable to you here, let me have your commands, and assure yourself of my best endeavours. Remember me most kindly to Mrs. Howard, and believe that I am, with all affection and respect,

“My Lord,

“Your Lordship’s, &c.,

“W. D.

“Lord Bishop of Killala.”

SECTION II.

Illness of Archbishop King. Primate's plan for supplying the vacancy. Archbishop King's sentiments on Ecclesiastical subjects. Efforts for augmenting Dublin Churches. Improvement of his Diocese. Incapable of discharging his Episcopal functions. His great Age and Infirmities. His view of state of Religion in Connaught. Allusion to his Consecration. Anecdote of his Portrait. Engraving from it. His decease. His prominence in Irish Church History. Characters of him by Dean Swift and Mr. Harris. Primate's measure for filling the vacancy. Delay in filling it. Death of Archbishop Godwin of Cashel. Disposal of the two Archbishopricks. Difference between Primate Boulter and Bishop Gibson. Other Ecclesiastical appointments. Clayton, Bishop of Killala. Synge, Bishop of Clonfert, consecrated by his father. Tennison, Bishop of Ossory. His zeal for Protestantism.

TOWARDS the end of this year, an illness of the Archbishop of Dublin, though not attended by immediate danger, gave occasion for efforts being made for naming his successor. And the primate in consequence exerted himself, and employed his influence with the Bishop of London, for the purpose of preventing a successor being named on any rumours of his death. To the same effect, and more fully, he wrote to Lord Townshend on the 16th of the ensuing January¹.

“The age and frequent returns of illness the Archbishop of Dublin has laboured under the greatest part of this winter, though I do not apprehend that he is in any immediate danger of dying, have made me think it proper to write a few lines to your Lordship about a successor to him, if he should fall, that there may be no surprise.

“It is certain that it is of the last consequence to the

Illness of Archbishop King,
1728.

Primate's advice
to the govern-
ment.

¹ BOULTER's *Letters*, i., p. 219.

king's service, that he be an Englishman: whether it be thought best to send one from the bishops' bench in England, or to remove one from the bench here to that post, I submit to your Lordship's wisdom. If the former be thought of, the person I should be most desirous to see here, as being one of the oldest friends I have on the bench there, that would be willing to come, is the Bishop of St. David's; of whose behaviour your Lordship must have some knowledge, as he has been in the house about five years. If the latter be judged best, I think the Bishop of Ferns is the most proper that can be thought of here: he behaved himself very well last sessions of parliament here: he is one of courage, and very hearty for the English interest, and a good speaker; and I am satisfied he is one, that would concur with me in promoting his Majesty's service. He is very well liked of here for an Englishman.

English interest
to be supported.

"But I must beg to speak freely, that I hope nobody will be sent hither, because he is troublesome or uneasy elsewhere. It is of great consequence that there be a good agreement between the primate and the Archbishop of Dublin: and one in that post, who would set himself up against the primate, would be sure of being caressed, flattered, and followed by the Irish interest here."

Archbishop
King's senti-
ments on various
ecclesiastical
subjects.

From various symptoms it was evident, that the end of Archbishop King was now approaching. By himself it was clearly foreseen, and met with a Christian spirit. Several indications of his sentiments appear in his MS. Correspondence in Trinity College Library; and it may be here not unacceptable, if three or four of these be brought together, as showing to the last the bent and vigour of his mind, before we take leave of this eminent servant of God and of his Church.

The archbishop's confinement to his house by infirmity, and his exertion nevertheless to attend his parliamentary duty on an important question, have been lately noticed. An opportunity for promoting

the welfare of the Church in his diocese soon afterwards occurred; and he availed himself of it by addressing, on the 10th of June, 1728, two letters to the lord lieutenant, and to Lady Carteret, the latter of which I here subjoin:

Letter to Lady
Carteret, June
10, 1728.

“ May it please your Ladyship,

“ I have always found more zeal and piety in devout ladies than in the other sex, and I know none have given better instances of it than your Ladyship. I am sensible of the great influence your Ladyship must have at court, and that gives me some confidence to apply to you for your assistance. It is in a matter of piety, to which I am sure your Ladyship cannot be indifferent. We want churches extremely in this city; and I have put in a memorial to His Majesty for the forfeiture of John Audovin, condemned for a most barbarous murder, of which your Ladyship was well apprized before you left Dublin. The success of this petition will depend much on my lord lieutenant's favourable representation of it to his Majesty; and I beseech your Ladyship to put to your helping hand, and stir up his Excellency's zeal and diligence in the affair. If I durst ask your Ladyship's good word to her Majesty, the assurance I have of her readiness to further all good works, would give me certain hopes of success. I dare not presume to desire you to say anything of the great veneration I have for her Majesty, because I cannot say enough: but your Ladyship's happiness in expressions may go a great way to supply that defect.

Plan for increasing the number of Dublin churches.

“ I have under consideration the adding four new churches to those in this city, besides two in the country; all absolutely necessary. I have no hopes of living to compass this design; but if I could put things in a way towards it, 'twill be a great comfort to me, and I shall die with more satisfaction. What success this may have I can't tell; but it is a great pleasure to me that it has given me an opportunity to acknowledge your Ladyship's civilities to me; and that I am, with the greatest respect,

“ Madam,

“ Your Ladyship's, &c.,

“ W. D.”

Improvement of
his diocese.

The archbishop's efforts for building churches in his diocese have several times fallen under observation. From a letter of the 7th of December, 1727, we learn, that he had at that time procured seventeen churches to be built, where there had been none since the Reformation; and fourteen to be rebuilt from the ground. He had likewise caused eleven manse-houses to be built on the glebes, several of which were his own gift. He had likewise purchased in above 300*l.* a year of impropriations, and was then upon the point of settling the tythes of nine parishes upon the incumbents.

Incapable of dis-
charging his epis-
copal functions.

But whilst the vigour of his mind continued, his bodily strength was gradually decaying; so that, soon after these letters to Lord and Lady Carteret, he was compelled to seek a substitute for one of his episcopal functions, as we learn from a letter of July the 16th, to the Bishop of Ferns :

Letter to Bishop
Hoadly, July 16,
1728.

“ I have the honour of your Lordship's of the 8th inst., and am very thankful to you, that you are pleased to give me your assistance for the performance of that necessary office of confirmation, which it has pleased God to disable me from performing in person. There are five places in your Lordship's way to Dublin, where there is occasion for that office : Arklow, Dunganstown, Wicklow, Delgenny, and Bray. I am not sure whether it will stand with your Lordship's conveniency to confirm at each of them ; I wish it may, but I must leave this to your Lordship's goodness and discretion. . . .

“ I shall always be ready to communicate to your Lordship what I know relating to the state of the Church, and hope you will always find my observations just. I am sorry you met with disorder and negligence in your visitation, which, I doubt not, made everything else less agreeable. But while there are men there will be faults. If I can

prevail with Dr. Trotter, I will have the consistory court go along with the confirmation, that such things as are amiss or wanting may be regulated and supplied."

On the 25th of July he wrote as follows to his old acquaintance and friend, Mr. Southwell; and his allusions to his actual term of life, and the earlier incidents in his eventful history, are calculated to excite a lively interest :

" I was honoured with yours of the 8th of May, and did not answer it sooner, because I was in hopes to have made use of my own hand ; but I have been visited with a severe fit of the gout in my right hand, left foot, and knee ; which obliges me, after all my waiting, to make use of an amanuensis. You observed right, that old age will bring infirmities ; and being now in the seventy-ninth year of my age, I cannot think it strange that I have lost many friends. I don't know that I have any left in England of my old acquaintance, to whom I can write with any freedom, except you and Mr. Annesley. I was greatly inclined this summer to pay my duty to his Majesty and the queen, but found it impossible ; for I cannot bear travelling, it immediately throwing me into great disorders ; and I conceive it had been no prudence in me to kill myself, when I found no possibility of doing any service to their Majesties or the country by it.

Letter to Mr. Southwell, July 25.

His great age and infirmities.

" This day requires my remembering it, for thirty-nine years ago I was imprisoned in the castle by King James ; I pray God make me thankful to him, who preserved me then, and hath ever since protected and supported me, and hath given me a long and a happy life. . . . "

His thankfulness to God.

The tranquillity with which he contemplated his own condition, and the earnestness with which he still directed his thoughts to the discharge of his official duties, and the welfare of the Church, are depicted in an affecting manner in the following extract of a letter of August the 6th, to the Bishop of Killala :

Letter to the Bishop of Killala.

His feelings as to his own condition.

“ I am honoured with yours of the 27th of July last. I am still very weak in my limbs by the gout, but begin to creep abroad. . . . I don't complain of the approach of the night of death; for that, I thank God, I am not solicitous about; but it is uneasy to me to observe, that, though the duties of a bishop are incumbent upon me, yet I am not able to discharge them in person; and though my brethren have been so kind as to assist me, yet that does not yield me the satisfaction that I used to have when I executed them myself. Nor do I find that the people are so ready to comply with others, as they used to be with me.

“ I have done what I could to put my diocese in some order, but it is very far from the state in which it ought to be.

State of religion in Connaught.

“ I have a very good notion of the state of religion in Connaught, when I was there. I hope it is much mended, for then it was most wretched; but I am pretty well satisfied, that, though you enjoy a longer life than I have done, you will not be able to order your diocese as it should be: but that must not discourage you. *Est aliquid prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.* You have one encouragement and comfort, that your brethren, the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Clonfert, I believe, will heartily concur with you, and assist you; and I hope that you, by their application and diligence, will provoke one another, and your neighbouring bishops, to proceed vigorously in the reformation of your dioceses.

“ I am glad that you have so increased your clergy, and don't doubt but you will add daily to them, and procure churches for them. I can give you no assistance, except that of my prayers, which I shall not fail to do; if you can think of any other way that I may be serviceable to you here, let me have your commands, and assure yourself of my best endeavours. Remember me most kindly to Mrs. Howard, and believe that I am, with all affection and respect,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship's, &c.,

“ Lord Bishop of Killala.

W. D.”

In the following extract of a letter, dated August 6, to the Bishop of Cloyne, there is something peculiarly touching in his allusion to the day of his consecration, to the exemplar which he had proposed for his imitation, and to his sense of failure in the attempt to copy it :

Letter to Bishop
of Cloyne, Aug. 6.

“ I heartily thank your Lordship for the honour of yours of the 19th of July last. I can by no means be of opinion that I have done my work, or that I should sit down and rest from my labours. St. Paul has set me a better example, who, when he had laboured a thousand times more than I, and to much better purpose, yet did not reckon upon what was past, but prest forward to the obtaining of the prize for which he laboured. There is no stopping in this course, till God call us from it by death. I would have you propose no other example but St. Paul’s himself, and compare the progress you make to his. I am ashamed, every time that I think of the course he ran, when I compare it with my own. I was consecrated on the day we celebrate for his conversion, and proposed him to myself for a pattern. But God knows how short the copy comes of the original.”

Archbishop
King’s allusion to
his consecration.

The letter, of which the commencement follows, addressed to Lady Carteret, seems to have been written under a feeling of increasing infirmity and disability ; and, from a particular expression, may be thought to be the last that was written with the archbishop’s own hand :

Letter to Lady
Carteret, Sept.
26, 1728.

“ *Dublin, Sept. 26, 1728.*

“ May it please your Excellency,

“ I had sooner acknowledged the great honour you did me in yours of the 30th of August last, but my hand was so weak with the reliques of the gout, that I could not handle a pen, and was not willing to use an amanuensis to your Ladyship : not that I had any intrigue or secret, which I was unwilling anybody should know ; but because I thought it a respect, and a mark of particular esteem to your Ladyship, to have the last letter I writ with my own hand directed to your Ladyship. Besides, I find they give me

His anxiety to
write with his
own hand.

for dead in London : I hope you will believe me alive, when I give it under my own hand ; though how long it will be, only God knows. So I could be sure of a good man coming in my place, I thank God, I care not how soon it be."

Letter to Mr.
Annesley.

The archbishop's life was prolonged into the following spring ; and shortly before his death an incident occurred, somewhat curious, though, as he describes it, of no great moment, but which occasioned the following communication to Mr. Annesley, and was the immediate cause of an engraving being made of his portrait :

Archbishop
King's portrait,

" I have not much to say to you at present, only to beg your favour in a matter of very small moment, and with which I am almost ashamed to trouble you. There is one Wilkinson pretends to print mezzotinto pictures : he came to me, and desired that I would admit him to make one for me. I desired to see some of his work : he told me he had only done two ; one of Macheath, the varlet in the *Beggar's Opera* ; and the other for Polly Peachum. He showed me both of them, and I neither liked the pictures nor the originals, and conceived, that if he had my picture he would shew it with these : I did not think it convenient that my picture should appear in such company, and therefore positively forbade him to attempt any such thing ; notwithstanding which, he has stolen a copy, and made a picture, which he says is for me, and shows it about. It is more like an ill-shaped lion's face than mine, and is a most frightful figure. I know no way to remedy this insult, but to get my picture done, in *taille douce* or mezzotinto, in England : if this could be done from the picture that you have, or my lord lieutenant's, or Sir Hans Sloane's, it would do me a pleasure. If the plate were graved, and two or three hundred struck off, and sent with the dates to me, it would counterplot the ill man. Perhaps you have a friend that would do this for me, and I will pay him what you will think reasonable, and reckon it amongst the many favours I have received at your hands. I would have it done upon half a sheet of strong paper."

And engraving
from it,

On the 3rd of April, the subject of the portrait was thus resumed :

“ I received yours of the 27th of March, and am really ashamed to put you to so much trouble ; but I hope the same friendship that engaged you to take so much pains about my picture will incline you to continue it so far as to excuse me. I have sent you a bill for 20*l.* to pay for the plate and for four hundred prints : you will get them made up in a box, and directed for me to the care of Mr. Murray of Chester.

“ The inscription I would have upon it is, ‘ Gulielmus King, S.T.D., consecratus episcopus Derensis 25^{to} Jan., 1690, translatus ad Archiepiscopatum Dubliniensem per literas patentes, Annæ Reginæ undecimo, Mar., 1702.’ If you think fit you may put in my age, ‘ Natus prima Maij, 1650.’ ”

A postscript notices that “ the painter’s name is Ralph Holland.” The engraving I suppose to be that which is mentioned in BROMLEY’S *Catalogue of British Portraits*,* as engraven by Faber in mezzotinto. If so, the blank left for the name of the painter may be supplied from the foregoing postscript : and the age, which by Bromley is said to be 79-83, meaning, as should seem, some year between the two, may be correctly expressed by seventy-ninth, the archbishop having died, shortly after the plate was engraven, in the eightieth year of his age, having completed his seventy-ninth year after the date of his last letter, and seven days before his death, which occurred on the 8th of May, 1729.

His age and de-
cease.

Of Archbishop King’s actions and character, from the reign of King James II., when he appeared as an active supporter of the Church and clergy against Popish tyranny, through three successive reigns, and part of a fourth, in which he bore the

His prominence
in the history of
the Irish Church.

episcopal or archiepiscopal office, much has already been reported in these pages. But we must not take leave of one who for forty or fifty years stands so prominently forward in the history of the Irish Church, without again adverting to his character, as delineated by contemporary pens.

In his letter concerning the sacramental test, dated December, 1708, Dr. Swift thus records his sentiments concerning him²:

Character of him
by Dean Swift.

“ Because the Lord Archbishop of Dublin has been upon several occasions, of late years, misrepresented in England, I would willingly set you right in his character. For his great sufferings and eminent services he was by the late king promoted to the see of Derry. About the same time he wrote a book to justify the Revolution, wherein was an account of King James’s proceedings in Ireland: and the late Archbishop Tillotson recommended it to the king, as the most serviceable treatise that could have been published at such a juncture. And as his Grace set out upon those principles, he has proceeded so ever since, as a loyal subject to the queen, entirely for the succession in the Protestant line, and for ever excluding the Pretender; and though a firm friend to the Church, yet with indulgence toward dissenters, as appears from his conduct at Derry, where he was settled for many years among the most virulent of the sect; yet upon his removal to Dublin they parted from him with tears in their eyes, and universal acknowledgments of his wisdom and goodness. For the rest, it must be owned, he does not busy himself by entering deep into any party; but rather spends his time in acts of hospitality and charity, in building of churches, repairing his palace, in introducing and preferring the worthiest persons he can find, without other regards: in short, in the practice of all virtues that can become a publick or private life. This and more, if possible, is due to so excellent a person, who may be justly reckoned among the greatest and most learned prelates of this age, however his character may be defiled by such mean and

² SWIFT’S *Works*, iii., p. 135.

dirty hands as those of the ‘*Observer*,’ or such as employ him.”

This character of Archbishop King was written, as already noticed, in 1708; but it was omitted in the Irish edition of 1735, said to have been dictated, or strictly revised, by Dean Swift himself. It no doubt spoke the real sentiments of the Dean at the time of its first publication; and is the more remarkable, because, as is related by Lord Orrery, the archbishop, before his elevation to the metropolitan see of Dublin, had hindered Dr. Swift from being made Dean of Derry. Possibly he had not been at that time informed of the obstacle thus offered to his preferment, nor had obtained the information till he was intimately connected with the party to which he afterwards adhered, and to which Bishop Lindsay owed his advancement to the primacy in 1714, in opposition to Bishop King. However that be, at the time when the foregoing extract was written, it appears to have been the sincere effusion of the writer’s mind: and it has been well observed by the editor of his works, Mr. Nichols, with reference to a letter of almost the exact date of the foregoing, that “with no other correspondent are the extravagance of Swift’s humour and the virulence of his prejudices half so much restrained as in his letters to Archbishop King. He certainly feared or respected this prelate more than any other person with whom he corresponded.” Latterly, indeed, as we have seen, he fell into a condition, first of temporary and then of permanent estrangement from the archbishop; and, under the influence of irritated feelings, probably withdrew the character, which has been subse-

Remarks on the character.

His high opinion of the archbishop.

³ SWIFT’S *Works*, x., p. 71.

quently replaced in his works, and there stands, an honourable testimonial to the archbishop's episcopal virtues and actions.

Character of
Archbishop King
by Mr. Harris.

The other contemporary character to which I alluded is that which is given by Mr. Harris in his edition of Sir JAMES WARE's *Bishops*. A compendious view of the actions of the archbishop's life may be sought in that piece of biography, which sums up his character in the end after the following manner⁴:

“He appears in the tendency of his actions and endeavours to have had the advancement of religion, virtue, and learning, entirely at heart; and may deservedly be enrolled amongst the greatest and most universally accomplished and learned prelates of the age. His capacity and spirit to govern the Church was visible in his avowed enmity to pluralities and non-residence; in his strict and regular visitations, both annual, triennial, and parochial; in his constant duty of confirmation and preaching; and in the many excellent admonitions and charges he gave his clergy upon these occasions; in his pastoral care and diligence in admitting none into the sacred ministry but persons well qualified for their learning and good morals, who were graduates regularly educated in the universities of England or Dublin, and who were before their ordinations publicly examined in the necessary points of divinity by him, his archdeacon, and some of his chapter. ‘He may be counted worthy of double honour who thus not only ruled well, but laboured in the word and doctrine.’ His hospitality was suitable to the dignity of his station and character; and the whole course of his conversation innocent, cheerful, and improving; for he lived in the constant practice of every Christian virtue and grace that could adorn a publick or private life.”

Primate's measures for supply of the vacancy.

On the death of Archbishop King, the primate lost no time in repeating his former sentiments con-

⁴ WARE's *Bishops*, p. 369.

cerning the supply of the vacancy, in letters addressed to the lord lieutenant and the Duke of Newcastle, as well as to Lord Townshend.

The vacancy in the archbishoprick of Dublin, which occurred on the 8th of May, 1729, was, however, not supplied for many months. It was the wish and opinion of the primate, that it should be filled up without delay, so that the new archbishop might be well settled in his station before the meeting of parliament in September; but the king being on the point of visiting his continental dominions, when the first advice of the vacancy arrived in London, the appointment of a successor was postponed till his Majesty's return. Meanwhile, much negotiation was carried on with the English ministry, by the primate, on one part, who was solicitous to procure the archbishoprick for Smallbroke, bishop of St. David's, or Hoadly, bishop of Ferns; and, on another, by those of different sentiments, who "used great endeavours, and much art, to bring into play, on this occasion, some new person on this side of the water⁵."

On the 28th of August, he thus expressed himself in a letter to the Bishop of London⁶:

"We are still here under an uncertainty who is to be the Archbishop of Dublin, and, I take it for granted, shall continue so till his Majesty's return. Your Lordship knows the Bishops of St. David's and Ferns are both old acquaintance and friends of mine; and as I have wrote to your Lordship, so have I wrote to the ministry, that I shall be easy, on whomsoever of them the choice shall fall, since I have no doubt of agreeing very well with either of them. But it will be otherwise, if some third person shall be put into that post; and I am the more concerned that it should not be another, because it is generally understood here, that

Delay in supplying it.

Letter to the Bishop of London, August 28, 1729.

⁵ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 255.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

I am a friend to both of them. But it will be clear, that, if another be made archbishop, my recommendation has been of no significancy, which opinion, I am sure, must have an ill effect on the bench here. I must, therefore, beg of your Lordship, who are upon the spot, if possible, to hinder such a disgrace from happening to me.

"I can assure your Lordship, that, if one has Dublin, and the other be made sure of Cashel, Derry, or Kilmore, the first that falls, I believe the person who has this promise kept to him, will rather be a gainer as to providing for a family."

But, before this question was decided, Lord Carteret appeared again in Ireland, the 13th of September, being for the third time entrusted with the vice-regal office, and opened the parliament in October; and in about two months, another metropolitan see was vacated by the death of Archbishop Godwin, of Cashel, on the 13th of December, 1729.

Death of Archbishop of Cashel, Dec. 13, 1729.

Primate's plan in consequence.

The primate was disposed that advantage should be taken of this contingency, for compromising the dispute about the archbishoprick of Dublin, by removing the Bishop of St. David's to Dublin, and the Bishop of Ferns to Cashel; but, if this were done, he thought it would be better to defer doing it till after the parliament was up, fearful, as it should seem, of encountering the displeasure which was likely to arise from the appointment of two Englishmen, one already on the Irish bench, and the other to be introduced for the purpose, to the two archiepiscopal sees. If, however, it were apprehended, that it would give too much offence, and be too bold a step, to bestow, at one and the same time, on two Englishmen, the two best posts in the Church, after the primacy, he then thought, that the most proper person to be removed to Cashel would be Dr. Synge, archbishop of Tuam. The uneasy and troubled

state, however, of the House of Commons, and a desire to maintain quiet and tranquillity in the country, constrained him, all circumstances considered, to withdraw his opinion in favour of the above-named proposal; and to concur with the lord lieutenant and the lord chancellor in projecting another scheme, in pursuance of which Hoadly, bishop of Ferns, was translated to Dublin, and Bolton, bishop of Elphin, to Cashel.

Disposal of the
two archbishop-
ricks.

With reference to these preferments, there was a want of mutual good understanding and satisfaction between Archbishop Boulter and Bishop Gibson, of London, especially on the part of the latter, who was desirous of seeing the Bishop of St. David's placed in the archbishoprick of Dublin, and thought that his wish was defeated by the primate's recommendation of the Bishop of Ferns for that see. In a letter of September 13, 1729⁷, the primate expresses his sorrow, that his conduct in this affair had been disagreeable to the Bishop of London, whom he should be very unwilling to offend; and adds his belief, that if the Bishop of St. David's knew the true state of affairs here, he would excuse the part which he (the primate) had acted since the death of the late archbishop. On the 2nd of January ensuing, the archbishoprick of Cashel having been in the interval vacated, he thus writes to the Bishop of London⁸:

Difference
between Primate
Boulter and
Bishop Gibson.

“ I am sorry there has been any misunderstanding betwixt your Lordship and me on account of the archbishoprick of Dublin, and should have been for compromising matters in favour of the Bishop of St. David's, on the vacancy of Cashel, if your Lordship had not assured me he would

⁷ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 261.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 275.

think of nothing here, if he failed of Dublin, and we had not been in a very uneasy situation in the House of Commons. But I hope things will again settle, since I desire still, and hope it is a favour you will grant me, that I may trouble you to discourse with the ministry, about what I apprehend to be for his Majesty's service in the promotions here.

"I have read the Bishop of St. David's book with a great deal of pleasure, and am glad to hear it takes well in England."

Primate's anxiety
to retain Bishop
Gibson's good
will.

And similar sentiments were again urged on Bishop Gibson in a letter of February the 3rd, by Archbishop Boulter, who appears to have been extremely anxious to retain the bishop's assistance in his communications with the English ministry^o."

"I have received your Lordship's of the 13th past, and thank your Lordship for your readiness to do any service to the general state of the Church of Ireland, and have hopes your Lordship will re-consider the affair of promotions here, and will, at the least, for the good of his Majesty's service here, be willing to be concerned with me in recommending for vacancies here. Your Lordship is too sensible of the ill effects of throwing the great preferments of the Church into a scramble, and I shall be very sorry to be under the necessity of applying to the ministry by any other hand than your Lordship; and I still flatter myself the long friendship I have had with your Lordship will, on further consideration, prevail with your Lordship to re-assume the kind part you have hitherto acted on that occasion."

Disposal of Ferns
and Elphin.

The vacancies of the two archiepiscopal sees having been supplied, as just mentioned, by the translation respectively of the Bishops of Ferns and Elphin, the bishoprick of Ferns was thereupon filled by the translation of Bishop Price from Clonfert, which was conferred on Edward Synge, eldest son of the Archbishop of Tuam: and the bishoprick of

^o BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 284.

Elphin being conferred on Howard, bishop of Killala, Dr. Clayton was appointed by the English government to succeed him.

Robert Clayton, a native of Ireland, had been a senior fellow of Trinity College, but had resigned his fellowship on his marriage in 1728, a year or two before his elevation to the episcopate. Clonfert appears, from Archbishop Boulter's letters, to have been designed for an Englishman, agreeably to the primate's sense of the propriety of giving more strength to the English in Ireland, there being at the time but nine English on the bench, and twelve Irish. "But, I hope," he observed to the Duke of Newcastle¹⁰, "the person to be sent from England will be a person of some worth, and who is likely to join with us that are here already." He added withal his opinion, that "there could be no grumbling here, if Clonfert were bestowed on an Englishman; but it might be easily kept open till the season of grumbling was over."

Clayton, bishop of Killala.

But the execution of this design was interrupted by the illness, and reports of the death, of the Bishop of Cork. It was thought, that, in the event of his death, any Englishman would rather choose Cork than Clonfert, and that Clonfert would be especially acceptable to Dr. Synge, a man of acknowledged worth, and whose preferment had been previously contemplated, but postponed till another opportunity, who was, however, now again proposed for Clonfert, in which his father, the Archbishop of Tuam, would rather see him, on account of its neighbourhood to Tuam, than in any other bishoprick. The Bishop of Cork, indeed, recovered, and survived five or six years. But the proposal

Dr. Synge consecrated to Clonfert by his father.

¹⁰ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 277.

which had been put forward by his illness was, nevertheless, accomplished; and, on the 7th of June, 1730, the Archbishop of Tuam had the high paternal gratification of laying his hands, for episcopal ordination and consecration, on his elder son, elected to the bishoprick of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh; and of hearing the consecration sermon preached by his younger son, brother of the bishop-elect, and himself afterwards elevated to the episcopate.

Death of Bishop
Vesey.

An opportunity for compensating this loss of an additional Englishman on the Irish bench, was soon afforded by the death of Sir Thomas Vesey, baronet, bishop of Ossory, an event of which Mr. Harris speaks as productive of "universal grief to his clergy: to whom he always was a father, brother, friend, and companion; for he was a well-bred gentleman, as well as a good bishop." The opportunity was embraced by the English ministry, on the recommendation of the Irish lords justices, and with the grateful acknowledgments of Archbishop Boulter, in a letter of the 27th of August, 1730, to the Duke of Dorset, then recently appointed to the lord lieutenancy, of which he had not, at the time, taken possession. The person chosen for the appointment was Dr. Edward Tennison, who, with the office of chaplain in ordinary to the king, held a prebendal stall at Canterbury, the rectory of Sundridge in Kent, and the archdeaconry of Caermarthen. For these preferments he had been indebted to his kinsman of the same name, Archbishop of Canterbury; for his present elevation he seems to have been indebted to the patronage of the Duke of Dorset, who had, on former occasions, given him his countenance. To Archbishop Boulter

Tennison, bishop
of Ossory.

he was recommended by old acquaintance, and his known attachment to the royal family¹¹. He is related to have had the propagation of the Protestant religion greatly at heart; and it may be here noticed, in confirmation and exemplification of the statement, that, at his death, in 1735, he left the following bequests: 40*l.* a year to one Michael Stephenson, a deacon, during his life, to catechise the children of Papists in the parish of Kilkeasy, a wild and mountainous part of his diocese, obliging him to residence, under the penalty of forfeiting his pension; 20*l.* to the incorporated society for promoting English Protestant schools, to which our attention will be presently directed; to every incumbent and resident curate in the diocese of Ossory, one copy of the latest edition of CHILLINGWORTH'S *Religion of Protestants*; and 10*l.* to each of six parishes, towards buying red fir, balk laths, and slates, for covering small oratories to be built, and for enlarging the roofs of those oratories which, at the time of his death, should be built, within the ruined walls of the several churches¹².

His zeal for the propagation of the Protestant religion.

A singular bequest had been made not long before by another prelate, Fitzgerald, bishop of Clonfert, who, dying in 1722, left by his will 50*l.* to be divided among the resident clergy of the dioceses of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, to buy them gowns¹³.

¹¹ BOULTER'S *Letters*, ii., pp. 23, 24.

¹² Harris, in WARE'S *Bishops*, p. 433.

¹³ HARRIS, p. 645.

SECTION III.

Efforts in favour of the Church. Bishop Hort's Charge at Kilmore. Account of Henry Maule. Society for encouraging English Schools, 1717. Its result, 1730. Proposal for a Royal Charter. Favourably received. Petition to his Majesty, setting forth the great ignorance of the Papists, and plan for Educating them. Subscribers to the Petition. Incorporated Society for Protestant Schools formed, 1733. Its powers. Lord Lieutenant elected President. Patronized by the Primate. His Letters on its behalf. Ill success of attempt to convert the Papists by the Irish language. Disappointment and loss of Mr. Richardson. His services badly requited. Efforts in favour of Presbyterians resumed in 1731. Recommendation of Duke of Dorset, 1733. Excitement caused thereby. Opposed in Parliament. Attempt decided to be impracticable. Anger of the Dissenters.

Efforts in favour
of the Church.

OTHER instances occur about this period of a disposition in the governours, the clergy, and other members of the Church of Ireland to extend her efficacy, and to recall wanderers into her communion; of these may be here mentioned two or three efforts made by individuals, and one of a more comprehensive and general kind.

Bishop Hort's
charge at Kil-
more, 1729.

In 1729, soon after his translation from the sees of Ferns and Leighlin, Bishop Hort delivered a charge, which was printed first for the use of his clergy, and then published by permission, under the title of Instructions given by the Lord Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh to his Clergy at his Visitations, anno 1729. Dublin, 1731.

After many valuable suggestions on the composition and delivery of sermons, the manner of reading the common prayers, and other particulars of clerical

duty, the bishop impresses on his clergy the great importance of carrying into effect the rules of the church with respect to catechising. "This," he observes, "would be a most useful exercise on Sundays in the afternoon, especially in the summer months: it would edify grown persons, as well as children: it would keep them from being idle and disorderly; and I do not doubt but your churches would be well filled, and your people as well entertained as at the morning sermon. If you should at the same time take occasion to explain the doctrines and principles of Protestantism and of the Established Church, it might be of great use to prevent apostacies, and perhaps to make converts of those, who may have the curiosity to be your hearers, whether Protestant dissenters or Papists. And, indeed, the way of persuasion and reasoning is the only way of doing this effectually. Coercive laws may restrain and disable those who hold principles that are destructive to the Church and to the State, but they can never convince nor convert anybody: they may bind men's hands and tongues, but can never reach their hearts. This is only to be done by enlightening their minds, and making proper applications to their understandings and consciences."—(p. 14.)

Importance of
catechising.

Effects of persua-
sion and reason-
ing.

Other pastoral admonitions of this kind were probably delivered, though not easy to be traced among the fugitive compositions of the day. The following example of clerical zeal is of a different class, and led to important consequences:

Important in-
stance of clerical
zeal.

Dr. Henry Maule, a native of Arklow, and educated first in the diocesan school of St. Patrick's, and then in Trinity College, Dublin, was a gentleman

Account of
Henry Maule.

of good family and fortune'. In 1717, being at that time a beneficed clergyman, rector of a parish in the city of Cork, he instituted a private society in Dublin, for the establishment and encouragement of English common charity schools, for instructing poor children in reading and writing, and for educating them in the principles of religion and virtue. In this praiseworthy undertaking, he was joined by several benevolent clergymen and laymen, amongst whom he had the satisfaction of reckoning Archbishop Synge of Tuam. The contribution of half-a-crown quarterly from subscribers, with the aid of charity sermons, supported the institution; and the result was the establishment of many schools, both in town and in the country.

Society for encouraging English schools, 1717.

A much more important result was the establishment of a society, which soon afterwards arose, consisting of the most distinguished inhabitants of the kingdom, and sanctioned by the king's authority, for the purpose of spreading, by one great and combined effort, the principles of true religion and loyalty throughout the land.

Result of that society.

Dr. Maule had become successively Dean and Bishop of Cloyne: having been promoted to the deanery in 1720, and to the bishoprick in 1726. In the year 1730, in concurrence with a parochial clergyman of Dublin, the Rev. Mr. Dawson, curate of St. Michan's, he put forward "An humble proposal for obtaining his Majesty's royal charter to incorporate a society for promoting Christian knowledge amongst the poor natives of the kingdom of Ireland."

Proposal for a royal charter.

By means of the Marquis of Montandre, then master of the ordnance in Ireland, this proposal

Favourably received.

¹ BOULTER's *Letters*, ii., p. 9, note.

reached the Court of St. James's, and was received with favour by the king. And the same year, the primate of Ireland, who greatly approved the undertaking, collected at his house in Dublin a large assembly of persons of rank and distinction, in order to concert measures for the framing and forwarding of a petition to the king. The following was accordingly drawn up and agreed to, and transmitted forthwith to his Majesty with the annexed subscriptions:

“To the King's most Excellent Majesty,

“The humble petition of the Lord Primate, Lord Chancellor, Archbishops, Noblemen, Bishops, Judges, Gentry, and Clergy of this your Majesty's Kingdom of Ireland, whose names are hereunto subscribed,

Petition to his Majesty.

“Humbly Sheweth,

“That in many parts of this kingdom, there are great tracts of mountainy and coarse land, of ten, twenty, or thirty miles in length, and of a considerable breadth, almost universally inhabited by *Papists*; and that in most parts of the same, and more especially in the provinces of *Leinster*, *Munster*, and *Connaught*, the *Papists* far exceed the *Protestants* of all sorts in number.

Number of Papists in Ireland.

“That the generality of the Popish natives appear to have very little sense or knowledge of religion, but what they implicitly take from their clergy, to whose guidance in such matters they seem wholly to give themselves up, and thereby are kept, not only in gross ignorance, but in great disaffection to your sacred Majesty and government, scarce any of them having appeared to be willing to abjure the *Pretender* to your Majesty's throne; so that if some effectual method be not made use of, to instruct these great numbers of people in the principles of religion and loyalty, there seems to be very little prospect, but that superstition, idolatry, and disaffection to your Majesty, and to your royal posterity, will, from generation to generation, be propagated amongst them.

Their great ignorance.

“Among the ways proper to be taken for the converting

Plan of education
proposed for
them.

and civilizing of these poor deluded people, and bringing them, (through the blessing of God,) in time, to be good Christians and faithful subjects: one of the most necessary, and without which, all others are like to prove ineffectual, has always been thought to be, that a sufficient number of *English Protestant* schools be erected and established, wherein the children of the Irish natives might be instructed in the English tongue, and the fundamental principles of true religion, to both which they are generally great strangers.

English Pro-
testant schools.

“ In pursuance hereof, the parish ministers throughout the kingdom have generally endeavoured, and often with some expense to themselves, to provide masters for such schools within their respective parishes, as the law requires them to do; but the richer *Papists* commonly refusing to send their children to such schools, and the poorer, which are much the greater number, not being able to pay the accustomed salary, as the law directs, for their children’s schooling, such schoolmasters, where they have been placed, have seldom been able to subsist; and in most places, sufficient masters are discouraged from undertaking such an employment; nor is it (as we conceive) to be expected, that the residence of the *Protestant* clergy, upon their respective benefices, will ever be a sufficient remedy for this growing evil, if some effectual encouragement be not given to such *English Protestant* schools.

“ To the intent therefore that the youth of this kingdom may generally be brought up in the principles of true religion and loyalty, in all succeeding generations;

Prayer for a
royal charter.

“ We, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, most humbly beseech your Majesty, that, out of your great goodness, you would be pleased to grant your royal charter, for incorporating such persons as your Majesty shall think fit, and enabling them to accept of gifts, benefactions, and lands, to such a value as your Majesty, in your great wisdom, shall think to be proper; that the same may be employed, under such rules and directions as your Majesty shall approve of, for the supporting and maintaining such schools as may be erected in the most necessary places, where the children of the poor may be taught *gratis*.

“And we are the more encouraged to make this humble application, from the good success which the same method has already had, and, through God’s blessing, we hope, will further have, among your Majesty’s subjects of *North Britain*.

“And also, in some measure, by what we have seen already done in this kingdom, in some few places, where such schools have been erected and maintained at the private expense of charitable persons.

“We humbly submit ourselves to your Majesty’s great wisdom and goodness; and, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

“Dated this 17th day of April, 1730.”

Subscribed were the names of the lord primate, the Lord Chancellor Wyndham, the Archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, six earls, five viscounts, twelve bishops, six barons, seventy-eight judges and gentlemen, and thirty dignitaries and beneficed clergymen. Of the non-appearance of six episcopal signatures to this important document, I can give no account in explanation: they are those of the Bishops Hutchinson, of Down and Connor; Vesey, of Ossory; Price, of Ferns and Leighlin; Milles, of Waterford and Lismore; Brown, of Cork and Ross; and Clayton, of Killala and Achonry.

Subscribers to
the petition.

This petition, being laid before the king, was graciously received by his Majesty; and on the 24th of October, 1733, were issued letters-patent, containing a charter, which recited the petition, and thereupon constituted the lord lieutenant, the lord primate, the lord chancellor, the archbishops and bishops, the judges and other law officers, and many of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, into a corporation and body politick, to have continuance for ever, by name of the *Incorporated Society in Dublin, for promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland*. Full

Gracious recep-
tion by the king.

Incorporated so-
ciety formed,
1733.

Powers given to
it.

power was given to the society², to “nominate and appoint fit and able persons, to be approved and licensed by the archbishops or bishops of this kingdom, in their respective dioceses, to be schoolmasters and schoolmistresses of the same, and to continue schoolmasters and schoolmistresses therein, during the will and pleasure of the said society, to teach the children of the *Popish*, and other, poor natives of our said kingdom, the *English* tongue, and to teach them to read, especially the holy Scriptures, and other good and pious books; and to instruct them in the principles of the Protestant religion, established in our said kingdom, and to teach them to *write*, and to instruct them in *arithmetick*, and such other parts of learning as to the said society shall seem meet, and to bring them up in virtue and industry; and to cause them to be instructed in husbandry and housewifery, or in trades or manufactures, or in such-like manual occupations as the said society shall think proper.”

Among other particulars necessary for its continuance and conduct, such as that of suing and being sued, having a common seal, electing officers, and the like, power was also given to the society of electing other members: a power which was first exercised in the election of the Bishop of Cloyne and the chancellor of the exchequer, whose names, by some strange oversight, were omitted from the charter.

Charter opened,
and lord lieutenant
elected president,
Feb 6,
1734.

The charter was opened with much solemnity in the council-chamber of Dublin Castle, on the 6th of February, 1734; when, in pursuance of one of its ordinances, the society proceeded to the election of its officers; and their choice fell on the Duke of Dorset, lord lieutenant, for their president, and the

² BOULTER'S *Letters*, ii., p. 12.

lord primate for their vice-president and treasurer. Many sums were at the same time contributed for the society's purposes, and amongst them 500*l.* were munificently subscribed by the Earl of Kildare.

The primate was, from the beginning, a zealous patron and an active supporter of this institution: and his correspondence contains several letters, at different periods, on the subject. It may be convenient to bring them together in this place, and submit them in sequence to the reader.

Society patronized by the primate.

On the 5th of May, 1730, soon after the meeting at his house for preparing the petition to the king, he thus wrote to the Bishop of London³:

His letter to Bishop of London, May 5, 1730

“ The great number of Papists in this kingdom, and the obstinacy with which they adhere to their own religion, occasions our trying what may be done with their children, to bring them over to our Church. And the good success the corporation established in Scotland for the instruction of the ignorant and barbarous part of that nation has met with, encourages us to hope, if we were incorporated for that purpose here, that we might likewise have some success in our attempts to teach the children of the Papists the English tongue, and the principles of the Christian religion; and several gentlemen here have promised subscriptions for maintaining schools for that purpose, if we were once formed into a corporate body. This has set the principal nobility, gentry, and clergy here, on presenting an address to his Majesty, to erect such persons as he pleases into a corporation here for that purpose, which we have sent over by the lord lieutenant to be laid before his Majesty: the copy of this address I have here sent your Lordship, in which you will in some measure see the melancholy state of religion in this kingdom. And I do, in my own name, and that of the rest of my brethren, beg the favour of your Lordship to give it your countenance. I can assure you the Papists are here so numerous, that it highly concerns us in point of interest, as well as out of concern for the salvation

Origin of the society.

³ BOULTER'S *Letters*, ii., p. 9.

of those poor creatures, who are our fellow-subjects, to try all possible means to bring them and theirs over to the knowledge of the true religion.

“And one of the most likely methods we can think of is, if possible, instructing and converting the young generation; for instead of converting those that are adult, we are daily losing many of our meanest people, who go off to Popery.

“I am sure your Lordship will be glad of any opportunity of advancing the glory of God, and promoting his service and worship among those who at present are strangers to it.”

To the Duke of
Dorset, Feb. 1,
1735.

The following, addressed to the Duke of Dorset, at that time in London, the 1st of February, 1735, about a twelvemonth after the opening of the charter, specifies the need of assistance from England towards accomplishing the objects of the society, and solicits his Grace's advice and assistance, particularly in promoting its interest with the royal family:

Need of assistance
from England.

“The bearer is Mr. Hansard, secretary to the Charter Society of Protestant Schools in this kingdom. As there is a much greater spirit in London towards promoting any good and pious design, and they are much abler to do it than we are in this country, we have sent him to London to promote subscriptions for carrying on our good designs; and we are the more encouraged to do so, because we find the like society in Scotland have in a few years got about 3000*l.* in London for the like charity in Scotland. And we hope, as we have the same Established Church as England, and are of the same blood, we may reasonably expect greater assistance than has been given to the Scotch society. And, besides, we have a particular claim on the noblemen and gentlemen of this country that live in England, who we think ought to contribute to any good design that is carrying on in their country.

“We have on this occasion directed our secretary to wait on your Grace, to receive any commands you shall

please to give him, and in hope of your Lordship's countenance.

"The greatest part of our society are for applying to his Majesty for his bounty to our corporation, as he was pleased to give the Scotch society 2000*l.* or 3000*l.* per annum; but I have differed from them in my sentiments as to applying to his Majesty at present, and have told them, both in private and in publick, my reasons for it, that, as the nation is at present very much in debt, I do not know but if his Majesty should give us a grant of a handsome annuity, it may occasion some clamour and uneasiness in the House of Commons; and besides that, I am desirous we should, by repeated trials, come to such a method of educating the children of poor Papists and others in Christian knowledge, and honest labour, as to be able boldly to say, that we only want a greater fund to be able to make so useful a design more general. And I hope, in two or three years, we shall make those experiments, and meet with that good success as to pitch upon a settled method of instructing and usefully employing the poor children.

Question of seeking his Majesty's bounty.

"But this whole affair I entirely submit to your Grace's better judgment. Your Lordship will likewise be the best judge, whether it may be proper at this time to apply to the queen and the rest of the royal family for their bounty, or stay till a further season. And if your Grace shall judge it proper to apply now, we must entirely depend on your Grace's directions in what manner it is best to be done, and on your assistance in doing it."

To Sir William Chapman, a London merchant, who was associated with some other gentlemen in endeavouring to promote the views of the society, the primate signified his sense of obligation, and his desire of further assistance, in a letter of Feb. 19, 1737^s:

Letter to Sir William Chapman.

"We are very much obliged to you and the other gentlemen of the society for so heartily espousing our interest.

^s BOULTER's *Letters*, ii., p. 157.

I am sure what our charter society are labouring after is the most rational push that has been made for establishing the Protestant religion more universally in this kingdom than it has hitherto been. And I hope that, through the blessing of God, and the assistance of charitable persons in England, joined with our endeavours here, there will be a sensible change made here in a course of some years.

“I am very glad of this opportunity of renewing a correspondence with so worthy a gentleman, whom I had the happiness to know in England.

“I must beg of you and the other gentlemen who are so kind as to correspond with us in our design, to promote, as much as in you lies, the contributions of well-disposed persons in England, that we may make our views the more extensive. And I have no doubt but if we are once able to set on foot about twenty working schools in the several distant parts of the kingdom, and put them into a right method, we shall meet with support and encouragement here from the legislature.”

Letter of the primate to the Duke of Dorset.

The withdrawal of the Duke of Dorset again gave occasion for the primate to come forward in behalf of the charter schools, for which he took the opportunity of soliciting his Grace's recommendation to his successor, the Duke of Devonshire, and their united recommendation of them to the king⁶:

“My Lord,

Dublin, May 24, 1737.

“As your Grace was pleased to honour us with your presence at the first opening of our charter society, and accept of being our president, and encourage us by your generous benefaction, you will pardon my desiring one favour more of your Grace, which is to recommend us to the favour and protection of our new lord lieutenant, and to join with his Grace in recommending us to his Majesty's bounty. His Lordship has already been spoke to on that subject, and is well-disposed to assist us; but your Grace's interposition with him will have a weight much superior to any applica-

Solicits favour of the Duke of Devonshire.

⁶ BOULTER's *Letters*, ii., p. 175.

tion that has already been made to him. And your joint recommendations to his Majesty cannot fail of procuring us his bounty.

“His Majesty has been formerly acquainted with our intentions, and expressed his approbation of our design. Her Majesty has likewise been applied to, and is disposed to assist us with her bounty; but, as I am informed, is willing rather to follow his Majesty’s example than to be beforehand with him. And there are several persons of quality and worth about the court who have expressed their readiness to follow the royal example.

“Your Grace most thoroughly knows the unhappy ignorance and bigotry to Popery under which the greatest part of this nation labours, and the excessive idleness they are addicted to. And I am sure the push now made by this society, in erecting working schools for the education of the children of poor Papists, as well as of the meanest of the Protestants, both in Christian knowledge and some useful business, is the most rational method that has yet been attempted to bring about any reformation in this nation.

“And as we find that our design is more known here, and our fund increases, gentlemen from the several parts of the kingdom are daily making proposals of giving us land and other assistance to settle such working schools on their estates.

“And I make no doubt but, when we are once fallen into a well-settled method of managing these schools, and have so far multiplied them, that the good effects of them are visible in the several parts of the kingdom, the Commons here will very readily assist the good design with an annual fund.

“But this must be a work of time, and will require the assistance of voluntary contributions to bring about, which cannot be promoted better than by his Majesty’s gracious example, which I hope will not be wanting, upon your Grace’s, and our new lord lieutenant’s, intercession.

“We are printing an account of our proceedings, from our first establishment, which, as soon as finished, shall wait upon your Grace.”

Ill success of
attempt to con-
vert the Papists
by the Irish
language.

Disappointment
and loss of Mr.
Richardson.

Recommended
for a benefice,
January, 1729.

This society seems to have absorbed what little interest may have remained in the country for the attempt to convert the Popish natives of Ireland to the reformed Church, by means of their own language. The ill success of the proposal, when brought before the parliament and the convocation, in 1711, there has been heretofore occasion to notice. To the benevolent proposer, Mr. Richardson, it became the occasion of much disappointment and loss; for “he met with great opposition, not to say oppression, instead of either thanks or assistance, and suffered the loss of several hundred pounds expended in printing the Common Prayer Book in Irish, and other necessary charges he was at in that undertaking⁷.” This is stated in a letter of September 3, 1730, to the Duke of Dorset, by Archbishop Boulter, who, on this account, as well as from regard to the general worth and loyalty of Mr. Richardson, expressed his desire to “contribute somewhat towards making him a little easy in his circumstances, and to procure him, by the Duke’s favour, some dignity in the Church.” Indeed, in January, 1729, the primate had recommended him to Lord Carteret, for a benefice, and again in June, 1730: the present application was more successful, as it was the cause of his appointment to the deanery of Duach or Kilmacduagh, worth about 120*l.* or 140*l.* a year. The deanery of Kilmore, of the value of about 300*l.* a year, becoming vacant in June, 1734, the great advantage in emolument, and the neighbourhood of Kilmore to Mr. Richardson’s parish of Belturbet, induced him to solicit an exchange, which the primate accordingly pressed upon

⁷ BOULTER’S *Letters*, ii., p. 24.

the lord lieutenant, but without success. He had, in the interval, been recommended for a chaplaincy to a regiment; but, on such occasions, it was usual for a present to be made to the colonel for his consent, and Mr. Richardson was too poor to make it. It is a melancholy reflection, that a worthy clergyman should have zealously exerted himself for the extension of the Church, and the promotion of true religion over the country, and have thereby involved himself in difficulties, and at an advanced age, for an argument by which his appointment to the chaplainship was supported was, that he was at least twenty-five years older than the chaplain in possession, should have met with so indifferent a requital.

His services badly
required.

At this period, a vigorous effort was made in behalf of the Presbyterians, for removing their disabilities, and raising them to a position of civil and political power.

Effort in favour
Presbyterians.

When the clause containing the sacramental test was first transmitted from England, for the purpose of being introduced into the bill "to prevent the further growth of Popery," in the reign of Queen Anne, all imaginable expedients were employed by the dissenters to obstruct its passing into a law. But all opposition was in vain; for, with few exceptions, the whole body of both Lords and Commons passed the clause with great readiness, and defended it afterwards with great resolution. Subsequent attempts to procure its repeal were equally ineffectual: first, under the vice-royalty of the Earl of Pembroke, in 1707, when the courage and confidence of the dissenters were revived by his Excellency's speech on the meeting of parliament, "that the queen would be glad of any expedient for

Attempts to
repeal the sacra-
mental test,

In 1707.

strengthening the interest of her Protestant subjects of Ireland; then during the government of the Earl of Wharton, who was appointed lord lieutenant in 1708, and who soon gave a fresh impulse to their hopes and movements by a declaration from the throne, "that they were neither to be persecuted nor molested;" a declaration whence they inferred, that all their imagined grievances were to be removed; and again in the lord lieutenancy of the Duke of Shrewsbury, which commenced in 1713, and occupied the succeeding portion of the queen's reign^a.

Resumed in 1731.

In all these attempts they had been defeated by the determined resistance of the legislature, and the subject does not appear to have been publicly resumed till after the accession of King George II. Then, however, occasion seems to have been taken from an experiment recently made, but unsuccessfully, in England, for endeavouring, in Ireland, to repeal the sacramental test, in order to prepare the way for its abolition in England also. It was in contemplation to try the question in the parliament of 1731; and different publications were put forward on the side of the dissenters, and met by counter-publications of their opponents. And, as the session approached, the northern head-quarters of dissent sent up to Dublin a band of teachers, accompanied by many of their elders and agents, and supported by a general contribution, to solicit their establishment, with a capacity of holding all military, as well as civil, employments, and demanding, in short, that the parliament should fix them upon an equal foot with the Church established^b.

Deferred till 1733.

But the business was deemed, at that time, not

^a SWIFT'S *Works*, viii., p. 398—407.

^b *Ibid.*, p. 391.

ripe for trial, and it was accordingly deferred till the session of 1733, when the Duke of Dorset, at the opening of the parliament after his recent return from England, called upon them to secure "a firm union amongst all Protestants, who have one common interest, and the same common enemy." This call for union, if it needed explanation, was explained by the facts, that he caused information to be given to the dissenters and others, of his instructions to procure, if possible, the repeal of the test; and that he exerted all his influence upon persons dependent on the government, and upon others whom he could hope to bias, for disposing them to concur in the design, an attempt in which he was assisted by other publick functionaries in the king's service.

Recommendation
of Duke of
Dorset.

Much apprehension, however, was entertained by the government of the success of the attempt; and, if brought into parliament, whatever should be the event, the bill was expected to cause a great ferment in the country, so that it was unanimously agreed, that it would not be proper to bring the affair into either house of parliament till the supply was secured.

Meanwhile, however, as the design could not be kept secret, a great excitement was occasioned, both in and out of both houses of parliament. From the northern counties, the chief harbour of sectarianism, many dissenting ministers and other agents of their party poured into Dublin, anxiously soliciting aid among the members of the legislature, and sanguine of success, if the government would use their whole influence in promoting it. From several parts of the kingdom, many of the clergy flocked together to oppose the design, and showed no defect of zeal in maintaining their opposition, wherein they were

Excitement
caused by the
proposal.

animated by their brethren of the Church of England. A pamphlet war was carried on, in support and in reprobation of the repeal, with vigour and perseverance, in which Dr. Synge, archbishop of Tuam, Dean Swift, Dr. Tisdell, and other churchmen of ability, were distinguished. An unusual number of members of parliament were collected and detained in Dublin by the interest excited on the question; whilst the opposition, which had drawn many together, was invigorated and inflamed by mutual communication, and visibly gained ground. In the opinion of Archbishop Boulter, "there were near three to two against it among the Commons, and the majority was so clear, that he questioned whether many who were for it would not have absented themselves or have voted against it, if it had come to a division, to avoid marking themselves to no purpose." And he speaks of himself as "fully satisfied, that, in the House of Lords, there would have been at least two to one against it"¹⁰.

Opposed in parliament.

In fact, the opposition was so decided that it was judged imprudent to attempt the bringing in of a bill, as related by the primate in a letter of December 18, 1733, to the Duke of Newcastle, "whom he thought it his duty to acquaint with an affair of great consequence just over," or, as he terms it, "the push for repealing the test in favour of the dissenters"¹¹:

Primate's letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Dec. 18, 1733.

"There were daily reports spread that the bill would be brought in such or such a day; and some in the opposition gave out they would move for it, that the point might be decided one way or another: till at length, after much impatience shown on the occasion, on this day se'nnight, a very unusual, and, I think, unparliamentary motion was made,

¹⁰ BOULTER'S *Letters*, ii., p. 89.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

that after the next Friday the house would neither receive bills, nor heads of bills, for repealing any part of the acts to prevent the growth of Popery, in one of which the sacramental test is enacted. There was some opposition made to the shortness of the time, and the next Monday moved for; but the warmth of the house, which was a very full one, against any further delay, and indeed against any repeal of the test, appeared so great and so general, that it was thought most prudent not to divide about that resolution.

“And upon considering what then appeared to be the sense of much the greater part of the house, and what was found to be the disposition of the members by talking with them, it was concluded at a meeting at the castle on Wednesday morning, and another on Thursday morning, where some of the agents of the dissenters were present, to be most for the credit of the government, and the peace of the kingdom, not to push for a thing which plainly appeared impracticable; and it was thought a very dangerous step to unite a majority of the house in an opposition to the intentions of the government, since it was not so certain when such an union might be dissolved.

Attempt decided
to be impracti-
cable.

“And at a meeting of several members of the House of Commons, who were disposed to repeal the test, it was agreed that, in the present state of affairs, it would be wrong to push for a thing that would certainly miscarry.”

The effect produced on the dissenters by this decision is thus further reported by the primate in a letter of December the 20th, to the Bishop of London:

Primate's letter
to Bishop of
London, Dec. 20,
1733.

“Some of the agents of the dissenters there present,” (that is, at the meeting at the castle mentioned in the letter to the Duke of Newcastle¹²;) “seemed satisfied, but one or two of them were for having the thing hazarded, insisting it would not be lost by a dishonourable majority. I hear some among the dissenters, especially their ministers, are very angry on this occasion.

Anger of the
dissenters.

“I am apt to think one reason of it may be, that when

¹² BOULTER'S *Letters*, ii., p. 90.

they first canvassed among the members they mistook civil answers for promises, and wrote to their friends in the North with greater hopes of success than they had reason for; and now do not care to own that they were mistaken in their calculations. Though, besides, I am satisfied they were mistaken in their numbers, because several who had promised them at first, upon seeing such a heat raised by it, fell off.

“Another reason given by them to several for pushing it, when it seemed desperate was, that their friends in England instructed them to push it at all adventures.

“The heat among the churchmen here will, I think, be soon over: but I do not hear of much disposition to temper among the dissenters. It is certain that their preachers are drawing up a memorial to send over to their friends in England to throw the blame of the miscarriage on my lord lieutenant, though unjustly, since he was not wanting in his endeavours to serve the dissenters, but really it was not at all practicable, at least at this time. But some of their laity, those especially of more temper and prudence, are endeavouring to hinder it, but with what success is not yet known.

“As this is an affair of some consequence, I thought proper to give your Lordship some account of it.”

SECTION IV.

Episcopal appointments. Death of Bishop Lambert. Its remarkable consequence. Death and Funeral of Bishop Ellis. Account of George Berkeley. His Character. His project of founding an University at Bermudas. Its failure. Made Bishop of Cloyne, 1733. His refusal to change his see. Attempt to relinquish his Bishoprick. His residence in Oxford, and sudden death. Projects about patronage by Irish Government. Counter-projects in England. Account of Thomas Rundle. His early preferments. His nomination to the see of Gloucester stopped by Bishop Gibson. His Character. His appointment to Derry. Disapproved of. Remarks thereupon. His situation in Ireland, as described in letters by himself.

SEVERAL changes, which about this time occurred on the episcopal bench, may here receive a portion of our attention.

Episcopal appointments.

On the 6th of February, 1732, died Dr. Lambert, bishop of Meath. He had been brought to Ireland in 1708 by the Earl of Wharton, as his chaplain, at the special desire of the Archbishop of Canterbury, several other English bishops, and the Lord Treasurer Harley¹. In 1710 he incurred the censure of the lower house of convocation in Ireland, as author of a libelling letter; an occurrence alluded to by Dr. Swift, but with no explanation². In 1717 he was consecrated to the bishoprick of Dromore, and in 1727 translated to that of Meath; his death occurred in Dublin at the above-mentioned date, having been preceded by the fracture of his right arm on the 28th of January, caused by treading on his gown as he was stepping out of his coach at his own door³.

Death of Bishop Lambert.

¹ SWIFT'S *Works*, x., p. 73.

² *Ibid.*, xiv., p. 318.

³ MS. ARCHDALL.

Its remarkable
consequence.

The vacancy is remarkable as having given occasion for the translation of four other prelates, and the consecration of a fifth: the Bishops Ellis, Cobbe, Maule, and Synge being respectively translated from Kildare, Dromore, Cloyne, and Clonfert; which last see was filled by the promotion of the lord lieutenant's chaplain, Mordecai Cary, a native of England, doctor of divinity of Trinity College, Cambridge, and rector of the parish of St. Catherine Colman, Fenchurch-street, London.

Death of Bishop
Ellis.

Of the four translated prelates mentioned above, the first within two years followed his predecessor to the grave. Bishop Ellis died the 1st of January, 1734, and on the 3rd was buried with great ceremony in Christ Church, Dublin, the deanery of which he had held in commendam with the bishoprick of Kildare more than twenty-six years, before his removal to Meath. The funeral procession was composed of the boys of the blue-coat hospital, to which he bequeathed 100*l.*, singing psalms; forty-eight clergymen walking before the hearse, with scarves and hat-bands; eight clergymen in mourning cloaks and crape hat-bands; the crozier borne before the king of arms, who carried the mitre on a cushion; the hearse adorned with escutcheons, and attended by the coaches of the Duke of Dorset, lord lieutenant, the primate, the Archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, and many other lords and persons of distinction⁴. The appearance of the crozier and mitre gives a peculiar character to this solemnity.

His funeral.

It may be thought remarkable that the appointments, which followed the death of Bishop Lambert, are not at all noticed by Archbishop Boulter in his letters. But on the death of Bishop Ellis, he con-

⁴ MS. COOPER.

curred with the lord lieutenant, the lord chancellor, and the Archbishop of Dublin, in recommending Bishop Price of Ferns and Leighlin for Meath, and Bishop Synge of Cloyne for Ferns and Leighlin: founding his recommendation on their firm attachment to his Majesty, on their being of great service in the House of Lords, and both in the English interest. In his letter to the Duke of Newcastle, conveying this recommendation, he further says, "As to a successor to the Bishop of Cloyne, my lord lieutenant looks upon it as settled in England, that Dean Berkeley is to be made bishop here the first occasion. I have, therefore, nothing to say on that head, but that I wish the dean's promotion may answer the expectation of his friends in England⁵."

Recommendation
of his successor.

Of George Berkeley, a native of the county of Kilkenney, a scholar of the free school of the county town, and a senior fellow and doctor of divinity of Trinity College, Dublin, who had been promoted to the deanery of Derry on the 10th May, 1724, and was now elevated to the bishoprick of Cloyne, and consecrated the 19th of May, 1734, the name has been commemorated by Pope, as of one endowed with "every virtue under heaven:" by Dr. Johnson, as recorded by Mr. Boswell⁶, on the authority of Dr. Maxwell, he has been characterized, as "a profound scholar, as well as a man of fine imagination:" and his epitaph, from the pen of the late learned Archbishop of York, Dr. Markham, as inscribed on a monument in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, where he died in 1753, in the seventy-third year of his age, records him as a man eminently distinguished amongst the foremost men of all ages, for genius and erudition,

Account of
George Berkeley.

His character.

⁵ BOULTER'S *Letters*, ii., p. 91.

⁶ *Life of Johnson*, ii., 128.

for probity and beneficence; and concerning whom the Christian and the patriot might alike exult in the reflection that Berkeley had lived. Some particulars of his life and singular character are thus communicated by Dean Swift to Lord Carteret, in a letter of Sept. 3, 1724, soon after Dr. Berkeley's preferment to the deanery of Derry⁷.

Dean Swift's
description of
him.

"There is a gentleman of this kingdom just gone for England: it is Dr. George Berkeley, dean of Derry, the best preferment among us, being worth eleven hundred pounds a year. He takes the Bath in his way to London; and will, of course, attend your Excellency, and be presented, I suppose, by his friend my Lord Burlington. And because I believe you will choose out some very idle minutes to read this letter, perhaps you may not be ill entertained with some account of the man and his errand.

His travels.

"He was a fellow of the university here; and going to England very young, about thirteen years ago, he became the founder of a sect there called the *immaterialists*, by the force of a very curious book upon that subject. Dr. Smalridge and many other eminent persons were his proselytes. I sent him secretary and chaplain to Sicily, with my Lord Peterborow: and upon his Lordship's return, Dr. Berkeley spent above seven years in travelling over most parts of Europe, but chiefly through every corner of Italy, Sicily, and other islands. When he came back to England, he found so many friends, that he was effectually recommended to the Duke of Grafton, by whom he was lately made Dean of Derry.

His project of
founding a uni-
versity at Ber-
mudas,

"Your Excellency will be frightened, when I tell you all this is but an introduction; for I am now to mention his errand. He is an absolute philosopher with regard to money, titles, and power; and for three years past has been struck with a notion of founding an university at Bermudas, by a charter from the crown. He has seduced several of the hopefullest young clergymen, and others here, many of them well provided for, and all of them in the fairest way

⁷ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 248.

of preferment: but in England his conquests are greater; and I doubt will spread very far this winter. He showed me a little tract, which he designs to publish: and there your Excellency will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical, [I shall make you remember what you were,] of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries; where he most exorbitantly proposes a whole hundred pounds a year for himself, forty pounds for a fellow, and ten for a student. His heart will break, if his deanery be not taken from him, and left to your Excellency's disposal.

"I discouraged him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible, and a vision: but nothing will do. And, therefore, I humbly intreat your Excellency, either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in this kingdom, for learning and virtue, quiet at home; or assist him, by your credit, to compass his romantick design: which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage."

Recommended to
Lord Carteret's
patronage.

It was shortly after the date of this letter, that Dr. Berkeley published his benevolent plan^s, under the title of "A Proposal for the better supplying of Churches in our foreign Plantations, and for converting the savage Americans to Christianity, by a College to be erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isles of Bermudas." His zeal and energy in this cause were ardent and indefatigable, and his eloquence most expressive, as described by Dr. Joseph Warton, in his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*. "Lord Bathurst told me," observes he, "that all the members of the *Scriblerus Club* being met at his house at dinner, they agreed to rally Berkeley, who was his guest, on his scheme at Bermudas. Berkeley, having listened to all the lively things they had to say, begged to be heard in his turn; and displayed his plan with such an asto-

Anecdote of his
plan.

^s SWIFT'S *Works*, x., p. 219, note.

nishing and animating force of eloquence and enthusiasm, that they were struck dumb; and, after some pause, rose up all together with earnestness, exclaiming, ‘Let us all set out with him immediately.’”

Failure of his
plan.

Having obtained a royal charter, Dean Berkeley set sail for Rhode Island in September, 1728. But his design being rendered ineffectual by the want of support from those on whom it depended for success, he returned to England in 1731; and in a sermon preached at Bow Church, Feb. 18, 1732, before the Society for Propagating the Gospel, gave an account of his labours.

His Minute Phi-
losopher.

The anecdote, above cited from Dr. Warton’s *Essay on Pope*, was incidental to his notice of one of Dr. Berkeley’s writings; where, commenting on Pope’s *Epistle to Addison* upon his *Treatise on Medals*, “written in that pleasing form of composition, so unsuccessfully attempted by many modern authors, *dialogue*,” the critick proceeds to say, “There are in English three dialogues, and but three, says a learned and ingenious author, who has himself practised this way of writing with success, ‘that deserve commendation, namely, the *Moralists* of Lord Shaftesbury, Mr. Addison’s *Treatise on Medals*, and the *Minute Philosopher* of Bishop Berkeley.’” “Alciphron,” pursues Dr. Warton, “did, indeed, well deserve to be mentioned on this occasion; notwithstanding it has been treated with contempt by a writer much inferior to Berkeley in genius, learning, and taste.” The writer to whom he alluded, as explained in a note, was Bishop Hoadly, in letters to Lady Sundon, first volume of his works. “But Sherlock,” as Dr. Warton subjoins, “thought highly of Alciphron, and presented it to Queen Caroline with many encomiums. The queen was used to be delighted with

The queen’s high
opinion of him.

the conversation of Berkeley, and perhaps Hoadly was a little jealous of such a rival."

It was, indeed, in consequence of the high estimate formed of his character by Queen Caroline that Dr. Berkeley was eventually advanced to the episcopate; his promotion to which, according to a biographical memoir of him, was attended by a remarkable disappointment in the first place, and then by as remarkable a counteraction. By the desire of her Majesty we are informed he was named to the rich deanery of Down, on its becoming vacant after his return; and that the king's letter was actually sent over for his appointment. But the royal intention had not been previously notified to the Duke of Dorset, who was so much offended at the disposal of the most valuable deanery in Ireland without his concurrence, that the appointment was not pressed; whereupon her Majesty declared, that if they would not suffer Dr. Berkeley to be a dean, he should be a bishop; and, accordingly, on the see of Cloyne becoming vacant in 1734, he was consecrated to that bishoprick. His episcopal mansion became thereupon his regular, and, with little exception, his constant residence, and the discharge of his episcopal duties his constant care. His parochial visitations, and confirmations in different parts of his diocese, were frequent; and the revival of the useful office of rural deans, which had fallen into disuse, is attributed to his directions.

His consequent preferment.

Bishop of Cloyne,
1733.

Soon after his promotion to the episcopate he declared his resolution never to change his see. His condition in respect of income was such as to enable him to resist the temptation of departing from his own principles, which were not favourable to episcopal translations. The offers, therefore, of the

His refusal to
change his see.

opulent see of Clogher, made to him by the Earl of Chesterfield, and of any other translation which there might be an opportunity of making to him, were at once rejected. It has been stated by his biographer, that, in conformity with his express desire, "to add one more to the list of churchmen, who are evidently dead to ambition and avarice," he declined the queen's offer of an English mitre, just before his embarkation to America. But as this occurred in 1728, and he afterwards, in 1734, accepted the offer of an Irish mitre, his refusal in the first case is attributable to a different cause from that which the biographer supposes.

Attempt to relinquish his bishoprick.

A wish that he might be enabled to superintend his son's education in Oxford, and still more to indulge in the learned retirement of that university, connected with a conscientious sense of the impropriety of a bishop's permanent absence from his diocese, induced him, at a more advanced period of life, to attempt an exchange of his bishoprick for some canonry or headship at Oxford. Failing in that attempt, he applied to the secretary of state for his Majesty's permission to resign his bishoprick, the value of which is stated to have been at least 1400*l.* a year. So extraordinary a petition excited his Majesty's curiosity, and caused his inquiry from whom it came; when, learning that the person was his old acquaintance, Dr. Berkeley, he declared that he should die a bishop in spite of himself, but gave him full power to choose his own place of residence.

His residence in Oxford, and sudden death.

His consequent residence at Oxford was brief, and suddenly terminated on the evening of Sunday, the 14th of January, 1753; so sudden, indeed, that his body was cold, and his joints stiff, before it was discovered, as he lay upon a couch, and seemed to be sleeping, till his daughter, on presenting to him a

cup of tea, first perceived his insensibility. An incident, as remarkable as the suddenness, attended his departure: it was in the midst of his family, whilst his lady was reading to him the lesson in the Burial Service, that he, in the language of Holy Scripture, thus “fell asleep.” The fact of his sudden dissolution, and of its having occurred under some such circumstances as have been here mentioned, is related by different writers. The book is stated, by Bishop Newton, in his own *Life*, to have been a sermon of Bishop Sherlock’s. A full-length portrait of Bishop Berkeley adorns the Examination-Hall of Trinity College, Dublin.

For the purpose of bringing these incidents in Bishop Berkeley’s life together, I have anticipated twenty years. I return, and remark that at the time of the late Bishop of Meath’s death, that of Bishop Downes of Derry was expected; so that the lord lieutenant being then in Dublin, upon the translation of the Bishop of Ferns to Meath, and the Bishop of Cloyne to Ferns, the primate, the lord chancellor, and the Archbishop of Dublin, agreed with his Excellency “that if he would come into those translations, they would very readily join with him in recommending Dr. Hort, bishop of Kilmore, to be translated to the bishoprick of Derry, and Dr. Clayton, bishop of Killala, to the bishoprick of Kilmore^o.”

Projects of the
Irish govern-
ment.

In the ensuing August, the primate, by a letter from Dublin, informed the Duke of Dorset of the Bishop of Derry’s continued ill health and increased weakness; and added his “hope that, as to the translations that may be proper, whenever it pleases God to remove him, they continue as his Grace

^o BOULTER’S *Letters*, ii., p. 101.

was pleased to settle them when he was here; though I find," he remarks, "by what is said here, from good hands, there have been some endeavours made to alter them; but, I would flatter myself, without success; since I think it cannot be done without creating a general discontent on the bench of bishops¹⁰."

Counter-projects
in England.

On the occurrence of the vacancy in the ensuing January (1735), the primate forthwith apprised the lord lieutenant, that he, the lord chancellor, and the Archbishop of Dublin, had, with the speaker, sent such a recommendation as had been agreed on; but that there were reports in Dublin, "that a push was making at London to pass by the Bishop of Killmore, and remove the Bishop of Killala directly to Derry. As the Bishop of Killala," he continues, "is very young for a bishop, and has but four juniors on the bench, I am satisfied it will cause a great uneasiness, if he should be translated to the best bishoprick in this kingdom. And as there can be but about 200*l.* per annum difference in the two bishopricks, I would hope Mrs. Clayton, if she were talked to, would not make a push for a point, that may very much distress us here¹¹." Now, Mrs. Clayton, as noticed by the editor of Primate Boulter's *Letters*, was a very favourite lady of the bedchamber to Queen Caroline, consort of King George II.: in the life of Bishop Hoadly, prefixed to his works in three volumes, folio, she is spoken of as "the prudent and amiable Lady Sundon, more known by the name of Mrs. Clayton, bedchamber woman and friend of Queen Caroline;" and annexed to the life are several letters written to her by the bishop. Her husband was created Lord Sundon in the year 1735.

Attempt to promote Bishop Clayton.

This project, however, of the Irish government,

¹⁰ BOULTER'S *Letters*, ii., p. 97.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

and the primate's hope, failed in a different quarter, and on another account, of which some particulars require explanation.

Thomas Rundle, as we learn from a biographical preface to his letters, edited by Mr. Dallaway, in Dublin, 1789, was born of parents in the middle rank of life, near Tavistock, in Devonshire, about 1686. He was brought up at the free-school in Exeter, and thence transferred, in 1702, to Exeter College, Oxford, where he formed an intimate friendship with Mr. Talbot, son of the Bishop of Salisbury. Having taken the degree of B.C.L., in 1710, he soon afterwards became acquainted with Mr. William Whiston, who was endeavouring to form a society for promoting what he called primitive Christianity; whose opinions Mr. Rundle appears in some degree to have imbibed, but soon saw cause to renounce them. Having been introduced to the notice of Bishop Talbot by his college friend, who, however, died at an early age, he enjoyed his favourable opinion and patronage; was admitted to holy orders; and promoted, first to the archdeaconry of Wilts, and afterwards, on his patron's translation to Durham, to a prebendal stall in that cathedral, and to the mastership of Sherborne hospital; residing, however, in the episcopal palace, as the bishop's domestick chaplain, in which office he was associated with Dr. Seeker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

On the death of the Bishop of Durham, his son, the Lord Chancellor Talbot, particularly distinguished Dr. Rundle as his friend, and entertained him on the same terms as his father had done; and endeavoured to promote his advancement by a measure which caused him, as Dr. Johnson observed, to

Account of
Thomas Rundle.

His early prefer-
ments.

His nomination
to the see of
Gloucester, 1733.

Stopped by
Bishop Gibson.

become “unfortunately famous.” For the see of Gloucester having been vacated in December, 1733, he was nominated to it on the lord chancellor’s solicitation, and publicly announced as the successor, when his preferment was stopped by the interposition of Gibson, bishop of London. In filling up vacancies in the English episcopate at that time, Bishop Gibson’s influence was most powerful; and he refused to sanction the appointment of Dr. Rundle, against whom he had conceived a strong objection, founded on his former connection with Whiston, notorious for his heterodox opinions, and on some sceptical sentiments, vaguely imputed to him by a Mr. Venn, as having been uttered in conversation many years before.

His character.

The editors of Archbishop Secker’s Works, Bishop Porteus and Dr. Stinton, speaking of the archbishop’s early association with Dr. Rundle, describe the latter as “a man of warm fancy, and very brilliant conversation, but apt sometimes to be carried by the vivacity of his wit into indiscreet and ludicrous expressions, which created him enemies, and, on one occasion, produced disagreeable consequences¹².” And, in a letter to a friend, Dr. Rundle gives the following description of himself: “I am an open, talkative man, and not one of my acquaintance ever suspected my disbelief of the Christian religion, from any expression that ever dropped from me, in the most unguarded hour of vehemence in dispute. I never omitted one opportunity of defending it in private, when the turn of conversation made it decent, or in publick, when the disputes of the age made it necessary. I have spoken charges to the clergy, or preached on the most solemn occa-

His description
of himself.

¹² *Life of Archbishop Secker*, p. x.

sions, against Collins, Woolston, Tindal, as multitudes will, and have testified. But, from a chance conversation, Mr. Venn thinks otherwise. . . . I do not doubt but the Bishop of London thinks me a very bad man, and thinks in opposing me he doth God and the Church good service; but it is not me, but the phantom represented to him under my name, that he so vehemently opposes. If he knew me, possibly I should have the favour of his esteem and recommendation. I only complain that he prefers a tittle-tattle, hearsay character from men, that have no intimacy with me, to the Dean of Christ Church (Dr. Conybeare), whom he loves; to all my acquaintance, whom he hath examined; to the speaker, whom he cannot but esteem; and the lord chancellor, whom every man in England, unless those who are angry on this occasion, loves and esteems, and rejoices in his integrity. . . . If these testimonies on my behalf are insufficient, I am contented to be disregarded, and must submit to an usage, that is as unexampled as undeserved¹³."

The consequence, however, of the Bishop of London's opposition was, that the bishoprick of Gloucester, which had been designed for Dr. Rundle, was given to his friend, Dr. Benson, whom the Bishop of London with much difficulty prevailed on to accept that dignity¹⁴. And the influence of the lord chancellor was soon afterwards exerted to procure for Dr. Rundle the lucrative see of Derry.

Benson made
Bishop of Gloucester.

The suspicion which had been thus cast on the bishop-elect's opinions, and the fact of his consequent rejection from an English bishoprick, were by no means an auspicious introduction of him to a similar station in the Irish Church. It is not there-

Rundle appointed
to Derry.

¹³ *Biograph. Preface.*

¹⁴ *Life of Secker*, p. xvii.

Appointment
disapproved of.

fore cause of wonder, if the appointment was spoken of with disapprobation. "What do you say," demands Mr. Pulteney of Dean Swift, in a letter dated London, March 11, 1735¹⁵, "to the bustle made here to prevent the man from being an English bishop, and afterwards allowing him to be good Christian enough for an Irish one? Sure the opposition, or the acquiescence, must have been most abominably scandalous. By what I can learn of Dr. Rundle's character, for I am not in the least acquainted with him myself, he is far from being the great and learned man his friends would have the world believe him; and much further yet from the bad man his enemies represent him."

Sentiments of the
primate,

In Ireland, the appointment was naturally regarded with disfavour. "I have had the honour of your Grace's of January 23, and February 13," writes Archbishop Boulter to the Duke of Dorset, February 20, 1735. "I am obliged to your Lordship for your kind information, that there was room for accidents in England, in relation to the bishoprick of Derry, which, otherwise, was likely to go, as desired, from hence. . . . I confess I am very sorry to hear, that the publick service has made it necessary to give the bishoprick of Derry to Dr. Rundle, because your Grace cannot but be sensible it will give a handle to some clamour here." And with the other members of the episcopal bench, it was far from being a source of satisfaction. Dean Swift, indeed, satirised the bishops with severity, as if their dissatisfaction was occasioned solely by the superior qualities of their new brother:

And the other
bishops.

Rundle a Bishop! Well he may—
He's still a Christian more than they!
I know the subject of their quarrels—
The man has learning, sense, and morals.

¹⁵ SWIFT'S *Works*, xiii., p. 160.

And the biographer of Rundle, Mr. Dallaway, observes of those who were disgusted with the appointment, that they "had imbibed the prejudices of popular clamour; and thought, without examining the circumstances, that the rejection from an English mitre could be no qualification for one in Ireland.

Remarks on the justice of the disapprobation.

But before these objections can prevail, it must be proved that the original deficiencies, whatever they were supposed to be, did truly and really exist." To this observation it may be sufficient to answer, that the very rejection of an individual, for such a cause, from one bishoprick, was, with the Church and community at large, a reasonable argument of his disqualification for another; and that means of investigating the charge were not within reach of those to whom the rejection itself was notorious. As to the comparison and insinuation of the satirist, they are not at all to the purpose, and need no reply.

In the event, however, the prepossession conceived in disfavour of Dr. Rundle, in Ireland, gradually abated. On personal acquaintance, he became highly valued by his metropolitan; acquired, by his amiable manners and integrity, the good will of his brethren; and, in the language of Dean Swift, was generally "esteemed as a person of learning and conversation and humanity, and beloved by all people"¹⁶.

Abatement of the prepossession against him.

He was appointed to the bishoprick of Derry, by letters-patent, the 17th of July, 1735, and consecrated the 3rd of August, by the Archbishop of Armagh, assisted by the Bishops of Meath and Kilmore. In a letter to a friend, about five years afterwards, he gives the following description of his

Bishop Rundle's situation in Ireland.

¹⁶ SWIFT'S *Works*, xiii., p. 314.

situation, which is copied on account of the information contained in it as to his diocese and clergy¹⁷:

Letter to a friend,
1740.

“ My situation in Ireland is as agreeable to me as any possibly could be, remote from the early friendships of my life. I have been served as Plato, in his commonwealth, would have Homer treated: ‘ First,’ says the philosopher, ‘ do him honours, reward his merit, and then—banish him.’ At Dublin, I enjoy the most delightful habitation, the finest landscape, and the mildest climate, that can be described or desired. I have a house there rather too elegant and magnificent; in the North an easy diocese, and a large revenue. I have but thirty-five beneficed clergymen under my care, and they are all regular, decent, and neighbourly; each hath considerable and commendable general learning; but not one is eminent for any particular branch of knowledge. And I have rather more curates, who are allowed by their rectors such a stipend, as hath, alas! tempted most of them to marry; and it is not uncommon to have curates that are fathers of eight or ten children, without anything but an allowance of 40*l.* a year to support them.

Exercise of
episcopal discipline.

“ The only discipline that I have as yet exerted, hath been to discard three out of my diocese, who, though refused certificates by me and my clergy, have obtained good livings in America, and found room for repentance. If their former misfortunes have been a warning to them, I rejoice at their success: but, if they are once more negligent of their conduct, there is no farther beneficial pardon for their follies in this life, though they should sincerely seek it with tears.”

Letter of
January, 1739.

In an earlier letter, January, 1739, he had written to another friend¹⁸:

“ My chief pleasure here is in conversation with chosen friends, who bring learning into chit-chat, and are not ashamed of being cheerful, while they are talking on the most sublime subjects. We endeavour to make the muses, and all their polite arts, serve as handmaids to adorn real wisdom; and introduce into our hearts every truth that can make us love the Creator, or make us worthy of his love; that can make us enjoy life ourselves, or contribute to make

¹⁷ DALLAWAY, p. clx.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. cxliii.

others do so, with thankfulness, as well as contentment and resignation."

And, as he had at one time laboured, as we have seen, under the imputation of deistical or sceptical opinions, it may be convenient to insert the following, written on the 22nd of March, 1743, with the prospect of early dissolution, which actually occurred the 14th of April following¹⁹:

Letter of March 22, 1743, on the approach of death.

" Dear Sir,

" Adieu—for ever. Perhaps I may be alive when this comes to your hands—more probably not; but, in either condition, your sincere well-wisher. Believe me, my friend, there is no comfort in this world, but a life of piety and virtue; and no death supportable, but one comforted by Christianity, and its real and rational hope. The first, I doubt not, you experience daily;—may it be long before you experience the second! I have lived to be *conviva satur*,—passed *through good report and evil report*; have not been injured, more than outwardly, by the last, and solidly benefited by the former. May all who love the truth in Christ Jesus, and sincerely obey the gospel, be happy; for they deserve to be so who (*αληθευειν εν αγαπη*) seek truth in the spirit of love.

" Adieu!—I have no more strength.—My affectionate last adieu to your lady.

" T. DERRY."

¹⁹ DALLAWAY, p. clxvii.

SECTION V.

Bills for enforcing residence of Incumbents, and dividing large Benefices; opposed in Parliament, and by Dean Swift. His letter to Bishop of Clogher. Condemnation of the Bills, and censure of their supporters. Primate's silence about them. Bill for encouraging Building by Ecclesiastical persons. Bishop Tennison succeeded by Dr. Este. Bishop Brown satirised by Dean Swift. His literary compositions. Works of Archbishop Synge, Dr. Delany, and the Rev. Philip Skelton. Literary works little encouraged in Ireland. Exemplified in earlier times from Archbishop King's Correspondence. Clergy despoiled of their property. Tythe of Agistment confirmed to them by legal decisions; opposed in the House of Commons. Associations against the Clergy. Motives to the oppression. Provisions for resisting it. Injurious conduct of the House not remedied.

Bill for enforcing
the residence of
incumbents, 1732.

IN 1732, two bills were brought into parliament; the one for enforcing the residence of incumbents on their benefices, and, with that view, laying them under the obligation of building houses on their glebes, if judged by the respective diocesans fit or convenient for the purpose, on such part of the glebe as the diocesan should direct; the other for subdividing large benefices into as many portions as the chief governour, with six of the privy council, should think fit, reserving to the original parish at least 300*l.* a year; such subdivision being made with the consent of the ordinary and patron, but dispensing with the consent of the incumbent, which was also necessary under two former statutes of the 2nd and 10th of George I., whereof this bill was proposed for an amendment.

Bill for sub-
dividing large
benefices.

Opposition to the

These bills, being introduced into the House of

Lords, promptly received the consent of a great majority, including most of the spiritual peers, though resisted by Bolton, archbishop of Cashel, Carr, bishop of Killaloe, and Howard, bishop of Elphin; but they were thrown out of the House of Commons, probably from an apprehension of the arbitrary power which, it was supposed, would thus be lodged in the hands of the prelates, and of the inconvenience which might be occasioned to the beneficed clergy. These objections, at least, were put forward in two pamphlets by Dean Swift, who took occasion to inveigh, with extreme acrimony, against the episcopal body, principally the bishops who had been brought over from England, not, however, without including many of those of Irish birth, for this attempt to enlarge their authority, and to degrade and impoverish their clergy.

bills in parliament,

And by Dean Swift.

With respect, however, to the former of these bills, surely it was not reasonable to suppose, as was invidiously supposed, in order to discredit it, that, "if there were a single spot in the glebe more barren, more marshy, more exposed to the winds, more distant from the church, or skeleton of a church, or from any conveniency of building, the rector or vicar would be obliged, by the caprice or pique of the bishop, to build, under pain of sequestration, an office which ever falls into the most knavish hands, upon whatever point his Lordship should command, although the farmers had not paid one quarter of his dues¹." Whilst, with respect to the latter bill, it should not be forgotten, that the power proposed to be given to the ordinary, was to be given to him in common with the patron, and was, in fact, only the power of consenting to an

Objections alleged against them,

¹ SWIFT'S *Works*, viii., p. 419.

action which was to be performed by the chief governour, with the assent of six, at least, of the privy council.

Especially by the dean.

The dean, however, was especially jealous of the episcopal authority, and his sensitiveness on the exercise of it has been already exemplified on more than one occasion in the course of this narrative. In the present case, his feelings were strongly expressed by a letter to Stearne, bishop of Clogher, July 1733, indicative, at once, of his sentiments towards an individual member of the episcopal bench, and towards the body in general².

His letter to Bishop Stearne, July, 1733.

“ My Lord,

“ I have been told by some of our common acquaintance, that you have sometimes expressed your wonder, ‘that I never waited on you for some years past, as I used to do for many years before; and that you could not guess the reason, because, to your knowledge, you never once disoblighed me.’ As nothing is more common than dropping acquaintance by the usual occurrences of life, without any fault on either side, I never intended to say or think anything of the matter, until a late proceeding of yours, which no way relates to me, put me upon a desire of finding matter to justify you to your friends here as well as to myself; because I always wished you well, and because I have been more than once instrumental to your service.

His dissatisfaction with the bishop.

“ When I first became acquainted with you we were both private clergymen in a neighbourhood. You were afterwards chancellor of St. Patrick’s, then was chosen dean, in which election I was the most busy of all your solicitors. When the compromise was made between the government and you, to make you easy, and Dr. Synge chancellor, you absolutely and frequently promised to give me the curacy of St. Nicholas Without; but you thought fit, by concert with the archbishop, to hold it yourself, and apply the revenue to build another church; against which it became me to say nothing, being a party concerned and injured,

² SWIFT’S *Works*, xiii., 31.

although it was generally thought by others, as well as myself, that it was an ill and dangerous precedent to build a church with the revenue of the minister. I desire no thanks for being instrumental in your next promotion, because, as things then stood, I consulted my own advantage. However, upon the queen's death, when I had done for ever with courts, I returned to reside at my post, yet with some kind of hopes of getting some credit with you : very unwisely ; because, upon the affair of St. Nicholas, I had told you frankly, ' That I would always respect you, but never hope for the least friendship from you.'

" But, trying to forget all former treatment, I came like others to your house ; and, since you were a bishop, have once or twice recommended persons to you who were no relations or friends of mine, but merely for their general good character, which availed so little, that those very persons had the greatest share of your neglect. I then gave over all thoughts of being instrumental to place merit and virtue under your protection by my recommendations ; and, as I was ever averse from mingling with multitudes and strangers, I forbore by degrees to be a partaker of your hospitality, rather than purchase it at so dear a rate.

His conduct in consequence.

" This is the history of my conduct with regard to your Lordship, and it is now a great comfort to me that I acted in this manner ; for otherwise, when those two abominable bills for enslaving and beggaring the clergy, which took their birth from hell, were upon the anvil, if I had found your Lordship's name among the bishops who would have turned them into a law, I might have been apt to discover such marks of indignation, horror, and despair, both in words and deportment, as would have ill become me to a person of your station : for I call God to witness that I did then, and do now, and shall for ever firmly believe, that every bishop who gave his vote for either of these bills, did it with no other view, bating farther promotion, than a pre-meditated design, from the spirit of ambition and love of arbitrary power, to make the whole body of the clergy their slaves and vassals until the day of judgment, under the load of poverty and contempt.

His condemnation of the two bills,

" I have no room for more charitable thoughts, except

And censure of their supporters.

for those who will answer now, as they must at that dreadful day, that what they did was out of perfect ignorance, want of consideration, hope of future promotion, (an argument not to be conquered,) or the persuasion of cunning brethren than themselves; when I saw a bishop, whom I had known so many years, fall into the same snare, which word I use in partiality to your Lordship.

“Upon this open avowed attempt, in almost the whole bench, to destroy the Church, I resolved to have no more commerce with persons of such prodigious grandeur, who, I feared, in a little time, would expect me to kiss their slipper. It is happy for me that I know the persons of very few bishops; and it is my constant rule never to look into a coach: by which I avoid the terror that such a sight would strike me with.”

With the concluding part of this letter, being as it is of a mere personal character, I forbear to proceed: remarking however that he cannot refrain from another incidental allusion to “the two enslaving and begging bills.”

Primate's silence
about these bills.

It is somewhat remarkable, that in the published collection of Archbishop Boulter's *Letters* there is no notice taken, either of the intended introduction of these bills or of their failure: notwithstanding it had been his general habit to explain to the English government the circumstances of such enactments as were proposed in relation to ecclesiastical affairs; and the same practice was afterwards continued in December 1735, upon the transmission of two other bills. Upon these bills he entered rather largely with the Duke of Newcastle, explaining their occasion and provisions, though they were only intended to render more effectual former statutes, with respect to the building of houses and the distribution of parishes: yet he observed, speaking of the former of the two, “as what is enacted in this act, and those referred to in it, is wholly different from any law in

England, I must recommend it to your Grace's protection, that it may not be thrown out by the gentlemen of the law on your side, by reason of their not knowing the necessity and use of it here³."

In fact, the principle of these acts, being that of encouraging incumbents to build houses and make improvements on church lands, by dividing the original cost among the builder and his successors, which had been taken for the foundation of an act in King William's reign, and recognised by another in the twelfth of King George I., was altogether unknown in England. It had been introduced into Ireland, for a remedy of the destruction of the bishops' palaces and the parsonage-houses by the wars of that country in 1641 and 1688; and in consequence of the inability or unwillingness of incumbents to rebuild them, where the whole expense was to light upon the builder. The expense had been at first distributed amongst three, and afterwards amongst four successive incumbents: and it was for the better security of the parties, entitled to reimbursement, that the present act was intended.

Bill for encouraging the building of houses by ecclesiastical persons.

The death of Tennison, bishop of Ossory, in November, 1735, afforded the government an opportunity of showing a mark of attention to Archbishop Boulter, by promoting from the archdeaconry of Armagh to the vacant see his domestick chaplain, Dr. Este, who had accompanied him from England in that capacity about eleven years before. In the preceding month of August Bishop Clayton had been translated from Killala to the see vacated by the death of Brown, bishop of Cork and Ross. Of this last-named prelate, on his preferment to the

Bishop Tennison succeeded by Dr. Este, 1735.

³ BOULTER'S *Letters*, ii., 114.

Bishop Brown
satirised by Dean
Swift.

episcopate in 1709, we had occasion to speak with respect. He however did not escape the satirical lash of the Dean of St. Patrick's, who in a letter of congratulation to his friend Dr. Sheridan, on his being appointed to a living in the county of Cork, in 1725, remarked, "If you are under the Bishop of Cork, he is a capricious gentleman; but you must flatter him monstrously upon his learning and his writings; that you have read his book against Toland a hundred times, and his sermons, if he has printed any, have been always your model, &c⁴."

His literary com-
positions.

In fact, however, Bishop Brown, although he was a prelate distinguished for erudition and great powers of composition and elocution, had published no sermons except two or three on particular occasions. He is stated by Mr. Harris to have been a most severe judge of his own works⁵; and to have burned in his lifetime very many sermons which he thought unfinished, and not fit to be read in manuscript or in print. Still others must have remained: as two volumes of sermons on several important subjects were published under his name in London in 1749. As another Irish theological writer of this period, respectful mention may be here made of Archbishop Synge, from whose numerous tracts in four volumes I would select as worthy of special notice, and as singularly calculated to effect its very desirable object, *An Answer to all Excuses and Pretences for not coming to the Holy Communion*. And as another, Dr. Patrick Delany, author of *Revelation examined with Candour*, *The Life of King David*, a volume of sermons, and many other pieces; who was introduced to the acquaintance of Bishop Gibson by the following letter

Works of Arch-
bishop Synge,

And Dr. Delany.

⁴ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 268.

⁵ *Writers of Ireland*, p. 297.³

from Archbishop Boulter, dated Dublin, August 12, 1731⁶.

“ My Lord,

“ The person who waits upon you with this is Dr. Delany, minister of one of the principal churches in this city, and one of our most celebrated preachers. He has of late employed his thoughts and pen in the vindication of our most holy religion, and has some thoughts of printing what he has written, if it shall be thought to be of service. I knew of no person to whose judgment it was more proper to submit his performances than your lordship, who have so happily engaged yourself in the controversy, and seem to have the conduct of the defence of our most holy cause against the present most audacious insults of unbelievers. He comes over with a disposition to submit his writings, and the printing of them, to your Lordship’s opinion.”

Letter from
Primate Boulter
to Bishop Gibson,
August 12, 1731.

In pursuance of this communication, Dr. Delany published at London, in the year 1732, *Revelation examined with Candour, &c.*, in two volumes, octavo. And in the same year was published, also at London, in two volumes, octavo, Dean Berkeley’s *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher*. A few years later, namely in 1748, when the reverend Philip Skelton contemplated the publication of his *Deism Revealed*, he had recourse to Andrew Millar, the London bookseller, for the purpose, thinking the work of too great importance to be published in Ireland. Of this work it is remarkable, as stated on Mr. Skelton’s authority by his biographer, Mr. Burdy, that the person, whom the bookseller consulted on the merits of the work, and on the probability of its quitting the cost of printing, was “ Hume the infidel.” He came, as related, “ to Mr. Millar’s, took the manuscript to a room adjoining the shop,

Dr. Delany’s
“ Revelation
Examined.”

Philip Skelton’s
“ Deism Re-
vealed.”

⁶ BOULTER’S *Letters*, ii., p. 54.

examined it here and there for about an hour, and then said to Andrew, ‘Print.’”—p. 351.

Literary works
little encouraged
in Ireland.

There appears to have been little encouragement given to literary works in Ireland at this period; and these instances may be taken in exemplification of a remark made by Archbishop Boulter on occasion of the intended publication of Bishop Gibson’s invaluable *Preservative against Popery*. In a letter, dated May 20, 1735, he says⁷:

“I am obliged to your Lordship for your late letter, and am glad that the best pieces against Popery, written in King James’s time, are designed to be reprinted. I think it is much better than what was intended here some years ago, to reprint all that was then published.

Subscription to
Bishop Gibson’s
“*Preservative*
against Popery.”

“I shall very cheerfully promote subscriptions here, into which I think the bishops will generally come, and several of the clergy, and some few of the college. I think I cannot fail of getting forty or fifty subscriptions; but little can be done in it till the parliament brings people to town in the winter. We are very much troubled with Popery here, and the book cannot but be very useful, but we are not over-much given to buy or to read books.”

And in a later letter, of May 10, 1737, “I shall be ready to encourage the buying Mr. Serce’s book here so far as I can; but we are less given to buy books here than can be imagined⁸.”

Exemplified in
earlier times.

This, however, was no new complaint; for the want of encouragement for literary works in Ireland some years before may be exemplified from Archbishop King’s MS. Correspondence in Trinity College, of an earlier date. From some of his letters to Dr. Charlett, master of University College, Oxford, in 1720, it appears that a Concordance for the Septuagint,

⁷ BOULTER’S *Letters*, ii., p. 112.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

composed by Dr. Aungier, was in possession of the college, and some negociation for printing it was carried on between the archbishop and his correspondent, but without any good success. The failure drew from the former an expression of his sorrow, accompanied with the observation, "It is impossible for us to print it here, having neither money, character, nor hope of vent for it if it were printed." And in the succeeding letter of June 17, 1721, he thus enlarged on the disappointment :

MS. of Dr.
Aungier.

" You see by the fate of Dr. Aungier's manuscript, in how hard circumstances scholars are here. Let them write never so valuable pieces, there is no way to get them printed : if any impression could be got, there is no way to vent it. The gentlemen of Ireland mostly live in England, and seem not yet to have come to relish books. Those who live here, being of the middle sort, are but few, and little inclined that way ; and as to the clergy, there may be about six hundred, and one-half of these curates, at about 30*l.* per annum. We have, by great application, augmented our bishopricks ; and now they are become valuable, we are told we must not expect any of them. We have likewise, by several contrivances, made some benefices valuable ; and these, being mostly either in the lord lieutenant or bishops, or in patrons who live in England, we are like to have the least share in them : and as to those clergymen who are sent us from England, I believe it will not be pleaded that they are the brightest, generally speaking ; though I confess, to my observation they seem notably dexterous and industrious to make money for their wives and children. Thus the see of Derry was served by Dr. Hickman, my successor, who entirely rooted up and destroyed a large flourishing wood, which I, with care and cost, had planted whilst at Londonderry. Thus the see of Kilmore was served by Dr. Whitnall, who sold a wood belonging to his see, which, if standing now, would, as I am informed, sell for twenty thousand pounds. But instances of such sort are too many to be mentioned.

Letter of Arch-
bishop King to
Dr. Charlett,
June 17, 1721.

Want of literary
taste.

Bishop Hick-
man's treatment
of the see of
Derry.

Bishop Whit-
nall's, or Weten-
hall's, of Kil-
more.

“ By these you will understand what encouragement learning is like to meet with in this kingdom. I have some pieces by me, but know not what to do with them. I lately printed a form for consecration of churches, and a discourse on that subject ; but was obliged to pay for the whole impression. If you will accept one or more of them, I will send them to you.”

Letter to Dr.
Woodward, Sept.
12, 1713.

This was in 1721. To much the same effect he had written, September 12, 1713, to Dr. Woodward: “ We live here in an unfortunate country as to learning, and seem to have little else to do, but to eat, drink, and sleep. If a man’s thoughts should put him on anything that might deserve the press, he must pay for the printing, and distribute it gratis, there not being scholars enough to take off an impression.”

Irish clergy despoiled of their property.

It had been the lot of the Irish clergy to be despoiled of large portions of their property in different ways. Through the confusion which at various times prevailed over the country, by violence, oppression, fraud, and other unlawful means, a large proportion of them had been stripped of their glebes, which had fallen into the hands of the laity; whilst their tythes had been so reduced by the artifices or forcible resistance of those from whom they were due, that they in general received little more than half of their legal claims. These spoliations, however, were the acts of individuals: it remained for large and numerous associations to combine together, and by means of a parliamentary power, opposed to and overpowering that of the law, to deprive the clergy of a further portion of their rights.

Tythe of agistment confirmed to them by legal decisions.

The clergy claimed the tythe of agistment, the technical name for the tythe of pasturage for dry

and barren cattle, by the common law, confirmed by statute of King Henry the Eighth: in some parts of the country, indeed, it had not been enforced, but it had been regularly allowed and paid in the northern parts. Resistance, however, having been made to the claim in 1707, the cause was tried in the Court of King's Bench, and judgment given for the clergyman; which judgment was afterwards affirmed in the King's Bench of England. In 1722, in a cause between the same parties in the Court of Exchequer, the clergyman obtained a decree. In the succeeding years several other clergymen met with a similar result; and in 1735 Dr. Synge, bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, filed, in one term, eight bills for the recovery of this tythe.

The clergy being thus supported by the law, recourse was had by their opponents to the House of Commons. Petitions for their interposition were presented by certain landowners against the clergy; and the house, composed as it was in a great degree of large landed proprietors, who were the persons chiefly interested, assumed to themselves the privilege of being judges in their own cause, notwithstanding it had been already decided by the judges of the land; and, among other resolutions, agreed to these: "That the allotments, glebes, and known tythes, with other ecclesiastical emoluments, ascertained before this new demand of tythe of agistment for dry and barren cattle, are an honourable and plentiful provision for the clergy of this kingdom;" and that "all legal ways and means ought to be made use of, to oppose all attempts that shall hereafter be framed to carry demands of tythe agistment into execution, until a proper remedy can be provided by the legislature⁹."

Opposed in the
House of Com-
mons.

⁹ *Com. Journ.*, iv., p. 219.

Design of further
hostility.

It was in agitation to pass some other votes, which were prepared on that subject, and which were intended to fall particularly on the barons of the exchequer, for their judicial decisions. By some of the more prudent members of the house, however, this design was stopped: still it had the effect of intimidating both the judges and clergy, so that no further suits were prosecuted. Animated meanwhile to more offensive proceedings by the countenance of the house, most of the lay lords and commoners combined in associations against the clergy: proposals for the like associations were sent down to the country, to be prepared for the ensuing assizes, and were signed in many of the counties: in each of those counties a common purse was formed, and a treasurer chosen, for supporting any lawsuit against the clergy; who were, moreover, threatened with opposition and distress in the maintenance of their other rights, if they ventured to sue for agistment; and were treated with a degree of hostility and malevolence, which, by moderate and sensible men, was thought equal to any signs of ill-will ever remembered to have been manifested against the Popish priests in the most dangerous times.

Associations
against the
clergy.

Motives to this
oppression.

The motives to this unjust and illegal oppression of the clergy of their own communion, who appear to have borne the assault with a temper, which, as Archbishop Boulter states, “surprised their enemies,” is thus suggested by him in a letter, containing a detailed account of the transactions, and addressed to Sir Robert Walpole, August 9, 1737¹⁰:

“I cannot accuse the bulk of the Protestants, except the Scots in the north here, of being enemies to episcopacy and the established clergy, as such; but some gentlemen have let their

¹⁰ BOULTER'S *Letters*, ii., p. 184.

lands so high, that, without robbing the clergy of their just dues, they are satisfied their rents can hardly be paid; and others fall in with them, that they may be able to raise their lands as high: and the controversy here is, not whether the farmer shall be eased of an unreasonable burden, but whether the parson shall have his due, or the landlord a greater rent. Some hope they might come in for plunder, if the bishops were stripped; and most of the needy gentry here envy to see the bishops, by a proper frugality, though not without a decent hospitality, easy in their circumstances.

“Against any attacks of this nature, we shall prepare to make as good a provision for defence as we can: we shall not be wanting in our endeavours with those of weight in the house, and that are capable of any moderation, to prevent any new attempts on the rights of the clergy, without bringing on an attack by hastily raising a clamour that we are going to be attacked. But our great and only powerful defence, under the divine providence, is from the protection of his Majesty, from whose goodness we would hope to be defended in our just rights in common with our fellow-subjects.

Provisions for
resisting it.

“And I would hope that if some discouragement from the crown were given to what is so unreasonable and unjust in itself, and must raise the greatest heats and animosities amongst us, and give the utmost encouragement to the Papists to see Protestants so violently attacking their own clergy; and that passing the next sessions quietly, would, with such discountenances, very much cool and balk the designs of the ill-intentioned, I cannot but make it my request, that you would be so kind as to recommend us to his Majesty’s protection, which he has graciously declared in his speeches to parliament he would afford our brethren of England; and that when my lord lieutenant comes to receive his instructions from his Majesty, before his setting out for his government here, he may be directed by his Majesty to signify, in what way shall be thought most proper, that the clergy may enjoy their legal rights, and that his Majesty will be graciously disposed to protect them therein from all unjust attacks.

Prayer for the
king’s protection.

“By a paper of queries handed about, it looks as if Project of a com-

mittee to examine into the conduct of the clergy.

some gentlemen designed to have a committee appointed to examine into the behaviour of the bishops and clergy in their pastoral cures. I must own we are not saints, nor are we the greatest of sinners. But what a committee set on foot by such as have the views, there is reason to fear too many have, may vote concerning our conduct, is easily guessed in general: and I hope will make no bad impression against us with the unprejudiced. But at the same time, I cannot but heartily wish, that these measures may be prevented, which I have great reason to fear are set on foot from England, and designed to be followed there, if they meet with success and encouragement here."

Injurious conduct of the House of Commons not remedied.

It does not appear that the apprehensions entertained by the primate of further acts of aggression against the clergy were realized; further than that, in a letter to the Bishop of London, of February 10, 1738, he briefly alludes to their "having got pretty well through the attacks on the Church in bills," and to an apprehension of "some angry votes from the Commons, particularly about agistment, on occasion of a clergyman having imprudently during the session given notice to his parishioners to pay it on pain of being prosecuted¹¹." No remedy, however, was afforded against the inflammatory measure previously adopted by the House of Commons: and thus, under the sanction of a resolution of that assembly, operating with the force of a legislative enactment, though evidently opposed to the wishes of the co-ordinate branch of the legislature, and without the warranty of the crown, the landlords of the country persevered in resisting the lawful claim of the clergy, greatly to the personal injury of the latter, and, as there has been already occasion for noticing, to the obstruction of the Church's improvement.

¹¹ BOULTER'S *Letters*, ii., p. 191.

SECTION VI.

Carew Reynell, Bishop of Down and Connor. Death of Bishop Milles. His age and successor. Death and Character of Archbishop Synge. Archbishop Hort's Instructions and Sermons. Cessation of Primate Boulter's Letters. His death, Sept. 1742. His occupations and Character. His rule in Ecclesiastical patronage. Question of its fitness. Beneficial disposition of his Property. Local charities. Fund for augmenting small Benefices. His literary Productions. His Letters. Notice of his Secretary, Ambrose Philips. Close of information from Dean Swift and Mr. Harris. General remarks. Motives to Episcopal appointments. Political attachments. Intellectual and moral qualifications. Restoration of Episcopal residences. Value of Bishopricks. Dean and Chapter Lands. Deaneries. Parochial Benefices. Frauds and impositions on their Clergy. Their condition as to residence. Spoliation of their Glebes. Non-residence not their crying sin. Pluralities. Want of Churches. Non-cures. Effect of Clerical exertion exemplified in Rev. Philip Skelton.

IN May, 1737, the Duke of Dorset was succeeded in the chief government of Ireland by the Duke of Devonshire. The new lord lieutenant was attended by Carew Reynell, chancellor of Bristol, in the quality of his first chaplain; and had the opportunity of promoting him in 1739 to the bishoprick of Down and Connor, vacated by the death of Bishop Hutchinson.

Carew Reynell,
Bishop of Down
and Connor, 1739.

IN 1740 died the learned Bishop Milles, who having been brought to Ireland, as first chaplain of the Earl of Pembroke, was promoted to the see of Waterford in 1708. He had been previously vice-principal of St. Edmund Hall, in Oxford, and regius

Death of Bishop
Milles, 1740.

professor of Greek in that university: and besides other publications of a theological character, had put out at Oxford, in 1703, an edition of the works of St. Cyril, of Jerusalem. The eldest son of a Hampshire clergyman, who had resided forty years on his benefice of Highclear, and died in 1720, aged 82, the bishop also attained a venerable age, and was, according to a note in the late Mr. Cooper's copy of WARE'S *Bishops*, "The oldest bishop in the world, except the then Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Hough, who ordained him a deacon in the university of Oxford." This statement, however, of his age should seem questionable: for having been matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, in 1688 or 9, when he was probably about sixteen or seventeen years old, his age at his death in 1740 can hardly have exceeded seventy years, of which only thirty-two had passed since his elevation to the bench: and thus, neither in his life nor in his episcopate, is it likely that he was the oldest bishop in the world. Some peculiarities in his character and conduct, as noticed in Archbishop King's MS. Correspondence, have already passed under our notice. If of an unfavourable kind, they were not likely to be extenuated by the circumstance of Bishop Milles's country, the archbishop's predilection being well known in favour of men of Irish birth. He was succeeded in the see of Waterford by Bishop Este, who had been consecrated between four and five years before to that of Ossory.

His age,

And successor.

Death of Archbishop Synge, 1741.

In the following year, 1741, the death of Archbishop Synge caused a vacancy in the metropolitan see of Tuam, which he had filled in a manner worthy of a Christian bishop, for twenty-five years, the whole period of his episcopate being extended

two or three years longer. He was buried in the churchyard of his own cathedral: leaving behind him the renown of an exemplary prelate, together with the character of a gentleman of true piety, an excellent scholar, and a great divine. In the course of his ministry he composed and published several excellent treatises for the promotion of piety and virtue. They consisted for the most part of small tracts, written in a sensible and easy manner. A list of them, amounting in number to fifty-nine, is given by Mr. Nichols, in his *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*: and they are stated to have been again and again reprinted in large numbers by Mr. Bowyer¹. Collected they form four duodecimo volumes. Of the author it has been said, that his life was as exemplary as his writings were instructive; and that what he wrote, he believed, and what he believed, he practised.

His character.

The see of Tuam, vacated by Archbishop Synge, was filled by the translation of Bishop Hort from Kilmore, with allowance to retain Ardagh *in commendam*. At his primary visitation, the next year, he delivered a charge, or instructions, to his clergy, which he afterwards published, and which have been esteemed so highly, that they were included in a volume of pastoral advices to the clergy, printed by the delegates of the Clarendon Press, Oxford, in 1807, under the title of *The Clergyman's Instructor*. Not long before his translation, namely, in 1738, Bishop Hort had published an octavo volume of sixteen sermons, which have been described as judicious and impressive; by the preface to which we are informed, that, for many years previous to its appearance from the press, he had been disabled from

Promotion of Bishop Hort to the archbishoprick.

His instructions to his clergy.

¹ Vol. i., p. 379.

His sermons.

Loss of his voice.

preaching by an overstrain of the voice in the pulpit, at a time when he had a cold with a hoarseness upon him. "The providence of God," he says, "having taken from him the power of discharging that part of his episcopal office which consisted in preaching, he thought it incumbent on him to convey his thoughts and instructions from the press, that he might not be useless. The solemn promise that he made at his consecration, to exercise himself in the Holy Scriptures, so as to be able by them to teach and exhort with wholesome doctrine, was no small motive to that undertaking, as being the only means left him for making good that promise." It is probable, however, that the loss of which he here speaks, as caused by an overstraining of the voice in the pulpit, was the repetition of an earlier privation; for, in a letter of March, 1724, Bishop Downes thus writes to Bishop Nicholson, with reference to Bishop Hort, at that time in the see of Ferns and Leighlin. "Our brother, Ferns, who is now upon his visitation, on the road calling somewhat louder than usual to his man that rode by to come up to him, quite lost his voice, and has not yet recovered it; so that he will be able only to make signs or whisper to his clergy²."

Cessation of
Primate Boulter's
Letters.

Of the circumstances of these episcopal appointments no information is given by Archbishop Boulter's *Letters*, nor, indeed, of any other ecclesiastical occurrence, later than the contest about the tythe of agistment; except that, in a letter of April 12, 1738, to the Bishop of London, there is a brief allusion to a curate in the primate's diocese, placed there by his predecessor, but whom the primate

² NICHOLSON'S *Letters*, ii., 566.

judged himself under a necessity of dismissing from the cure, because he was not able to prove, by sufficient evidence, his assertion, that he had been ordained by a deprived bishop in Scotland; an incident which I notice, because it seems to show, that such ordination, if attested by sufficient evidence, was accounted at the time a qualification for the ministry in the Church of Ireland, or, as may also be collected from the letter, in the West Indies, or any of the British plantations. Four or five additional letters complete the collection, which is terminated before the close of the year 1738, though the primate's life was prolonged till the autumn of 1742. On the 2nd of June, in that year, he embarked for England, and proceeded to London, where he was seized with an illness, which, after two days, terminated fatally on the 27th of September, in the seventy-first year of his age, the twenty-fourth of his episcopate, and the nineteenth of his primacy over the Irish Church.

His death, Sept.
27, 1742.

During that course of years, he appears to have enjoyed the confidence of two successive sovereigns, of the English ministry, and of the viceroys of Ireland, and was thirteen times entrusted with the administration of Irish affairs in the quality of one of the lords justices. This appointment, and the duties necessarily attached to it; the efforts requisite for maintaining the reigning family in possession of the crown; the pretensions to it still asserted by the exiled descendants of the house of Stuart; the parties consequent thereupon in the State, and their struggles for pre-eminence; caused the primate to bear a twofold character, of which the ecclesiastical features were less strongly marked than the political, and induced him to use his influence for placing in

His occupations
and character.

His rule in ecclesiastical patronage.

the high and responsible stations of the Church men distinguished for their zealous attachment to the house of Hanover, rather than for their professional merits. With this view, as it was from the first his avowed object to support the English interest, so he constantly pursued it, being studious to keep up, as far as possible, an equality of English bishops on the bench ; and, as he was seconded in that object by the English government, of about fourteen consecrations to the Irish episcopate, which occurred during Archbishop Boulter's primacy, rather more than a moiety was of persons of English birth.

Question as to its fitness.

Whether to allow that predominant and prime influence, which seems to have been allowed by the primate, to political considerations, and to treat professional worthiness as a secondary and subordinate qualification, was a proper and wise exercise of ecclesiastical patronage, and calculated to raise the character and increase the efficiency of the Church, and thereby to promote true Christianity throughout the kingdom, is a question which I am not prepared to answer in the affirmative. To me, indeed, this course of proceeding appears less to deserve commendation than to need apology. That the primate acted honestly in the way which he thought for the best I make no question ; but the doubt is, whether he acted on the best principle. In one respect, however, he evidently is entitled to high commendation ; namely, that the property which he derived from the Church he employed freely, bountifully, and beneficially for the Church's purposes. Besides numerous other charitable uses of a secular kind, to which he devoted it both in England and in Ireland, the following ecclesiastical benefactions especially call for notice in the present work. The cure of the

Beneficial appropriation of his property.

city of Armagh being too burdensome for the regular ministerial provision, he placed in it an additional curate, with an especial obligation that he should celebrate divine service every Sunday afternoon, and read prayers twice every day. To several of his clergy, who were incapable of giving their children a proper education, he supplied means for maintaining their sons in the university, and thus qualifying them for future preferment. Both at Armagh and at Drogheda he built houses for the widows of clergymen, and purchased estates for endowing them with annual allowances. To the Protestant Charter Schools, which, although he did not institute himself, he was mainly instrumental in establishing, he contributed considerable pecuniary assistance during his life, though the fact of his having made his will before their institution, and in the end his sudden dissolution, prevented his conferring on them any post-obituary benefactions. The bulk of his property, after a suitable provision for his widow during her life, and a few testamentary bequests, was appropriated, to an amount exceeding 30,000*l.*, to the purchase of glebes for the clergy, and the augmentation and improvement of small benefices; an appropriation which, as it has been most usefully employed under the direction of the act of 29 George II., c. 10, enacted for the purpose, so has it contributed to the comfort, and respectability, and usefulness of many of the clergy, and deserves to be cherished in perpetual and grateful remembrance by every member of the Church of Ireland.

His local charities.

Fund for augmenting small benefices.

The active life of Archbishop Boulter left him little leisure for literary composition. Twelve occasional sermons and a few visitation charges, one of which, delivered at his primary visitation of Armagh,

His literary productions.

His letters.

has already fallen under our notice, are said to be the whole of his publications. His letters, which are evidently, as the editor of them states, entirely letters of business, were written, as occasion required, to different officers of state and principal churchmen in England, and have no pretensions to be regarded as specimens of literary talent. They are valuable as authentick memoirs of Irish history during his primacy: and the originals, which are in the library of Christ Church, Oxford, are vouched to be genuine, as being in the hand-writing of the archbishop, or of his secretary, Ambrose Philips, Esq., by whom they were collected, and who had lived in his Grace's house as his secretary during the space of time in which they bear date.

Notice of his
secretary,
Ambrose Philips.

Of the connection which subsisted between the primate and his secretary, a few words may be here inserted. Ambrose Philips, one of the English poets included in Dr. Johnson's collection, and as such commemorated by the great biographer, was engaged in a paper, his "happiest undertaking," as Dr. Johnson describes it, called the *Freethinker*, in conjunction with Dr. Boulter, "who, then only minister of a parish in Southwark, was of so much consequence to the government, that he was made first Bishop of Bristol, and afterwards Primate of Ireland, where his piety and charity will be long honoured." Dr. Johnson seems not to have been aware either of the archidiaconal dignity of Boulter, or of his position in immediate connection with royalty, as preceptor of the young prince, when he made the foregoing observation. It is, however, rather for the sake of what follows that this reference has been introduced. "It may be easily imagined," continues the narrative, "that what was

Dr Johnson's
remarks on them.

printed under the direction of Boulter would have nothing in it indecent or licentious; its title is to be understood as implying only freedom from unreasonable prejudice. It has been reprinted in volumes, but is little read, nor can impartial criticism recommend it as worthy of revival. Boulter was not well qualified to write diurnal essays; but he knew how to practise the liberality of greatness, and the fidelity of friendship. When he was advanced to the height of ecclesiastical dignity, he did not forget the companion of his labours. Knowing Philips to be slenderly supported, he took him to Ireland, as partaker of his fortune, and, making him his secretary, added such preferments as enabled him to represent the county," he should have said the borough, "of Armagh in the Irish parliament. In December, 1726, he was made secretary to the lord chancellor, and in August, 1733, became judge of the prerogative court."

At about the same period at which we are deprived of the benefit of Archbishop Boulter's letters, we lose assistance from the writings of Dean Swift also, both his epistolary correspondence and his occasional pamphlets, as well as from Mr. Harris's edition of Sir JAMES WARE'S *Bishops of Ireland*, which was carried down to the date of its publication in 1739, two or three years before the death of the primate. This may be a convenient season, therefore, for collecting several scattered pieces of information which have not fallen within the scope of the preceding narrative.

Close of information from Dean Swift and Mr. Harris.

General remarks.

The principle of elevating clergymen to the Irish episcopate, chiefly on account of their political

Motives to episcopal appointments.

attachments, has been already mentioned as deduced from Archbishop Boulter's letters. The application of that principle to the preferment, both of the bishops and of the clergy in general, and the extent to which it was carried, is broadly stated by Dean Swift, whose testimony, being that of a partisan on the other side, should be received with caution; yet I am not aware of any evidence in the primate's correspondence, or elsewhere, to controvert or invalidate the position concerning the clergy, "from the highest prelate to the lowest vicar;" namely, that "there were hardly ten clergymen throughout the whole kingdom, for more than nineteen years preceeding 1733, who had not been either preferred entirely upon account of their declared affection to the Hanover line, or higher promoted as the due reward of the same merit³."

Political attachments.

With zeal for the House of Hanover, was coupled, according to the same authority, "abhorrence of the Pretender, and an implicit readiness to fall into any measures that would make the government easy to those who represented his Majesty's person; a character, also, of having most distinguished themselves by their warmth against Popery, their great indulgence to dissenters, and all true loyal Protestants⁴."

Intellectual and moral qualifications.

The dean speaks in a tone of depreciation of the intellectual and moral characters of those who were thus preferred: "If," he says, "the general impartial character of persons chosen into the Church had been more regarded, and the motive of party, alliance, kindred, flatterers, ill judgment, or personal favour, regarded less, there would be fewer complaints of non-residence, want of care, blameable

³ SWIFT'S *Works*, viii., p. 472.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 432.

behaviour, or any other part of misconduct, not to mention ignorance and stupidity⁵." But observations such as these, from that quarter, cannot be safely entertained without qualification; for, not to impeach the sincerity of the writer, few men have betrayed in their writings more palpable marks of a party spirit, or have been less chastised in their language of censure and condemnation.

The bishops, at the time under review, appear to have been desirous of correcting an evil, which, in relation to themselves, had been growing up out of the commotions and wars that had in the last century agitated and distracted the country. By these most of the bishops' palaces had been involved in ruin or destruction. But advantage was now taken of the facilities afforded by acts of parliament in the tenth of King William III., and in subsequent reigns, for that purpose. So that before the publication of HARRIS'S *History*, in 1739, partly with the assistance furnished by those statutes, and partly through the gratuitous exertions of the several bishops, in more than half of the Irish dioceses the episcopal residences are reported by that historian to have been rebuilt, or repaired and improved, by their respective possessors at a large pecuniary expence.

Restoration of
episcopal resi-
dences.

The value of some of the bishopricks at this time is incidentally noticed by Archbishop Boulter. The bishoprick of Kilmore he reports as better than 2000*l.* a year, and that of Derry as 200*l.* more. Kildare, with its constant and necessary appendage of the deanery of Christ Church, as worth 1600*l.*, and Ferns and Leighlin as of about the same value. Of Clonfert he speaks in one place as worth better than 1200*l.*, and in another as 1500*l.*, or hardly 100*l.*

Value of the
bishopricks.

⁵ SWIFT'S *Works*, viii., p. 422.

less than Ferns. Killala he supposes to be worth full 1100*l.*, “no contemptible thing in this country⁶.” With some of the sees it was judged requisite to grant commendams, as in the case of Cloyne⁷.

Dean and chapter
lands.

Deaneries.

The sacrilegious robberies, encouraged by the succession of confusion and war, had despoiled the Church of the dean and chapter lands, so that little property of that kind remained in Ireland: and ecclesiastical dignities were supported by means of the tythes of parishes appropriated to them. The deaneries of Derry, Down, and Raphoe, were the only opulent deaneries in the whole kingdom: of the first of which the revenue is said by Dean Swift to have exceeded that of some bishopricks⁸. The others were of much less, and some of them of very small value. The deanery of Kilmore is said, by Archbishop Boulter, to have been reckoned worth 300*l.* a year: that of Kilmacduagh was estimated at about 120*l.* or 140*l.* The deanery of Killaloe, to which four small sinecures were united, produced on an incumbency lease about 120*l.*, but was supposed to be worth about 300*l.* The deanery of St. Patrick’s appears to have been of at least double that value⁹: but, when given to Swift, he doubted its being worth more than 400*l.*¹⁰.

Value of paro-
chial benefices.

Several livings are noticed by the primate as at the disposal of the government, varying from 80*l.* to about 300*l.* But of whatever nominal value was a benefice, its profits were precarious and uncertain, collected, in Dean Swift’s language, “from a miserable race of beggarly farmers, at whose mercy every minister lay to be defrauded¹¹.” “There are not ten

⁶ BOULTER’S *Letters*, i., pp. 94, 111, 120; ii., pp. 100, 102.

⁷ *Ibid.*, i., p. 81.

⁸ SWIFT’S *Works*, viii., p. 438.

⁹ BOULTER’S *Letters*, ii., p. 95, 24; i., p. 73, 82.

¹⁰ SWIFT’S *Works*, xv., p. 426.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, viii., p. 416.

clergymen," he observes elsewhere, "reputed to possess a parish of 100*l.* a year, who for some years past have received 60*l.*, and that with the utmost difficulty and vexation¹²." "It is well known and allowed, that the clergy round the kingdom think themselves well treated if they lose only one single third of their legal demands¹³." And, "There is not a landlord in the whole kingdom, residing some part of the year at his country seat, who is not, in his own conscience, fully convinced that the tythes of his minister have gradually sunk for some years past one third, or at least one fourth, of their former value, exclusive of all non-solvencies. The payment of tythes in this kingdom is subject to so many frauds, brangles, and other difficulties, not only from Papists and dissenters, but even from those who profess themselves Protestants; that by the expence, the trouble, and vexation of collecting or bargaining for them, they are, of all other rents, the most precarious, uncertain, and ill paid. The landlords in most parishes expect, as a compliment, that they shall pay little more than half the value of the tythes for the lands they hold in their own hands, which often consist of large domains; and it is the minister's interest to make them easy upon that article, when he considers what influence those gentlemen have upon their tenants¹⁴."

Frauds and impositions on the clergy.

Confirmative of this is the archbishop's assurance to the Bishop of London¹⁵, that, "at every visitation I have held here, which is annually, the clergy have made as great complaints of the hardships put upon them by the people in getting in their tythes, especially their small dues, as the people can of any

Their hardships.

¹² SWIFT'S *Works*, viii., p. 419.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 421.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 473.

¹⁵ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 232.

oppression from the clergy. And, to my knowledge, many of them have chose rather to lose their small dues than to be at a certain great expence in getting them, and at an uncertainty whether the farmer would not at last run away, without paying anything. And I can affirm to your Lordship, that the laity here are as troublesome and vexatious as they can be in England, and from time to time fight a cause of no great value through the bishop's court, then through the archbishop's, and thence to the delegates, where the clergy sue for what is most evidently their due. I would not be understood by this to deny that any clergyman or farmer of tythes ever did a hard thing by the people; but that there is not frequent occasion of complaint against them."

Their condition
as to residence.

The condition of the clergy, with respect to their means of residing on their benefices, was one of great hardship, and productive of much mischief. "We have in this kingdom," says Archbishop Boulter¹⁶, "but about six hundred incumbents, and, I fear, three thousand Popish priests; and the bulk of our clergy have neither parsonage-houses nor glebes, and yet, till we can get more churches or chapels, and more resident clergymen, instead of getting ground of the Papists, we must lose to them, as, in fact, we do in many places, the descendants of many of Cromwell's officers and soldiers here being gone off to Popery."

Spoilation of
their glebes.

"The greatest part of the clergy," observes Dean Swift¹⁷, "throughout this kingdom, have been stripped of their glebes, by the confusion of times,

¹⁶ BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 179.

¹⁷ SWIFT'S *Works*, viii., p. 474.

by violence, fraud, oppression, and other unlawful means, all which glebes are now in the hands of the laity; so that they now are generally forced to lie at the mercy of landlords for a small piece of ground in their parishes, at a most exorbitant rent, and usually for a short term of years, whereupon to build a house, and enable them to reside. Yet, in spite of these disadvantages, I am a witness, that they are generally more constant residents than their brethren in England, where the meanest vicar has a convenient dwelling, with a barn, a garden, and a field or two for his cattle, beside the certainty of his little income from honest farmers."

He elsewhere says¹⁸, that "he does not by any means conceive the crying sin of the clergy in this kingdom to be that of non-residence. I am sure it is many degrees less so here than in England, unless the possession of pluralities may pass under that name; and if this be a fault, it is well known to whom it must be imputed. I believe, upon a fair inquiry, and I hear an inquiry is to be made, they will appear to be most pardonably few, especially considering how many parishes have not an inch of glebe, and how difficult it is, upon any reasonable terms, to find a place of habitation."

Non-residence
not their crying
sin.

But, wherever the fault lay, pluralities seem to have existed to a considerable extent: and these, as well as the parochial unions, must have operated powerfully in diminishing the efficiency of the Church, and obstructing the religious edification of the people. The existence of this evil, indeed, appears to have been sensibly felt by the primate, and to have given occasion for legislative measures, to which our attention has been already directed.

Evil of
pluralities.

¹⁸ SWIFT'S *Works*, viii., p. 428.

Want of
churches.

Exemplified in
three southern
dioceses.

Of one of the evils, alluded to in the foregoing extracts, and which has been repeatedly noticed in these pages as afflicting and depressing the Irish Church, a remarkable example was about this time furnished, in a limited district indeed, but to a great and painful extent: I mean the want of edifices for publick religious worship. In the year 1746 was published SMITH'S *History of Waterford*, which was followed in 1750 and 1756 respectively by similar accounts of Cork and Kerry. These volumes comprise a view of the ecclesiastical condition of the several counties; and from them I abstract the following tabular sketch of the churches, in repair and in ruins, as at that time existing in the dioceses of Waterford and Lismore, of Cork and Ross, of Cloyne, and of Ardfert and Aghadoe.

Diocese of	Churches in repair.	Churches in ruins.
Waterford	9	22
Lismore	14	49
Cork	30	46
Ross	11	21
Cloyne	47	22
Ardfert and Aghadoe .	15	54
	<hr/> 126	<hr/> 214

Disproportion of
churches in and
out of repair.

Thus in the dioceses which extended over the above-mentioned counties of Waterford, Cork, and Kerry, the churches in ruins exceeded those in repair, after the rate of about 12 to 7; or, deducting the single diocese of Cloyne, where only the buildings fit for Divine service preponderated, after the rate of about 8 to 3: leaving respectively for the worship of the Church, in the former case 126 instead of 340, and in the latter 79 instead of 271; that is, in the former between a third and fourth part, and in the latter between a fourth and fifth, of

what had been by the law assigned as proper accommodation for the publick worship of the Church.

How far the foregoing statement may serve as a criterion for the parochial provisions in other dioceses at that period, I have not met with documents which enable me to say. In his history, indeed, of the County of Down, published about the same period as the foregoing histories of Smith, namely in 1744, Harris enumerates in that county forty-two parishes, as being in the diocese of Down, and twenty-one in that of Dromore; and observes, "The parishes, that are numbered here, lye in the county of Down, and have churches erected in them." But I hesitate in believing all those churches to have been in sufficient repair: and at the same time I incline to fear, that the ecclesiastical condition of the three southern counties was not unparalleled in other parts of the kingdom.

Statement of
County of Down.

The evil consequences of such a want of religious edifices, on the maintenance and propagation of the faith and worship of the Church, must be obvious. And to this, in co-operation with the want of parochial residences, must, together with other evils, be attributed that anomaly in the Church of Ireland, which is unknown to the law, but which has been familiarly known amongst ecclesiasticks, by the technical name of non-cures: a species of benefice, whereby an incumbent having been instituted to a parish with cure of souls, but having no place of parochial residence, nor any place for the publick discharge of his ministry, was wont to consider himself as exempt from all personal attendance on his cure, and to abandon his charge altogether to such ministerial aid as could be procured from the casual and voluntary services of some neighbouring clergyman.

Non-cures, benefices so called.

Effect of clerical
exertion.

What may have been the religious condition of the members of the Church in parishes, where the legal provision for ministerial instruction and divine worship was duly supplied, documents are not at hand for our information. One example, however, of a parish, which was partially recovered from a state of spiritual desolation by the zealous and indefatigable exertions of its pastor, is related in Mr. Burdy's *Life of the Reverend Philip Skelton*: and, although particular cases cannot be reasonably or safely taken for the ground of general conclusions, such cases ought not to be passed without notice in historical investigations.

Notice of the
Rev. Philip
Skelton, 1750.

In 1750, Mr. Skelton, who had for several years laboured diligently as a curate in the diocese of Clogher, was collated by his diocesan, Bishop Clayton, to the benefice of Templecam, or, as it is commonly called, Pettigo, according to the Irish custom of giving to a parish the popular name of the town or village where the church is situated. The village lies on the extremity of the counties of Donegal and Fermanagh, which are there separated by a small river running through it: the parish extended fifteen miles in length, and ten in breadth, over the adjacent county of Donegal, in a district which was mostly wild, rocky, mountainous, and covered over with heath. The nature of the people resembled that of the soil: they were rough, uncultivated, and disorderly; addicted withal to drinking, quarrelling, and fighting. As to their religion, they were sunk in profound ignorance. On a view of their manners, it was hardly to be supposed that they were born and bred in a Christian country, yet many of them were nominally Protestants. Mr. Skelton declared they scarce knew more of the

Character of his
parishioners.

gospel, than the Indians of America; so that he considered himself as a missionary sent to convert them to Christianity. Of the use of books they were for the most part ignorant; and their chief study was the supply of their natural wants and the indulgence of their gross appetites.

For the instruction and improvement of these poor people, committed to his spiritual charge, a wide field was open to their new pastor, who failed not to enter on it immediately. He visited them from house to house: he taught them early and late: he told them of Jesus Christ who died for their sins, whose name some of them had scarcely heard of before. In passing through the parish, he noted the names of the children, whom he desired the parents to send to church for instruction in the catechism, which he explained, throughout the summer season, on Sundays, before all the people, both young and old, a more pleasing, as well as a more profitable exercise, than a sermon. And thus, by extraordinary diligence, and by means of lectures and admonitions both publick and private, he is said to have brought these uncultivated people to believe in a God who made them, and in a Saviour who redeemed them.

His efforts for
their instruction
and improve-
ment.

It should seem, however, that his efforts to improve the morals of the people were attended with only partial success. The practice of illicit distillation, and the consequent plenty and cheapness of ardent spirits, caused drunkenness to prevail, not only amongst the Popish population of the parish, but also amongst those who called themselves Protestants. Mr. Skelton earnestly strove to withdraw them from this vice: to private remonstrances and solicitations he added publick admonitions; and a

Partially success-
ful.

very impressive sermon, intituled, *Woe to the Drunkard*, which he delivered from his pulpit, still remains among his works, a testimony of his fervid zeal for their reformation. Yet his advice and preaching are confessed by his biographer to have produced in this instance but little improvement; though some of his immediate flock may probably in some degree have been reclaimed by him from habits of brutish intoxication.

Want of religious instruction in higher ranks.

Mr. Skelton's biographer relates an anecdote, in connection with his ministry in the parish of Pettigo, which serves to show a want of due religious instruction in the higher, as well as the lower, ranks of the community. The residence of one of his parishioners, Sir James Caldwell, being at the extremity of the parish, it was the practice of Mr. Skelton to officiate once in the month, on a Sunday, in that gentleman's parlour, where he had a tolerable congregation. It was part of his system of parochial instruction to examine the people publicly in religion. This practice, which he followed at his lectures in the church, he introduced also into this assembly at Sir James Caldwell's; and "was once examining some persons of quality there, when one of them told him there were two Gods, and another three Gods, and so on. Such," observes the narrator, "was their ignorance."

Mr. Skelton's account of Lough-Dearg.

It may be here noticed incidentally, that in the parish of Pettigo, about three miles from the little village, is Lough-Dearg, of which, and of the resort of pilgrims to Patrick's Purgatory contained in it, I have already had occasion to give some account. The superstitious usages, related in detail by Mr. Richardson, and of which an abstract has been inserted in this narrative, were practised after the

same manner in the time of Mr. Skelton, who wrote a letter on the subject to his diocesan, which at first made its way into the newspapers without a name, but was afterwards claimed by the author as his property, and included in a publication of his works. From the 12th of May to the latter end of August the village was crowded with pilgrims on their passage to or from this place of superstitious resort: and the publicans throve on the demand for spirituous liquors, which animated the visitants in supporting the labour of their pilgrimage.

SECTION VII.

Archbishop Hoadly raised to the Primacy. Other Episcopal appointments. Death and Character of Archbishop Bolton. His care for the Cathedral of Cashel. Act of Parliament for removing the Cathedral. Delay in rebuilding it. Consequences of Archbishop Price's translation. Act of 21 Geo. II., c. 8, concerning Cathedrals. Cashel alone affected by it. Death of Bishop Stearne. His benefactions to the Church. His examination of Candidates for Holy Orders. His "Visitation of the Sick." Reported conversation between him and Bishop Sherlock. Appearance of Methodism in Ireland. Rev. J. Wesley's visits. His interview with Archbishop Cobbe. Conduct of the Bishops. Clergy occasionally present at his preaching: opposed or encouraged him. Methodist Societies in various places. His attendance on the Church Service. His visit to towns in the North.

THE primacy, which had been vacated by the death of Archbishop Boulter, was filled after a very short interval by the translation of Archbishop Hoadly from Dublin to Armagh: the death of the former having occurred on the 27th of September, 1742, and the letters-patent for the appointment of the successor being dated on the 21st of the ensuing

Archbishop
Hoadly raised to
the primacy,

Oct. 21. 1742.

October. A short memoir of him in a note appended to a life of his brother Benjamin, the well-known Bishop of Winchester, in the folio edition of the works of the latter, mentions, that on Primate Boulter's death, the Duke of Devonshire, the lord lieutenant, had made all solicitations needless within an hour after the news arrived: his expression to the king with respect to Archbishop Hoadly was, "that he could not do without him;" and he was accordingly appointed Archbishop of Armagh, and metropolitan and primate of all Ireland. The translation of Bishop Cobbe from Kildare filled the archiepiscopal see of Dublin in March, 1743: and in the same month Bishop Stone was translated to the see of Kildare, from that of Ferns and Leighlin, which was immediately conferred on Dr. William Cotterell, dean of Raphoe.

Other episcopal preferments.

In the same year, 1743, the death of Bishop Rundle gave occasion for the translation of Bishop Reynell from the see of Down and Connor, to that of Derry; as in the January of the following year, the death of Archbishop Bolton occasioned the translation of Bishop Price from the bishoprick of Meath to the archbishoprick of Cashel, and of Bishop Maule from Dromore to Meath. These changes were not accomplished by the issuing of the letters-patent till the month of May.

Death and character of Archbishop Bolton.

Of Archbishop Bolton, whose death is here noticed, there has been mention made in the course of this narrative, as a person distinguished for his eloquence and his acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, and as having taken a lead in politicks, opposed to the sentiments of Primate Boulter, and favourable to the Irish as contradistinguished from the English interest. A manuscript note to Mr. Cooper's copy

of WARE's *Bishops*, says, that "He was learned, polite, and affable, very hospitable, and a great improver of lands, by draining large and useless bogs, and turning them to pasture and tillage: but all his virtues were sullied by ambition, which was his reigning passion, and to gratify which, he used such methods as brought him under great contempt some years before he died." It is added, on the same authority, that "he built a library at Cashel for the use of his diocese, and bequeathed to it a noble collection of books, to the number of 8000 volumes."

It were too strict to interpret by the letter the playful effusions of epistolary correspondence; otherwise the following extract would impress the reader with no favourable opinion either of the archbishop's professional character, or of that of the Irish contemporary hierarchy: "I have but one troublesome affair now upon my hands, which by the help of the prime sergeant, I hope soon to get rid of; and then you shall see me a true Irish bishop. Sir James Ware has made a very useful collection of the memorable actions of all my predecessors. He tells us they were born in such a town of England or Ireland; were consecrated in such a year; and, if not translated, were buried in their cathedral church, either on the north or south side. Whence I conclude, that a good bishop has nothing more to do than to eat, drink, grow fat, rich, and die; which laudable example I propose for the remainder of my life to follow¹."

His account of
Ware's History of
the Irish bishops.

Of his episcopal merits or demerits, however, there is little recorded. But there is one circumstance in his life, which entitles him to the respectful commemoration of those who take an interest in the

His care for the
cathedral of
Cashel.

¹ SWIFT's *Works*, xiii., p. 198.

ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland. The cathedral of Cashel, eminently and conspicuously situated on a rock without the walls of the city, justly lays claim to a high antiquity. The chapel, which bore the name of Cormack, was probably constructed by that renowned personage, King of Munster and Bishop of Cashel, in the tenth century. The larger portion of the edifice seems to have been built in the twelfth century, and to have been further improved about two hundred years later. Its style of architecture was honourable to the taste, the skill, and the munificence of those who founded and enlarged it. The position of the cathedral, difficult as it was of access on a steep and rocky eminence, and falling from the lapse of centuries into decay, excited the interest of Archbishop Bolton, who, within a few years of his translation, thus described his views and operations in a letter to Dean Swift, of April 7, 1735²:

His letter to
Dean Swift, April
7, 1735.

“I am now wholly employed in digging up rocks, and making the way easier to the church; which if I can succeed in, I design to repair a very venerable old fabrick, that was built here in the time of our ignorant, as we are pleased to call them, ancestors. I wish this age had a little of their piety, though we gave up, instead of it, some of our immense erudition. What if you spent a fortnight here this summer? I have laid aside all my country politicks, sheriffs’ elections, feasts, &c.; and I fancy it would not be disagreeable to you to see King Cormack’s chapel, his bed-chamber, &c., all built, beyond controversy, above eight hundred years ago, when he was king as well as archbishop. I really intend to lay out a thousand pounds to preserve this old church: and I am sure you would be of service to posterity, if you assisted me in the doing of it.”

Act of parliament for removing the cathedral.

To what extent Archbishop Bolton succeeded in

² SWIFT’S *Works*, xiii., p. 171.

accomplishing his purpose, does not appear. Probably his power fell short of his inclination. At all events his successor was either not actuated by the same spirit, or saw cause to abandon the undertaking. For he procured an act of council, authorizing him to remove the cathedral from the rock of Cashel into the town, and to unite it with St. John's parish. The soldiers of the 22nd regiment of foot, quartered in the town, were employed to strip off the roof: and the noble and venerable pile soon went to ruin. The power of destruction, however, seems to have been more prompt and effective than that of re-edification. For Dr. Campbell, who travelled through the south of Ireland, and wrote his *Philosophical Survey*, in 1775, thus describes the condition of Cashel: "There is not even a roofed church in this metropolis (Cashel); the service being performed in a sorry room, where country courts are held. The choir of the cathedral was kept in repair, and used as a parish church, till within thirty years; but the situation not being accessible enough, which, however, 20% would have rendered so, the roof was wantonly pulled down, an act of parliament and a grant of money being first obtained, to change the site of the cathedral from the rock to the town. A new church, of ninety feet by forty-five, was accordingly begun, and raised as high as the wall plates. But in that state it has stood for near twenty years³."

. . . "The congregation," he adds, "was thin; composed of some well-dressed women, some half dozen boys, and perhaps half a score of foot soldiers."

Archbishop Price, it seems, whilst Bishop of Meath, had been employed in building an episcopal residence at Ardbraccan, in pursuance of the design of

Delay in rebuilding it.

Consequences of Archbishop Price's translation.

³ CAMPBELL'S *Philosophical Survey*, p. 129.

his predecessor, Bishop Evans. The offices he built in a handsome manner, and completed them, that they might serve for wings to the principal building, which not being raised before his translation to Cashel, his successor, Bishop Maule, converted one of them into a dwelling-house. A MS. note in Mr. Cooper's copy of Ware, mentions the fact, and adds, "It were much to be wished that he had never quitted Meath, and then the house of Ardraccan would have been completed; and the noble, the venerable cathedral of Cashel would have escaped his destructive hand."

Act of 21 George
II., c. 8, concern-
ing cathedrals.

Preamble of act.

The act of council which authorised this proceeding was passed on the 10th of July, 1749. It was based upon an act of parliament passed in the year 1747, being the twenty-first of King George II., chap. 8, which recites, as the reasons for the enactment, that "in several dioceses of this kingdom cathedral churches are so incommodiously situated, that they cannot be conveniently resorted to for divine service; by reason whereof they for some years past have had no divine service celebrated in them, and therefore have been suffered to go to ruin and decay:" that "there is no likelihood of their being ever repaired, as well by reason of their said incommodious situation, as because they have no fund belonging to them sufficient thereto:" and that "there are parish churches which lie near such cathedral churches, which may be conveniently used both as cathedral and parochial churches, and made sufficient to answer the uses and purposes of such cathedral churches." For these reasons power was given to the chief governour, with the assent of the privy council, with the advice and approbation of the archbishop, bishop, and dean and chapter, and

Power given
by it to chief
governour.

with the consent of the parochial incumbent and parishioners, to remove the site of a cathedral church to some convenient parochial church, and to make such parochial church both cathedral and parochial. Other enactments were added, distributing the future repairs of the new cathedral and parochial church between the chapter and the parish; and providing that the old cathedral church or churchyard should be kept enclosed and apart from profane uses by sufficient fences, at the charge of the dean and chapter.

This act of parliament alludes, as may have been noticed, to the incommodious situation and decayed condition of "cathedral churches in several dioceses of the kingdom." It should seem, however, to have been enacted with a view to one in particular. At least, whatever may have been the actual state of others, the cathedral church of Cashel was the only one that was removed by virtue of this act, there being no record of any other in the archives of the privy council.

Cashel cathedral alone affected by it.

This act also gave power to the chief governour, with the assent of a majority of the council, and with the consent of the archbishop, bishop, and other patrons and incumbents, for disappropriating benefices belonging to deans, archdeacons, dignitaries, and other members of cathedral churches, and for appropriating others in their stead.

Power of disappropriating benefices.

It was somewhat earlier than the date lately mentioned, namely, in 1745, that the Church of Ireland was deprived of one of her most munificent prelates in Stearne, bishop of Clogher, who died on the 6th of June in that year, at the advanced age of eighty-five years. His generosity, hospitality, and

Death of Bishop Stearne, 1745.

charity are said to have been unbounded; and he stands on record as a liberal benefactor, either during his life, or by his will, to almost every institution of publick utility⁴. Those benefits which he conferred on the Church, thus endeavouring to return in a degree the advantages which he derived from it, require to be specially noted in this narrative.

His benefactions
to the Church;

The episcopal mansion-houses of Dromore and Clogher, as well as the deanery-house of St. Patrick's, were entirely rebuilt by him. Towards finishing the cathedral church of Clogher, if not finished by himself in his life-time, he bequeathed 1500*l.* or 2000*l.*, to be determined by his executors; and towards building a spire on the steeple of St. Patrick's cathedral he left 1000*l.*, provided the work should be seriously undertaken within six years of his decease. To explain the catechism twice a week in the city of Dublin, he bequeathed an annual salary of 80*l.* for a catechist, to be chosen every three years by the beneficed clergy, and 40*l.* for a clergyman to officiate regularly in Dr. Stevens's hospital. To these may be added, a donation of 400*l.* to the Blue-coat Hospital for the education of poor children; and a bequest of 100*l.* a year for apprenticing

To the university;

children of decayed clergymen. Ten exhibitions, of 50*l.* each a year, entrusted to the provost and senior fellows of Trinity, testified his desire of encouraging education in sound religion and useful learning; which was further shown by a donation of 1000*l.* to the university, for building a printing-house, and 200*l.* more for the purchase of types. To the university also, of which he was vice-chancellor, he presented his valuable collection of manuscripts. His books, such of them as were not already in Primate

⁴ Mason's *St. Patrick's*, p. 222.

Marsh's library, he left to increase that collection ; and the remainder to be sold, and the purchase-money distributed among the curates of the diocese of Clogher ; at whose request, however, the books themselves were by the bishop's executors divided amongst them. To purchase glebes and impropriations for resident incumbents he gave 2000*l.* to the trustees of the first-fruits, providing against the entire waste of the principal sum, by allowing only one-third of the purchased tythes to the incumbent, until the residue had replaced the principal sum expended.

To the clergy.

"Such acts as these," it hath been well observed, "confer honour on our Protestant prelates." Bishop Stearne was memorable also for the care with which he examined his candidates for holy orders, submitting them to a week's previous trial in Latin, in which language the whole of his intercourse with them on that occasion appears to have been conducted. His own talent of Latin composition was eminent, distinguished as he was, according to the testimony of Mr. Harris⁵, his contemporary, for the extent and copiousness of his literature, and the sharpness and readiness of his intellect. He chose that language for the vehicle of his sentiments on the visitation of the sick, or the duties of parochial ministers towards the sick and dying, which he published in a treatise, for the benefit of the younger and less experienced clergy, at Dublin, in 1697 ; a treatise which Dean Stanhope recommended to a young clergyman, as calculated to be of assistance in forming a habit of ready and free conversation with the sick ; and which is characterised in NICHOLS's *Literary Anecdotes* as "short, indeed, but comprehensive, and valuably useful⁶;" and which was judged, by the

His examination of candidates for holy orders.

His skill in Latin composition.

His Treatise on the Visitation of the Sick.

⁵ WARE's *Bishops*.

⁶ Vol. iv., p. 170.

delegates of the Clarendon Press, in 1807, worthy of being reprinted amongst other "more scarce or eminent treatises of our English divines," for the assistance of the parochial clergy, in a valuable volume, intituled *The Clergyman's Instructor*. For a sermon in the same language, delivered before the archbishops, bishops, and clergy of the Lower House of Convocation of the Church of Ireland, in the cathedral of St. Patrick's, Dublin, in February, 1703, he received the thanks of the Lower House.

Report of a conversation between him and the Bishop of London.

Mr. Burdy, in his *Life of the Rev. Philip Skelton*, has mentioned an anecdote concerning his work on *Deism Revealed*: that a few months after its publication, the Bishop of London, Dr. Sherlock, asked Bishop Stearne if he knew the author of this book; and on being answered, that "he had been a curate in the diocese of Clogher near twenty years," he replied, "More shame for your Lordship, to let a man of his merit continue so long a curate in your diocese." Of the genuineness of this anecdote we are not informed: supposing it to be correctly told, I venture to observe, that the Bishop of Clogher was as well qualified to judge of the merit and claims of a curate in his diocese, as was the Bishop of London. The foregoing statement of his benefactions is a proof that he was not indifferent to the promotion of religion, or the well-being of the Church. And, notwithstanding the intimations of Mr. Skelton's biographer, I should be slow in believing that Bishop Stearne was indisposed to give encouragement to literary or professional exertions, or that he made promises of preferment which he "disregarded," and which, in fact, "he never intended to perform."

It was about this time that Methodism first made its appearance in Ireland, in which country, according to the description of Dr. Coke, the author of the life of Mr. Wesley, not only “the Romanists were buried in the profoundest ignorance and superstition,” but “among the Protestant dissenters also, a very considerable, if not the major part of them, had embraced very dangerous errors, and but few, comparatively, knew anything of the power of religion; and in the Established Church there was hardly anything but the form of religion remaining.” Hereupon one of the Methodist preachers, a Mr. Williams, crossed the Channel, and began to preach in Dublin: multitudes flocked to hear, and for some time there was much disturbance, chiefly, not wholly, from the lower class, mostly Romanists. He soon formed a small society, and wrote an account of his success to Mr. Wesley, who determined on visiting Ireland immediately, and arrived in Dublin on the forenoon of Sunday, August the 9th, 1747. In the afternoon, by the permission of Mr. R., curate of St. Mary’s, he “preached to as gay and senseless a congregation as ever he saw,” and received the affectionate thanks of Mr. R., who “professed abundance of good-will, and commended his sermon in strong terms; but expressed the most rooted prejudice against lay-preachers, or preaching out of a church; and said, the Archbishop of Dublin was resolved to suffer no such irregularities in his diocese.”

Appearance of
Methodism in
Ireland.

Rev. J. Wesley’s
arrival in Dub-
lin, Aug. 9, 1747.

Archbishop Cobbe at that time presided over the diocese of Dublin. Being absent, however, from the city, Mr. Wesley sought him the following Tuesday at Newbridge, ten miles from Dublin, where, as he reports in his *Journal*, “I had the favour of conversing with him two or three hours, in which I

His interview
with Archbishop
Cobbe.

answered abundance of objections⁷." But neither the objections nor the answers are specified.

His sermons in
Dublin.

The Methodists were already possessed of a preaching house in Marlborough-street, originally designed for a Lutheran church. In the evening of Sunday Mr. Wesley preached in it, and "many of the rich were there, and many ministers of every denomination. I preached," says he, "on 'The Scripture hath concluded all under sin,' and spoke closely and strongly; but none at all seemed to be offended." The following days, both morning and evening, he preached to large congregations in the same place; but appears to have had no further connection with the curate or the church of St. Mary's, or, indeed, with any other church, except that on Sunday, the 16th, he went to St. James's in the morning, there being no service at St. Patrick's, and in the afternoon to Christ Church, where he was an object of silent curiosity to the whole congregation. In the evening he again preached in Marlborough-street; and having subsequently examined the society, and explained to them the rules, within a few days returned to England.

Shortly after, Ireland was visited by Mr. Charles Wesley, who preached in Dublin, and in other parts of the kingdom, chiefly in Cork, Athlone, and Bandon; and, in the spring of 1748, a second time by Mr. Wesley, accompanied by two of his preachers. He now resumed his labours, which he carried on through much opposition, and with various success; no longer confining himself to the house, but preaching in Oxmantown Green, near the barrack; and at Newgate, in the common hall. And then, extending his visits from Dublin into the country, he preached,

Resumption
of his labours,
1748.

⁷ *Journ.*, vii., 40.

as occasions served, in the open air, in a street, in a market-place, or by the road side; and thus formed societies in many towns of the provinces of Leinster and Munster, and in some of Connaught. It was at a somewhat later period that Methodism, which was thus introduced into the southern provinces by the founders of the sect, was extended into Ulster by their emissaries, where the same discipline was observed as in the other societies, and conferences were established by Mr. Wesley with the preachers, as with those in England.

I do not find any mention made of the rulers of the Church in connection with these irregularities, except what has been already said incidentally of the Archbishop of Dublin. But of the conduct of the parochial clergy there are some examples scattered over Mr. Wesley's *Journal*, from which the following particulars are extracted.

Conduct of the
bishops and
clergy.

Whether from mere curiosity, or from a motive of approbation, does not appear; but some of the clergy occasionally were present at his preaching. Thus, at Athlone, "five clergymen were of the audience, and abundance of Romanists. Such an opportunity," he adds, "I never had before in these parts⁸." When he preached in the market-place at Roscrea, "several gentlemen and several clergymen were present, and all behaved well⁹." Among the congregation at Ahaskra, where he preached "at the desire of the rector, and before his door," was the rector of a neighbouring parish, "who seemed then to be much athirst after righteousness¹⁰."

Clergy occasion-
ally present at
his preaching.

He describes himself as being sometimes the object of clerical opposition; once in particular,

Their opposition,

⁸ WESLEY'S *Journal*, vii., p. 78.

⁹ *Ibid.*, viii., p. 55.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* vii., p. 127.

from the pulpit at Aghrim, where, “after prayers, we had a warm sermon against enthusiasm. I could not have come at a better time, for I began immediately after; and all that were in the church, high and low, rich and poor, stopped to hear me. In explaining the inward kingdom of God, I had a fair occasion to consider what we had just heard¹¹.” A prebendary of Waterford excited Mr. Wesley’s indignation, expressed in language which I do not care to repeat, by persuading his servant, that he was wrong in going after the Methodists¹². A clergyman at Bandon, if truly accused, is justly stigmatised for misconduct, in interrupting the sermon, and menacing the person of the preacher¹³.

And encouragement.

From the clergy he sometimes experienced more favourable treatment, not to say countenance and encouragement. At Bandon, he was sent for by a clergyman, who had come twelve miles on purpose to talk with him. “We had no dispute,” he says, “but simply endeavoured to strengthen each other’s hands in God¹⁴.” At Portarlinton, a clergyman received him gladly. Some time before, a gentleman of Mountmelick had desired him to preach against the Methodists. He said, “he could not till he knew what they were;” in order to which he came soon after, and heard Mr. Larwood; and, from that time, instead of preaching against them, he spoke for them wherever he came¹⁵. Of one clergyman in particular, Mr. Lloyd, rector of Rathcormick, near Cork, Mr. Wesley received very flattering marks of distinction; he was admitted professionally into Mr. Lloyd’s church, and after Mr. Lloyd had read prayers or the burial service, Mr. Wesley preached¹⁶.

¹¹ WESLEY’S *Journal*, vii., p. 78.

¹² *Ibid.*, ix., p. 36.

¹³ *Ibid.*, viii., p. 46.

¹⁴ WESLEY’S *Journal*, vii., p. 135.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

And, in his absence from Ireland, Mr. Lloyd wrote him a letter¹⁷, reporting the success of Mr. Wesley's society, the preaching of which he frequently attended; "and though," he added, "I am much reflected on for it, this does not in any wise discourage me;" and commending this work of Mr. Wesley's, "though I could wish," he added, "that all the clergy were, in that respect, of the same mind with me"¹⁸.

In fact, but few of the clergy appear to have shown approbation of these innovations, and none other to have permitted Mr. Wesley to preach in his pulpit. For the most part, indeed, they gave little outward demonstration of interest in his proceedings; at least, besides the instances which have been already cited, I find no mention made of their interference with his preaching, either for good or ill, during the first five or six years of his connection with Ireland, though his journals record all the occurrences that befell him with sufficient minuteness. Meanwhile, from the lay-members of the Church, he had collected societies in various places, especially in the cities of Dublin, Cork, Waterford, and Limerick; and in the most considerable provincial towns, such as Bandon, Kinsale, and Rathcormick, in the county of Cork; Roscrea, of Tipperary; Birr, Tullamore, and Edenderry, in the King's, and Portarlinton and Mountmellick, in the Queen's, County; Tyrrell's Pass, in West Meath; Athlone, in West Meath and Roscommon; and Aghrim, in Galway.

During his journeys through Ireland, it was the practice of Mr. Wesley to attend divine service on Sundays in the parish-church of the place where he

Little interest taken by clergy in his proceedings.

Methodist societies in various places.

Mr. Wesley's attendance at church.

¹⁷ WESLEY'S *Journal*, viii., p. 49.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

chanced to be, the hour of which, in the morning, he notices to have been twelve o'clock at noon. The commendation of the officiating minister, which was now and again drawn from him on such occasions, may be deemed not unworthy of a passing notice. At Athlone, he says, "we went to church, and heard a plain, useful sermon¹⁹." At the same place, at another time, "Mr. G. preached an excellent sermon at church, on the necessity of the religion of the heart²⁰." At Bandon, "we had in the morning, at St. Paul's, a strong, close, practical sermon²¹." At Limerick, he went to the cathedral. "I had been informed," he says, "it was a custom here, for the gentry especially, to laugh and talk all the time of divine service; but I saw nothing of it. The whole congregation, rich and poor, behaved suitably to the occasion²²." At one of the Dublin cathedrals, a very different scene appears to have been exhibited. "I was greatly shocked," he observes²³, "at the behaviour of the congregation in St. Patrick's church. But all their carelessness and indecency did not prevent my finding an uncommon blessing. Between five and six," he continues, "our house was nearly filled; but great part of the hearers seemed utterly unawakened. I marvel how it is, that, after all our labour here, there should still be so little fruit."

His appearance
in the North,
1756.

By means of the preachers whom Mr. Wesley left behind him, Methodism was at first extended into the north of Ireland; but it was not until the year 1756, that it was encouraged there by his personal appearance. In the July of that year, he took occasion to visit Ulster, and records in his journal

¹⁹ WESLEY'S *Journal*, vii., p. 69.

²² *Ibid.*, vii., p. 128.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, ix., p. 34. ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

²³ *Ibid.*, ix., p. 32.

the transactions which occurred at Newry, Lisburn, Belfast, and Carrickfergus, some of the principal towns of the counties of Down and Antrim.

At Newry, he preached to a large congregation, and afterwards spoke to the members of the society, consisting of churchmen, dissenters, and Papists that were. At Lisburn, he preached in the market-house: "one man only gainsayed; but the bystanders used him so roughly, that he was soon glad to hold his peace. The rector, with his curate, called on Mr. Wesley, candidly proposed their objections, and spent about two hours in free, serious, friendly conversation. How much evil," he observes, "might be prevented or removed, could other clergymen follow their example." At Belfast, he preached in the market-house to as large a congregation as at Lisburn; but some of them did not stay till he concluded. At Carrickfergus, he preached in the sessions-house to most of the inhabitants of the town. "But Satan," he remarks, "had prepared one of his instruments when I had done, to catch the seed out of their hearts. A poor enthusiast began a dull, pointless harangue, about hirelings and false prophets. . . . At eleven, I went to church, to the surprise of many, and heard a lively useful sermon. After dinner, one of our brethren asked, 'If I was ready to go to the meeting?' I told him, 'I never go to meeting.' He seemed as much astonished as the old Scot at New-castle, who left us 'because we were mere *Church-of-England* men.' We are so," continues Mr. Wesley, "although we condemn none, *who have been brought up* in another way." At Lisburn, again, he spoke very plain, both to the great vulgar and the small. But, he observes, "between seceders, old

Towns which he
visited.

self-conceited Presbyterians, new-light men, Moravians, Cameronians, and formal churchmen, it is a miracle of miracles, if any here bring forth fruit to perfection²⁴."

After preaching in the neighbouring town of Lurgan, where the gentry, assembled in a room over the market, ceased tuning the violins till he had done, Mr. Wesley quitted the North, where, however, as in other parts of the kingdom, by the exertions of his emissaries, and occasionally of himself, Methodism continually made further advances. But it may suffice to have brought the foregoing notice of its introduction before the reader.

SECTION VIII.

Death and Character of Primate Hoadly. Act of nineteenth of George II., c. 13, concerning Marriages by Popish Priests. Lenient administration of the Laws relating to Papists. Measures taken in 1745. Viceroyalty of Earl of Chesterfield. Bishop Stone raised to the Primacy. Account of him. Unusual rapidity of his advancement. A maintainer of the English interest. His political character and personal beauty. Not distinguished professionally. Earl of Charlemont's description of him, and Bishop Newton's. His description of himself. Chaplaincy of Lord Lieutenant ordinary channel of preferment. Episcopal Appointments during Archbishop Hoadly's Primacy, and in the succeeding years. Metropolitan changes. Other changes by death or translation.

Death of Primate
Hoadly, July 16,
1746.

IN the year following the death of Bishop Stearne, and preceding the first visit of the founder of Methodism to Ireland, the primacy became again vacant by the death of Archbishop Hoadly, on the 16th of July, 1746, aged sixty-eight years. A too

²⁴ WESLEY'S *Journal*, x., 78.

assiduous attendance on his workmen caused a fever, which soon terminated fatally; and the next day he was, by his own desire, buried at Tallaght, near Dublin, where, as related by the author of the sketch of his life, annexed to that of his brother, "he had erected a noble monument to himself, the most elegant as well as convenient episcopal palace in Ireland, from the ruins of an immense castle of that name. But," adds his panegyrist, "he raised a nobler in the hearts of the Irish, by indefatigably promoting the improvement of agriculture by his skill, his purse, and his example."

Without intending to depreciate such undertakings, or to disparage the character of those who engage in them, it is obvious to remark that such is not the monument most appropriate to a churchman, or best calculated to transmit his name with honour to a grateful posterity. Of any claims, however, of a more professional nature which Primate Hoadly may have on the gratitude of the Irish Church for benefits conferred on it or its clergy during his primacy, I am not furnished with evidence. Amongst five occasional sermons which he published, one was an assize sermon, in 1707, *On the Nature and Excellency of Moderation*, which his biographer remarks to have been "a dangerous and unfashionable subject at that time;" and another was preached at the consecration of his brother to the bishoprick of Hereford, in 1717. Two other works of his composition and publication were, *A Defence of Bishop Burnet on the Articles*, and *A View of Bishop Beveridge's Writings in a Humorous Way*. With his last-named work I have no acquaintance. But the name of Bishop Beveridge is too venerable, and his writings of too serious a cast, to encourage the supposition that

His character.

His writings.

they could have been well or fitly converted into an occasion of humour. Let it however be added, in the words of the historian of the city of Armagh, that "he was probably more zealously attached to the doctrines of the Church of England than his brother, who is styled by some of his biographers, 'the greatest dissenter that ever obtained promotion in the Church.'"

Act of nineteenth
George II., c. 13,
concerning mar-
riages by Popish
priests.

During the primacy of Archbishop Hoadly no legislative enactments, bearing on ecclesiastical affairs, occurred, unless it be the act of the nineteenth of George II., chapter 13, relative to marriages celebrated by Popish priests. In the year 1725, the twelfth of George I., in consequence of clandestine marriages having been "celebrated by Popish priests and degraded clergymen, to the manifest ruin of several families within this kingdom," the guilt and punishment of felony was enacted against any Popish priest, or reputed Popish priest, or person pretending to be a Popish priest, or any degraded clergyman, or any layman pretending to be a clergyman of the Church of Ireland, as by law established, who should celebrate any marriage between two Protestants or reputed Protestants, or between a Protestant or reputed Protestant and a Papist." But this enactment having been found ineffectual, another act was passed in 1745, enacting, that "every marriage which should be celebrated between a Papist and any person who hath been, or hath professed him or herself to be, a Protestant at any time within twelve months before such celebration of marriage, or between two Protestants, if celebrated by a Popish priest, should be absolutely null and void." Felony in the priest was left as before enacted by the statute of George I.

Such marriages, as it was the object of these enactments to prevent, have been at all times a fruitful source of encouragement to Popery, and of injury to the Church of Ireland; for whose protection, therefore, and for the preservation of her members against seduction, prudence dictated this enactment. Otherwise, there were no new restrictions at this time introduced upon the professors of the Popish creed: and so far from being exposed to fresh rigour, during the Duke of Devonshire's government, which was the longest known in Ireland since the accession of the House of Hanover, lasting, as it did, from 1737 to 1745, the laws, which had been previously enacted for controlling them, were administered with leniency and moderation¹. The alarm excited by the efforts of the Pretender to disturb the Protestant succession, and to replace a Popish sovereign on the throne, caused recourse to be had at first to the enforcing of former enactments against them: and a proclamation was issued for compelling their priests to quit the kingdom². But if, in some cases, the laws were thereupon rigorously executed, in others the magistrates were fain to extend indulgence to those whom they believed deserving of confidence. And, on the arrival of the Earl of Chesterfield to execute the vice-regal office in the September of that year, their places of worship were opened to the Romanists, their priests were released out of prison, and the exercise of their religious offices was allowed them without disturbance or interruption.

The viceroyalty of Lord Chesterfield, who had been appointed on the breaking out of the Scotch rebellion, terminated with the danger that attended

Lenient administration of the laws concerning Papists.

Measures taken in 1745.

Viceroyalty of Earl of Chesterfield, 1746.

¹ PLOWDEN'S *Historical Review*, p. 280.

² *Ibid.*, p. 296.

it. On the 16th of April, 1746, the Pretender was defeated at the battle of Culloden; and, on the 25th, the lord lieutenant withdrew from his brief temporary administration, and the government was committed to three lords justices, of whom Primate Hoadly was one. This appointment was followed within three months by his death: but it was not till the following March, the Earl of Harrington having entered on the viceregal office in the intervening September, that the vacant primacy was filled by the appointment of Bishop Stone.

Bishop Stone
raised to the
primacy.

Account of the
new primate.

George Stone was the son of a banker at Winchester in Hampshire, and had received his education at Christ Church, Oxford, of which he was a student, as appears from the Chapter Registers in 1725.

His connection with Ireland originated in some cause, which I have in vain endeavoured to trace. The earliest record of him is, that he was placed, in the year 1733, in the deanery of Ferns, whence, in 1734, he was promoted to that of Derry, and thence again, in 1740, was further promoted to the bishoprick of Ferns and Leighlin. About this period, and probably with a view to this latter promotion, the degree of doctor of divinity was conferred upon him by the university of Oxford in full convocation, on the 20th of May, 1740; being in the interval between the vacancy of the bishoprick in April, and the date of the letters-patent for the consecration of the bishop-elect, who was consecrated on the 3rd of August, by the Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the Bishops of Meath and Derry. On the 19th of March, 1743, he was translated to the bishoprick of Kildare, and installed dean of Christ Church on the 15th of June. Thence another translation of him

was made to the see of Derry, in April, 1745; and ultimately he became Archbishop of Armagh, and primate of all Ireland, in March, 1747.

So rapid a progress through such a succession of dignities, terminated only by his attainment of the highest, whilst he was still in the flower of his age (for, assuming him to have been of about eighteen years of age at his matriculation in 1725, we find him of about forty on his elevation to the primacy in 1747,) was of very unusual occurrence. His elevation to the episcopate, which took place two years before the death of Primate Boulter, was, however, later than the date of the last of his published letters: so that no light is thrown, as might have been otherwise expected, from that source on Bishop Stone's promotion. The fact, however, of his having distinguished himself, in the early stages of his episcopal career, by his maintenance of what was considered the English, in opposition to the Irish interest, affords a probable clue for unravelling the course of his preferments; as in that, to which he eventually attained, he was no less distinguished for following the example of Primate Boulter in maintaining the same interest. Immediately after his elevation to the primacy, in the absence of the Earl of Harrington, Archbishop Stone was placed at the head of the commission for the lords justices, in company with the lord chancellor and the speaker of the House of Commons, Mr. Boyle. With the latter he was soon involved in political disputes. Opposition from other quarters, and continual efforts to secure political supporters, co-operated, with a natural ambition and desire of power, in giving a secular tendency to his mind and conduct, so that he is known more as a statesman than as an ecclesiastick; and the appella-

Unusual rapidity
of his advancement.

A maintainer of
the English
interest.

His political
character,

And personal
beauty.

tion of "the beauty of holiness," which he commonly bore on account of the handsomeness of his person, has not been confirmed by any singular excellence of his official bearing.

The propriety of this appellation, indeed, as applied to any person, it is neither my business nor my wish to defend. But it may be here noticed as rather a curious incident, that whilst the portrait of Primate Stone is preserved in the valuable collection of Christ Church, Oxford, amongst the students of that society, the appellation to which I have alluded has been given, not to the picture of the archbishop, but to that of Trevor, bishop of Durham. In the place of his residence, the elegance of his form and the beauty of his countenance were long traditionally commemorated as unrivalled; so that the historian of the city of Armagh has stated his recollection, that "at an early period of his life, when the old inhabitants of Armagh were speaking of any person remarkable for comeliness, they would say, 'he was almost as handsome as Primate Stone.'" It is more to his honour, that, by his attention and kindness as a landlord, he is represented by the same traditional authority as having secured the affectionate gratitude of his tenantry, and withal an honourable compensation for the open libels and secret calumnies, whereby slander magnified his failings into vices.

Not distinguished
professionally.

No memorial of his episcopal vigilance or his literary talents is said to exist, unless it be one of his visitation sermons, which he is related to have published, but which the relater had heard of, but had never seen³. Meanwhile, of all the political controversies, which agitated Ireland during the latter part of the reign of King George the Second,

³ STUART'S *Armagh*, p. 442.

the primate was a zealous and indefatigable partaker, not to say the prime and most material mover. And, as represented in a memorial of the Earl of Kildare, afterwards Duke of Leinster, to the king, "he made use of his influence to invest himself with temporal power, and affected to be a second Wolsey in the state⁴."

Speaking of the session of 1753, as remarkable for the first great parliamentary contest in Ireland, Mr. Hardy, in his *Memoirs of James, Earl of Charlemont*, p. 80, says, "The Duke of Dorset, son of the celebrated and amiable Lord Dorset, was then lord lieutenant: government was led on by Primate Stone, a man of unbounded ambition. Lord Charlemont, who knew him perfectly, often assured me, that the temper and genius of the English people, and English constitution, averse to all ecclesiastical interference or domination, which the primate was well aware of, alone prevented him from aspiring to a distinguished place in the councils of Great Britain. He was brother to Andrew Stone, who possessed considerable knowledge and ability, a principal figure in the court of Frederick, prince of Wales."

Lord Charlemont's account of him.

Of Andrew Stone, the primate's brother, Bishop Newton, in his *Autobiography*, has remarked, that "he was a most excellent scholar, and at school and at college distinguished himself by his compositions; and the knowledge, not only of Greek and Latin, but even of the Hebrew language, which he at first learned at school, he retained and improved to the last; and was, withal, a man of grave deportment, of good temper, and of the most consummate prudence and discretion. If," adds the right reverend writer, "he had been made primate of Ireland instead of

Remark on him by Bishop Newton.

⁴ HARDY'S *Life of Earl of Charlemont*, p. 85.

his brother, and his brother had been secretary of state in his place, the change, perhaps, might have been more suitable to their respective characters.” —(p. 182.)

His own description of himself.

The hypothesis, in its application to the primate, can hardly be questioned: his occupations, at least, were by no means of a professional kind; and as these occupations in a great degree monopolised his mind and pursuits, so they appear to have worn out his constitution; “and it is said, that when he went over to London, to consult the gentlemen of the faculty on his state of health, he very candidly said to them, ‘Look not upon me as an ordinary churchman, or incident to their diseases; but as a man who has injured his constitution by sitting up late, and rising early, to do the business of government in Ireland⁵.’”

Towards the close of life, it has been stated of him by Mr. Hardy, that, “satiated with the bustle and splendour of the world, he thought proper occasionally to assume the lowliness of an ecclesiastick; when the artful statesman still glared so over every part of his behaviour, as to render it in some measure revolting. He quickly perceived this effect of his newly-adopted manner, and re-assumed his old one, in which not the least trace of a churchman was visible⁶.”

Chaplaincy of lord lieutenant ordinary channel of preferment.

I have intimated above, my ignorance of the occasion which brought Archbishop Stone to Ireland: probably, however, he came as chaplain to a lord lieutenant; and, if so, of the Duke of Dorset, who held the viceregal dignity before, and at the

⁵ CAMPBELL'S *Survey of the South of Ireland*, p. 55.

⁶ *Life of Earl Charlemont*, p. 105.

dates of, his first preferments. This, indeed, was at all times an ordinary channel of ecclesiastical promotion for Englishmen: but subsequently it was peculiarly such. And whatever courses may have been pursued for maintaining the English interest, it is, perhaps, somewhat remarkable, that, after the death of Primate Boulter, during the primacy, first of Archbishop Hoadly, and then of Archbishop Stone, which last was extended beyond the reign of King George II., few appointments of Englishmen to Irish bishopricks occurred, except of the chaplains of lord lieutenants.

During the four years of Archbishop Hoadly's primacy, three natives of England, namely, in 1743, Cox, who had been chaplain to the Duke of Ormonde; Fletcher, chaplain to the Duke of Devonshire, in 1744; and Chenevix, chaplain to the Earl of Chesterfield, in 1745; were promoted respectively to the bishopricks of Ossory, Dromore, and Killaloe. During the same period two natives of Ireland were raised to the Irish episcopate; namely, Jemmet Brown, in 1743, to the see of Killaloe; and Nicholas Synge, in 1746, to that of Killaloe, from which Bishop Chenevix was translated to Waterford. The only persons besides these, who in these four years were consecrated bishops in Ireland, were William Barnard, George Marlay, and Robert Downes: the last a native of England, but whose father had become bishop of Killala in 1717, and had successively filled the sees of Elphin, Meath, and Derry. The son was promoted from the deanery of Derry to the bishoprick of Ferns and Leighlin in 1744. William Barnard was dean of Rochester, and probably an Englishman. In the same year, 1744, he was made Bishop of Raphoe. George Marlay, who was

Episcopal
appointments
during Arch-
bishop Hoadly's
primacy.

consecrated to Dromore in 1745, was of an English family, and, I believe, of English birth; as was his elder brother, at this time Lord Chief Justice of Ireland.

And in the
succeeding years.

In 1746, on the death of Archbishop Hoadly, the see of Derry, being vacated by the translation of Bishop Stone to the primacy, was filled by Bishop Barnard from Raphoe, which was conferred on Philip Twisden, chaplain to the Earl of Chesterfield.

In the succeeding years, Richard Robinson and John Garnet, both of them chaplains to the Duke of Dorset, were consecrated respectively in 1751 and 1752 to the bishopricks of Killala and of Ferns and Leighlin: in 1753, William. Carmichael, a Scotchman, chaplain to the Earl of Harrington, to that of Clonfert: in 1756, Richard Pococke, chaplain first to the Earl of Chesterfield and then to the Duke of Devonshire, to that of Ossory: in 1757, John Cradock, chaplain to the Duke of Bedford, to that of Kilmore: and in 1758, Thomas Salmon, also chaplain to the Duke of Bedford, to the bishoprick of Ferns and Leighlin. Intermixed with which six appointments, were those of seven men of Irish birth, namely, Arthur Smyth, in 1752, James Stopford, in 1753, Edward Maurice, in 1754, James Leslie, in 1755, William Gore, in 1758, and of Robert Johnson and Samuel Hutchinson, in 1759, to the bishopricks of Clonfert, Cloyne, Ossory, Limerick, Clonfert again, Cloyne again, and Killala.

Metropolitan
changes in the
same period.

Meanwhile certain changes took place in the metropolitan appointments. On the death of Archbishop Hort, in 1751, Bishop Ryder was translated from Down and Connor to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam: and his successor in the former see, Bishop Whitcombe, was in 1753, on the death of Arch-

bishop Price, translated to the archbishoprick of Cashel, from which, however, he was removed by death the following year, 1754, and was succeeded by Bishop Cox of Ossory.

In the course of the same series of years, the following changes took place among the Irish bishops, partly by deaths, and partly by translations.

Other changes
by death or
translation.

In 1743 died Anthony Dopping, bishop of Ossory, to which see he had been consecrated in 1741. He was son of the prelate, both of whose names he bore, who had distinguished himself by his faithful attachment to the Church in the season of King James's persecution. He was promoted to the episcopate from the deanery of Clonmacnois, having been educated in Trinity College, Dublin. His vacancy at Ossory was supplied by Michael Cox, whose translation to the archbishoprick of Cashel in 1754 has been recently mentioned. He repaired the episcopal residence of Ossory, and added to it some land for a demesne, at a considerable pecuniary sacrifice.

In 1744 Bishop Cotterell vacated by his death the see of Ferns and Leighlin, which he had occupied little more than a twelvemonth from his consecration, on the 19th of June, 1743. He was succeeded by Robert Downes, of Merton College, Oxford, who had held the deanery of Derry since 1740; and was subsequently translated to the bishoprick of Down and Connor in 1752, and to that of Raphoe in 1753. He published a sermon preached before the Irish Protestant schools in 1750. His father was the first of the family who settled in Ireland: his sons returned to England, and became respectable beneficed clergymen in Essex and Oxfordshire, in the country of their extraction.

In 1744, Bishop Maule, who had been originally consecrated to the see of Cloyne in 1726, and in 1731 had been translated to that of Dromore, was thence again promoted to Meath, where he continued till his death in 1758. The see, vacated by him at Dromore, was filled by the consecration of Thomas Fletcher, promoted from the deanery of Down. He had been vicar of Chatsworth in Derbyshire, the residence of the Duke of Devonshire, to whom in his viceregal capacity Dr. Fletcher was chaplain.

In the following year, 1745, on the translation of Bishop Stone to Derry, Bishop Fletcher was promoted to Kildare. Dromore was thereupon occupied by Bishop Jemmet Brown, who had been consecrated to Killaloe in 1741, and who, in the same year in which he was translated to Dromore, was further translated to Cork and Ross. Chenevix who succeeded him at Killaloe, to which he was consecrated, being chaplain to the Earl of Chesterfield, lord-lieutenant, was also translated within a few months to the see of Waterford and Lismore, on the death of Bishop Este, which occurred in November of this year. Accordingly another bishop was appointed for Killaloe in the person of Nicholas Synge, who was consecrated in the ensuing January. He was the second son of the late Archbishop of Tuam, and younger brother of the then Bishop of Elphin. He had previously held the archdeaconry of Dublin. The bishoprick of Kilfenora, which had been annexed to the archbishoprick of Tuam since the Restoration in 1660, until 1741, when it was given *in commendam* to John Whitcomb, bishop of Clonfert, was upon his translation in 1753 given *in commendam* to Bishop Nicholas Synge, and has

continued since that period to be united to the bishoprick of Killaloe.

In 1747, William Barnard, who from the deanery of Rochester had been promoted in 1744 to the bishoprick of Raphoe, succeeded to Derry on the advancement of Bishop Stone to the primacy. His vacancy at Raphoe was filled by Philip Twisden, younger son of a baronet of Kent, and chaplain to the Earl of Chesterfield. His death in 1753 gave occasion for the translation of Bishop Downes from Down and Connor, which see, on the translation of Bishop Ryder to the archbishoprick of Tuam, had been previously filled by the translation of Bishop Whitcomb from Clonfert; and, on his promotion the same year to the archbishoprick of Cashel, was then filled by Bishop Downes, and then again by a second translation from Clonfert, namely, that of Bishop Arthur Smyth, who continued there till his translation to Meath in the following reign. Meanwhile the vacancy made in Clonfert by Bishop Smyth, in 1753, was supplied by the consecration of the Honourable William Carmichael, son of the Earl of Hyndeford in Scotland, and chaplain to the Earl of Harrington, and archdeacon of Bucks in the cathedral of Lincoln.

In 1753, also, the death of Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne, gave occasion for the promotion of James Stopford, formerly a fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and at the time provost of St. Mary's Church, at Tuam, and dean of Kilmacduagh.

In 1755 died Burscough, bishop of Limerick, a man commemorated for his piety, learning, and eloquence, and as one who had, by his residence in his see, so attached to him the citizens' affections, that their jealousy was aroused by his being buried

at New Ross, his seat in the county of Tipperary. He was succeeded by James Leslie, a native of Ireland, a member of Trinity College, and possessed of patrimonial property in the county of Kerry, but connected by marriage with Dr. Edward Chandler, bishop of Durham, from whom he had received preferment in that diocese.

In 1754, on the promotion of Bishop Cox to the archbishoprick of Cashel, Edward Maurice was consecrated to the bishoprick of Ossory; and in 1756 he vacated it by death, having presided over it about two years. His successor was the celebrated Oriental traveller, Richard Pococke, archdeacon of Dublin, and chaplain, first to the Earl of Chesterfield, and then to the Duke of Devonshire, by whose recommendation he was promoted to the episcopate.

In 1757 died Joseph Story, bishop of Kilmore, being upwards of seventy-eight years of age. He had been educated in the College of Edinburgh, which he left in 1702, the year of King William's death. He was chaplain of the House of Commons, and possessed the deanery of Ferns, before his consecration to the bishoprick of Killaloe, in 1740; whence, in 1742, he was translated to Kilmore. By Dr. Campbell, in his *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland*, it is stated "that Bishop Story published only some occasional sermons; but, in his *Treatise on the Priesthood*, deep erudition and Christian moderation are equally conspicuous." His successor in Killaloe was John Ryder, afterwards bishop of Down and Connor, and archbishop of Tuam; and, in Kilmore, John Cradock, rector of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and chaplain to the Duke of Bedford.

The death of Bishop Clayton, who had been translated from the see of Cork and Ross in 1745, on the death of Bishop Stearne, caused, in 1758, another vacancy in the bishoprick of Clogher, which was filled by the translation of Bishop Garnet from Ferns and Leighlin, a member of the University of Cambridge, where, by royal mandate, he had been created doctor of divinity in 1751, and a chaplain of the Duke of Dorset, during whose viceroyalty he had been raised to the episcopate in 1752. His promotion to Clogher now, in 1758, made way for the translation of Bishop Carmichael from Clonfert to Ferns and Leighlin; whence he was further advanced to Meath, on the death of Bishop Maule, the same year.

In 1759, Bishop Stopford, whose elevation to the episcopate in 1753 was lately noticed, vacated by death the bishoprick of Cloyne, which was conferred on Robert Johnson, a native of Ireland, dean of Tuam, and domestick chaplain to the Earl of Shannon, one of the lords justices. And in the same year, Bishop Robinson, who had succeeded Bishop Cary at Killala on his death in 1751, was, on the death of Bishop Salmon, translated to Ferns and Leighlin. A native of Tavistock, and educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, the deceased prelate had attended the Duke of Bedford to Ireland, as his chaplain, and retired to his native place to die, within a year of his consecration.

SECTION IX.

Recent Episcopal Appointments, why particularly noticed. Several Bishops not specially distinguished. Account of three in particular. Clayton, Bishop of Clogher. His Elevation to the Episcopate. His early Publications, and Essay on Spirit. Its Object. His higher preferment negatived. His Theological Speech in Parliament. Offence given by it. Determination to proceed against him. Forewarned of the result. His Death. Maurice, Bishop of Ossory. His place of Education. His Translation of Homer. Description of the MS., and Specimens. His Literary Character. Pocode, Bishop of Ossory. His Education and Travels. His Ecclesiastical Pursuits. His Preferment. Few Theological Works. Attention to Irish Monastick Antiquities. Translation to Meath, and sudden Death. Affinity to Joseph Bingham.

Recent episcopal appointments why particularly noticed.

IN the earlier periods of this history, whilst the most distinguished members of the Irish episcopate have been brought under the reader's notice, I have not been studious of particularising all who have borne the episcopal dignity; knowing, that to those persons who might be desirous of tracing the succession in the several dioceses, a ready opportunity was afforded by Sir JAMES WARE'S *History of the Irish Bishops*, continued by his relative Mr. Harris. But since the date, at which the labours of the latter terminated, attention has been given to the episcopal appointments, which have been specified, whatever may have been the personal distinction of the individuals. And thus the last few pages have been occupied with little more than a catalogue of names, requisite, perhaps, to be introduced as matter of historical record, but little calculated to interest the general reader.

Whether there was little belonging to each individual for commemoration, or that there were wanting persons to commemorate what there was; whether from the consequent non-existence of memorials, or from the difficulty of obtaining such as may exist, of the bishops who have now been enumerated, as having at this period been consecrated to the episcopal office, or as having been translated to other bishopricks, or as having been called thence to their great account, there are several of whom I find few particulars, such as to require introduction into this narrative. Of some there has been already occasion to speak more particularly; as, for example, Bishop Maule and Bishop Berkeley. A more convenient opportunity may occur for speaking of others, as in particular of Bishop Robinson, who will be presented, in the next reign, to notice in a conspicuous and important character. But there are three, two of whom we have just seen go off the stage, and one who has been lately introduced, and continued somewhat longer upon it, to whom our attention may be now most appropriately given, namely, Clayton, bishop of Clogher, and Maurice and Pococke, successively bishops of Ossory.

Several bishops not specially distinguished.

Notice of three in particular.

It has been related in a preceding page, that in 1758 died Dr. Clayton, bishop of Clogher. Son of a Dean of Kildare, he had been nevertheless educated at Westminster, under the private tuition of Zachary Pearce, afterwards successively Bishop of Bangor and Rochester: but being removed to Trinity College, Dublin, for the completion of his education, he became in due time a fellow of that society. A considerable patrimonial property enabled him at an early period to resign his fellowship on marriage;

Clayton, bishop of Clogher.

and, having previously past some time in foreign travel, he shortly afterwards visited London, where he formed an acquaintance with Dr. Samuel Clarke, the result of which was his adoption of those religious principles to which he adhered during the remainder of his life.

His elevation to
the episcopate.

Notwithstanding his condemnation of the doctrines of the Church, he was however not unwilling to partake of her temporal dignities. And having been strongly brought under the favourable notice of Queen Caroline by his relation, Mrs. Clayton, the favourite of the queen, and afterwards Lady Sundon, he was recommended to Lord Carteret for the first vacant Irish bishoprick. With the concurrence of Primate Boulter, who, we must charitably presume, was not acquainted with Dr. Clayton's theological sentiments, he was in January, 1730, raised to the episcopate, as Bishop of Killala, and in November, 1735, translated to the see of Cork and Ross, on the death of Bishop Brown. In 1745 he succeeded Bishop Stearne in the bishoprick of Clogher.

His early publi-
cations,

It appears to have been somewhat later than this period that he first became known to the publick as a biblical scholar, by means of a *History of the Jews*, the *Chronology of the Hebrew Bible vindicated*, and a *Dissertation on Prophecy*: by these publications, however, his peculiar theological principles were not notified, as they were in a succeeding work of the year 1751, intituled *An Essay on Spirit*, which professed to consider "The doctrine of the Trinity, in the light of reason and nature, as well as in the light in which it was held by the ancient Hebrews, compared also with the doctrine of the Old and New Testament; with an inquiry into the

And his Essay
on Spirit.

sentiments of the primitive Fathers of the Church, and the doctrine of the Trinity, as maintained by the Egyptians, Pythagoreans, and Platonists, together with some remarks on the Athanasian and Nicene creeds."

Of this performance, which excited very general attention, and was productive of a large and fruitful controversy, it is, however, a remarkable fact, as alleged by Bishop Clayton's biographer, with what truth I know not, that the authorship was not his own. A young clergyman in his diocese having showed the manuscript to his spiritual overseer, expressing withal a fear of printing it in his own name, the bishop, according to the above authority, conveyed it to the press, placed it under the cover of a dedication of his own writing, and, although he did not absolutely avow the work, contrived that he should be universally considered as the author. The principal object of the work was to controvert the doctrine of the Trinity, as maintained by the Church: and the natural consequence, that he, who had placed himself in the responsible situation of the author, was precluded from the future patronage of those who were intrusted with the disposal of her preferments. On the death of Archbishop Hort in 1752, he was recommended indeed by the Duke of Dorset, then viceroy of Ireland, for the vacant archiepiscopal see of Tuam. But the English government formed a better estimate of the qualifications of a candidate for such an appointment; and a negative was put on the higher elevation of the publisher, and universally received author, of the *Essay on Spirit*.

Said not to be his own.

Object of the work.

His higher preferment negative.

Of this prelate's intermediate works or publications, it is not necessary to speak; but an event, which occurred soon after his rejection from the

His theological speech in parliament.

archiepiscopal dignity, must be related; and for that purpose the language of his biographer shall be adopted:

“He had long been dissatisfied with the Athanasian creed, nor did he approve of the Nicene creed in every particular: on which accounts he was not a little disturbed, that they continued to be a part of the liturgy of the Church. These sentiments he had declared in his writings: but this, upon mature deliberation, did not appear to him to be a sufficient discharge of his Christian duty. He determined, therefore, to avow the same sentiments in his legislative capacity; and accordingly on Monday, the 2nd of February, 1756, he proposed, in the Irish House of Lords, that the Nicene and Athanasian creeds should for the future be left out of the liturgy of the Church of Ireland. The speech, which our prelate delivered upon this interesting occasion, being taken down in short hand, was afterwards published, and hath gone through several editions. When the bishop returned from the House of Peers, he expressed to a gentleman, who accompanied him in his coach, his entire satisfaction with what he had done. He said, that his mind was eased of a load which had long lain upon it: and that he now enjoyed a heartfelt pleasure, to which he had been a stranger for above twenty years before.”

His retention of
his preferment.

Upon this result of a proceeding, which was dictated no doubt by a condemning conscience, only one observation shall be offered, namely, that the heartfelt pleasure which he enjoyed, on such a declaration of his sincere sentiments concerning the doctrines and formularies of the Church, which by his ordination and consecration vows he was pledged to maintain, would doubtless have been greatly enhanced, if he had at that time surrendered the dignity and emoluments possessed by him in virtue of that pledge. His perseverance in retaining the preferment, of which he had renounced the condition, must have lain still a heavy load upon his mind.

“But whatever happiness,” adds the biographer, “the Bishop of Clogher might derive from thus complying with his own conscience, he had not the additional felicity of obtaining the approbation of his auditors. His speech gave great and general offence; and was particularly disgusting to the ecclesiastical lords. The primate said, that ‘it made his ears tingle.’ But though so declared and avowed an attack upon the establishment was regarded in a very atrocious light, no measures were taken for calling the bishop to account for it.”

Offence given by
his speech.

In a subsequent publication, however, in 1757, he renewed his attacks on the same and similar subjects:

“In short, he gave up so many doctrines as indefensible, and avowed others so contradictory to the Thirty-nine Articles, that the governours of the Church of Ireland determined to proceed against him. And in consequence of this determination, the king was advised to order the Duke of Bedford, then lord lieutenant, to take the proper steps towards a legal prosecution of the Bishop of Clogher. A day was accordingly fixed for a general meeting of the Irish prelates at the house of the primate, to which he was summoned, that he might receive from them the notification of their intentions. A censure was certain: a deprivation was apprehended. But, before the time appointed arrived, he was seized with a nervous fever, which brought him to his dissolution on the 26th of February, 1758.”

Determination to
proceed against
him.

Mr. Burdy, in his *Life of the Rev. Philip Skelton*, mentions an anecdote that Bishop Clayton consulted a lawyer of eminence on the subject, and asked if he thought that he should lose his bishoprick? “My Lord,” he answered, “I believe you will.” “Sir,” he replied, “you have given me a stroke which I shall never get the better of.” Whereupon he was instantly seized with a disorder, and soon after died. From the same authority, however, it appears that he had been forewarned of this result of

Forewarned of
the result.

His death.

Vindication of
their Majesties.

his efforts at making converts to his opinions; for whilst he was engaged in committing to paper his peculiar notions, with a view to their publication, his wife was used to visit him in his study, and admonish him, "My Lord, quit writing, or you will lose your bishoprick." But he would not be persuaded by her; "The world was all wrong," he answered, "and he would strive to set it right." However these things be, the ruin, which eventually threatened to overwhelm him, was more formidable than he was able to sustain; and it is on all hands agreed, that the agitation of mind, into which the bishop was thrown by the prosecution commenced against him, was the immediate cause of his death. "We have been informed," adds the biographer, "that nothing affected him so much as the consideration that he should on this occasion be deserted by his royal master." And this is extremely probable. But when he proceeds to observe, that "it does indeed reflect disgrace on the memory of King George II., that he should thus have been prevailed upon to give countenance to any measures of persecution; and that had Queen Caroline lived, she would undoubtedly have protected the prelate of her own creation:" justice towards the royal personages, who are respectively the subjects of the censure, and of the implied commendation, demands the remark, that to call a publick functionary to a legal account for conduct, contrary to his plighted faith, and his most solemn obligations, is not to "persecute;" and that the royal patronage, however blamelessly exercised at first in promoting to the episcopal office one supposed to be qualified for its duties, could not without guilt have been continued to be exercised for his "protection," when his disqualification was avowed and notorious.

Edward Maurice, a native of Ireland, was educated in Trinity College, of which he became a scholar in 1709. In a MS. note appended to Harris's edition of WARE's *Bishops*, and marked with the name of Archbishop Newcome, it is stated that he was a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. But this appears to have arisen from some confusion between him and his successor in the bishoprick of Ossory, who was certainly a member of that society; at all events, I find, on inquiry, that the name of Maurice does not appear among either its scholars or exhibitioners, whereas it does appear among the scholars of Trinity College, Dublin, in the above year, though without the Christian name to identify it with the subject of this inquiry. It appears also from the *Dublin Journal* of January 26-29, 1754, that on the preceding Sunday the Rev. Edward Maurice, M.A., was consecrated Bishop of Ossory at the cathedral church of St. Patrick's, by the Archbishop of Dublin, and that the consecration sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Dawson, an error probably for Dr. Lawson, a senior fellow of the college, and an intimate friend of the new bishop. The provost, also, and senior fellows of the college are stated to have "complimented the bishop with the degree of Doctor in Divinity, as a mark of their esteem and honour for him, and the satisfaction they share in with the publick at the preferment of a person of such distinguished learning and abilities."

Maurice, bishop of Ossory.

His place of education.

His degree in Trinity College, Dublin.

Thus the Dublin University seems entitled to the credit of reckoning Bishop Maurice among her sons.

The library of Trinity College, Dublin, contains a very curious specimen of the literary talents and

His translation of Homer in Trinity College Library.

pursuits of this prelate in the earlier periods of his life, before his elevation to the episcopate. It is a series of six MS. paper books, in quarto, comprising an entire translation of the whole of HOMER'S *Iliad* and *Odyssey* into English blank verse; the *Iliad* extending through the two first, and the *Odyssey* through the four last volumes. The first volume is intituled

“HOMER'S ILIAD.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.

“Omnibus eloquentiæ partibus exemplum et ortum dedit (HOMERUS.)

Hunc nemo, in magnis sublimitate, in parvis proprietate, superaverit.”—QUINTILIAN, lib. x., c. 1.

“Carmen sequor, ut sibi quivis
Speret idem.”—HOR.

MR. MASON'S *Catalogue*, in the possession of the library, states :

“This is the work of Maurice, bishop of Ossory, and was presented to the college by his friend, Dr. Lawson, who was a fellow thereof. It is the original, and much corrected throughout. The first book commences thus :

“Sing of Achilles, Muse ! the wrath, the son
Of Peleus, the destructive wrath to Greece ;
That brought unnumber'd woes, and sped to hell
Her bravest souls.

“At the end are two pages, containing some various readings, in which the first lines of Book I. are altered thus :

“Sing, Muse ! the wrath of Peleus' son, to Greece
Destructive fountain of unnumber'd woes,
That sent to Pluto many valiant souls,
Dismiss'd untimely.”

The third volume is intituled

“HOMER'S ODYSSEY,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK.”

It is written in the same hand with the *Iliad*, and bears on the title-page the date, also in the same hand, March 14, 1744.

For the satisfaction of those readers who may be desirous of seeing a longer specimen than the preceding, which is too limited for the purpose of forming any estimate of the quality of the work, I have transcribed the following from the second book of the *Iliad*:

Further specimen.

“ As on the mountain top, devouring flame
Consumes a boundless wood, and dreadful shines
Wide o’er the vale : such lustre, as they march’d,
Far through the welkin cast their brazen arms,
Divinely wrought, and heav’n received the light.

“ Or as of birds innumerable flights,
Geese, cranes, or swans, along Cayster’s flood,
Flowing o’er Asian meads, their stately necks
Stretch through the sky, and, with exulting wings,
Rebuff the troubled air, till on the bank,
With noise and order lit, they clap their wings,
The winding shore re-echoing to their clang :
So, on Scamander’s plain, from ship and tent,
The nations pour’d ; and under foot and hoofs
Of men and horses groan’d the beaten ground.
By hundreds, and by thousands, on the mead
Scamandrian, crowded they, as thick as leaves,
Or bloom, on trees in seasonable spring.

“ As when, with spring, returns the milk to fill
The flowing pail, around the dairy swarm
The flies of various hue, the farmer’s plague :
So squadrons stood of Greeks, of flowing hair,
Embattled against Troy, athirst for blood.

“ Nor readier do the shepherds call their flocks,
In pasture mix’d, and at their will divide,
Than did the leaders form and range their men,
Though here and there wide scattered, for the fight ;
Above them all King Agamemnon shone.
(Achilles was not there.) He bore his arms
Like Mars ; like Neptune his erected breast ;
Like Jove his eyes and curl’d ambrosial head,
When his loud thunder rends the gather’d clouds.

“ Through numerous herds, as with majestick pace
The lordly bull bears high his wide-horn’d head :
Such bright distinction to the King of men
Gave Jove that day, and more than human form.”

Bishop Maurice's
literary cha-
racter.

The work, of which the foregoing extract is a sample, taken almost at random, is, I apprehend, all but totally unknown. My attention has been drawn to it by a letter in the *Anthologia Hibernica*, a literary monthly miscellany, published in Dublin in the years 1793 and 1794, wherein a brief notice is taken of Bishop Maurice's version of Homer; and his translation of a particular passage in the eighth book of the *Iliad* is cited in juxtaposition with Mr. Cowper's translation of the same, the letter-writer professing himself unable to determine the question of superiority between them. However this be, a critical examination of Bishop Maurice's version would, in all likelihood, lead to the conviction, that

"He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one."

And although his character, as an ecclesiastick, may be not illustrated hereby, except so far as there exists a natural connection between "sound religion and useful learning," I think it not out of place to bring under publick notice this translation, for the purpose of commemorating one, who is less known than he deserves to be, with due honour, which is not confined to the individual, but reflected from him on the country of his birth and the place of his education.

His portrait.

It may be added that I am in possession of an engraved portrait of this prelate, subscribed with the following lines from VIRGIL's *Second Georgick*:

"Rura mihi et rigui placeant in vallibus amnes,
Flumina amem silvasque inglorius."

The quotation seems intended to indicate his taste for natural scenery, the fields, the valleys, the rivers, and the woodlands; and his delight in the unambitious and retiring enjoyments of rural life.

On his death, in 1756, Bishop Maurice was succeeded in the bishoprick of Ossory by Richard Pococke, the son of a clergyman, whose Christian as well as surname he inherited, rector of Colmer, in Hampshire, and afterwards sequestrator of the parish of All Saints, in Southampton. He was born in 1704, in that town, and received there the rudiments of his education in one of King Edward VI.'s free grammar-schools, of which his father was the master; his mother being the only daughter of the Rev. Isaac Milles, rector of Highclear, in Hampshire, and the sister of Thomas Milles, Greek professor in Oxford, and afterwards, in 1708, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore, of which see he continued in possession till his death in 1740.

Pococke, bishop
of Ossory.

Having been trained in academical learning as an exhibitor of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, to which he was admitted on the 3rd of February, 1722, Pococke took his degree of Master of Arts in 1731, and of Doctor of Laws in 1733, together with Secker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury; having been previously promoted to the precentorship of Lismore in one of his uncle's cathedrals. Not long after this he engaged in an extensive course of travels through many countries of the East: and of the observations, made during a careful investigation of Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus, and Candia, he, on his return, published a narrative in two volumes, which were among the foremost of modern European descriptions of those regions, and which, notwithstanding the numerous narratives that have since been published, still continue to rank with the most valuable standard productions of their class. Meanwhile, as opportunities served, he appears to have directed his mind to a study of the ecclesiastical

His education,

And travels.

His ecclesiastical
pursuits.

remains in his own country. The architecture of our venerable cathedrals and parish churches had, at that period, undergone but little investigation: and a remark, which has been put forward by antiquaries of a later date, and which is now very generally admitted among those who are partial to such inquiries, seems to have originated with him; namely, that the original of what is called the Gothick arch was two Saxon arches intersecting. This observation he offers in a letter to Dr. Ducarel, from Dublin, August 27, 1753, which is preserved in Mr. NICHOLS's *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. iii., p. 685, and a visible exemplification of it is specified by him at Christ Church, Hampshire.

In the year which intervened between the dates of the two volumes of his travels, namely, 1754, he became precentor of Waterford; and soon after attended the Earl of Chesterfield to Ireland, in the quality of his domestick chaplain, and was promoted to the archdeaconry of Dublin, having, in the meantime dedicated to his Lordship the second volume of his *Description of the East*. This preferment was followed in 1756 by his elevation to the episcopate, under the patronage of the Duke of Devonshire, who had succeeded Lord Chesterfield in the lord lieutenancy, and upon occasion of the death of Maurice, bishop of Ossory, to which see he was promoted.

His preferment
to the bishoprick
of Ossory.

Excursion in
Scotland.

Of his mode of discharging his episcopal functions within his charge I find no account. But it is related that on an excursion, which he made into Scotland, he visited many episcopal congregations, and preached and confirmed in them all. This was at a time when there existed in that country many such congregations, who were separated from the

jurisdiction of their national episcopate, and maintained an anomalous and ill-defined connection with some of the English and Irish bishops. On the cause and the circumstances of that unhappy condition of the adherents of episcopacy in Scotland, it were beyond our scope to dwell. It is mentioned here in connection with Bishop Pococke's life for the sake of the inference, that the zeal, which animated him to such an exercise of his ministry in Scotland, could have hardly failed of prompting him to corresponding exertions in the sphere of his prescribed duty in his own diocese.

No notice has occurred to me of any theological works by Bishop Pococke, except of two sermons, one preached in 1761, for the benefit of the Magdalen Asylum in London, and the other in 1762, before the Incorporated Society in Dublin for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland; both of these were printed. To this society he was a zealous friend, and left the chief portion of his property for the furtherance of its excellent objects.

Few theological works.

Meanwhile his mind was much directed to the illustration of the monastick antiquities of Ireland, which he prosecuted himself, and gave encouragement and assistance for prosecuting to the Rev. Mervyn Archdall, whose meritorious labours he patronised by appointing him his chaplain, and conferring on him preferment in his diocese, and by frequently withdrawing from his palace at Kilkenny to the retirement of his chaplain's rural parsonage at Attanagh, where he also framed the narratives of his travels through Ireland and Scotland, which are said to have been lost. Of the encouragement thus received from his patron and diocesan, Mr. Archdall

Attention to the monastick antiquities of Ireland.

makes the following grateful acknowledgement in the introduction to his *Monasticon*:

Mr. Archdall's
account of him

“The late learned Dr. Pococke, bishop of Ossory and of Meath, to whom the author had the honour of being domestick chaplain, whilst his Lordship presided in the see of Ossory, frequently noticed the defects of our monastick history, and urged the necessity of its improvement. He pointed out the method here adopted, procured many necessary documents, and had the goodness to encourage the author with solid favours. The work was difficult, and required unremitted perseverance. Authentick vouchers were not easily had; even when they were, it was no small labour to decipher musty and worm-eaten manuscripts, and ascertain their contents.”

Traits in his
character de-
scribed by Mr.
Cumberland.

Of some peculiar traits in the bishop's character Mr. Cumberland has left the following sketch, which exhibits a likeness, probably in the main traced with correctness, though some of the features appear to be touched for the sake of effect: “That celebrated oriental traveller and author,” he says, “was a man of mild manners and primitive simplicity. Having given the world a full detail of his researches in Egypt,” (why not in Palestine and the other countries of the East?) “he seemed to hold himself excused from saying any more about them, and observed, in general, an obdurate taciturnity. In his carriage and deportment he seemed to have contracted something of the Arab character; yet there was no austerity in his silence, and, though his air was solemn, his temper was serene. When we were on our road to Ireland, I saw, from the windows of the inn at Daventry, a cavalcade of horsemen approaching on a gentle trot, headed by an elderly chief, in clerical attire, who was followed by five servants, at distances geometrically measured and most precisely maintained, and who, upon entering

the inn, proved to be this distinguished prelate, conducting his horde with the phlegmatick patience of a Schiek."

I anticipate an event of the ensuing reign, by proceeding to remark, that, in 1765, on the translation of Bishop Carmichael from the see of Meath to the archbishoprick of Dublin, Bishop Gore, of Elphin, was appointed to succeed him, and the Bishop of Ossory was, by the king's letter, translated to Elphin. But Bishop Gore declining to take out his patent, Bishop Pococke was in consequence translated, by the Earl of Northumberland, directly to the see of Meath. This promotion occurred in July; and in the ensuing September, whilst engaged in the visitation of his new diocese, he was suddenly seized with an apoplectick stroke, which soon terminated fatally. At his episcopal residence of Ardbraccan he left an appropriate memorial: at least about eighteen years ago my attention was there directed by Bishop O'Beirne to some cedars of Lebanon, which tradition represented as the produce of seeds brought by Bishop Pococke from Syria.

His translation to
Meath,

And sudden
death, 1765.

Bishop Pococke never formed any matrimonial engagement; but there are not wanting those who feel honoured by standing to him in the relation of an hereditary affinity. A sister of his was married to the reverend and very learned Joseph Bingham, author of the *Antiquities of the Christian Church*; and to the present writer it is the source of pleasing reflection, which he trusts he may express here without impropriety, that, by the union of a daughter of that marriage with his paternal grandfather, he is entitled to claim a lineal or a collateral connection with two of the most eminent ecclesiasticks of their generation.

His affinity to
Joseph Bingham.

CHAPTER V.

GEORGE III., OCT. 25, 1760, TO THE UNION 1801.

GEORGE STONE, ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH

AND PRIMATE 1764.

RICHARD ROBINSON 1764—1795.

WILLIAM NEWCOME 1795—1800.

HON. WILLIAM STUART 1800.

SECTION I.

Scantiness of contemporary MSS. Biography mixed with History. Accession of King George III. His resolution of adhering to the Constitution. Act for confirming the Titles of Protestants. Bishop Robinson advanced to the Primacy. His Character. Other Episcopal Appointments. Bishop Cumberland. His Estimable Character. Death of Archbishop Cobbe. His Disinterestedness. Account of Dr. Gast. Elevation and Death of Archbishop Carmichael. French Refugees in Ireland. Their Congregations. Incorporated with the general population of Protestants.

Comparative
scantiness of
contemporary
MSS.

IN entering upon the last portion of our history, the chapter devoted to the reign of King George III., I cannot but lament the absence of such documents as have supplied us with valuable information during the portions comprised in the earlier pages of this volume. In the reigns of William and Mary, of Anne, of George I., and the first moiety of that of George II., our researches have been aided by communications from contemporary writers, not eye-witnesses only, but themselves parts and parcels of the occurrences which they relate, and with which they had an intimate acquaintance: by the MS. Diary and Letters of Primate Marsh, hitherto

unpublished; by the unpublished MS. Correspondence of Archbishop King; by numerous letters of different writers contained in the published volumes of Dean Swift's Works; by others, principally of Bishop Downes, in Bishop Nicholson's Epistolary Correspondence; and finally, by the Letters of Primate Boulter. Since the cessation of these channels of intelligence, my inquiries have not conducted me to others of a similar kind during the latter half of King George II.'s reign: nor have I been successful in the like inquiries with respect to the reign of King George III. Meanwhile the value of Sir James Ware's and Mr. Harris's *History of the Bishops* has been proved by the want of it; and the consequent necessity and difficulty of collecting facts from the miscellaneous writings of the passing period, or from indistinct oral tradition.

But I proceed to invite attention to the result of these inquiries, in which I fear that the scantiness of the documents will be shown by the imperfection of the narrative. Interspersed, however, with what is more strictly historical information, there will be found, perhaps, a larger proportion of biographical memoirs of distinguished members of the episcopate, the succession in which, as maintained in the several dioceses, it has been one of my objects to record. To relieve the dryness of an enumeration of names and promotions, I have availed myself of such occasions as offered for enlarging on the lives and characters of eminent individuals, whose actions have conspired with their stations in recommending them to particular notice. Of many, indeed, the particulars, which I have been able to collect, are few and scanty: in some instances I have been more successful. If in these there be a smaller

Biographical
memoirs
intermixed with
history.

portion than might be desired of original intelligence, yet to have collected from different sources such scattered materials as they supply, and to have combined them together in sketching a distinguished individual, may be esteemed, perhaps, as not an unacceptable service.

Accession of
George III.

October, 1760.

His resolution of
adhering to the
Constitution.

Speech of Earl
of Halifax, 1761.

The death of King George II., and the accession of King George III. to the throne, on the 25th of October, 1760, produced no consequences of immediate interest to the Church of Ireland. The administration of publick affairs continued to be left in the hands of three lords justices, of whom the primate was one, until the appointment of George, earl of Halifax, to the lord-lieutenancy. The king, in his first speech to the British parliament, had announced his “invariable resolution to adhere to and strengthen this excellent constitution in church and state.” And, on opening the first session of the Irish parliament, in 1761, the lord lieutenant repeated the same sentiment, with especial application to Ireland :

“You can be no strangers to his Majesty’s most gracious declaration, that the preservation of the constitution in church and state, and the enforcing a due obedience to the laws, shall be the first and constant object of his care: and I have it particularly in command to declare to you, that his subjects of this kingdom are fully and in every respect comprehended in these assurances.”

The session passed without the introduction of any enactments on ecclesiastical subjects: and at the close of it, in the spring of 1762, the government of Lord Halifax terminated; and the administration of publick affairs was consigned to the hands of the primate, the Earl of Shannon, and Mr. Ponsonby, the same which had conducted it before Lord Halifax’s arrival.

The ensuing session was opened by the Earl of Northumberland in October, 1763: and in the course of it an Act was passed, "for confirming the titles, and for quieting the possessions of Protestants, and for giving time to converts from Popery, to perform the requisites of conformity prescribed by the laws against Popery." On the withdrawal of the lord lieutenant, after the session was closed in May 1764, the government was committed to the same lords justices as before: but the deaths of the primate and the Earl of Shannon occurring in the following December, the Lord Chancellor Bowes was appointed in their stead.

Session of
October, 1763.

Act of 3 Geo.
III., c. 26.

The first episcopal promotion, which took place in the new reign, was the translation of Bishop Robinson from Ferns and Leighlin, to supply the vacancy made by the death of Bishop Fletcher in the see of Kildare. His translation was effected by letters-patent of the 13th of April, 1761; and on the 19th of January, 1765, by the death of Archbishop Stone on the 19th of the December preceding, an opening was made for his further advancement to the primacy of all Ireland. Descended from the Robinsons of Rokeby, in the north riding of the county of York, Westminster School and Christ Church, Oxford, partake of the honour of his education: and the merit of having distinguished him, first by a domestick chaplaincy, and then by substantial preferments in his diocese, belongs to Blackburne, archbishop of York. His first promotion to the Irish episcopate, and his subsequent advancement, as bishop successively of Killala, and of Ferns and Leighlin, have been already commemorated in these pages.

Bishop Robinson
translated to
Kildare, April,
1761.

Thence to
Armagh, Jan.
1765.

His early life,
and preferments.

His usefulness to
the Church of
Ireland.

Had the lot fallen to this illustrious prelate only in these suffragan bishopricks, his name, perhaps, would not have been transmitted to posterity with any signal distinction. But his elevation to the primacy afforded scope and means for the exercise of a munificent spirit: and he nobly availed himself of the ability with which a bountiful Providence endowed him. It has been well observed, that “no primate ever sat in the see of Armagh, who watched more carefully over the interest of the Church of Ireland, as the statute book evinces¹.” The following portrait of him is drawn by the contemporaneous pen of an author, who wrote from his own observations:

Account of him
by Mr. Cumber-
land.

“The Lord Primate Robinson,” says the late Richard Cumberland, in his *Memoirs*, “was my very kind and partial friend; but, more than this, he was the friend of my father. Splendid, liberal, lofty, publicly ambitious of great deeds, and privately capable of good ones, there was an exterior, that to the stranger did not always hold out an encouraging aspect, but to him that stept within that barrier all was mildness, suavity, benevolence. He supported the first station in the Irish hierarchy, with all the magnificence of a prince palatine. He made no court to popularity by his manners, but he benefited a whole nation by his publick works. He gave plenty of employment to the industrious, and of food to the hungry; but he spread no table for the idle, and made no carousals for the voluptuous. He built a granite palace from the ground, with all its offices, gardens, farm, and demesne. He repaired and beautified his cathedral, built houses for his vicars-choral, erected and endowed a very noble publick school, and built several parish churches in the neighbourhood of Armagh. He lived and died a bachelor, and administered his revenue with great regularity, else his fortune could never have sufficed for the accomplishment of such expensive projects; for he kept an establish-

His publick
works.

¹ *Anthol. Hibern.*, i., p. 1.

ment of servants, equipage, and table, highly suitable to his rank.

“ The cathedral church of Armagh stands in full view His demeanour. from the windows of the palace, and at a short distance from it. Whilst I was passing some days with the primate, on my return to England from Kilmore, I accompanied him on the Sunday forenoon to the cathedral. We went in his chariot with six horses, attended by three footmen behind, whilst my wife and daughters, with Sir William Robinson, the primate’s elder brother, followed in my father’s coach, which he lent me for the journey. At our approach, the great western door was thrown open, and my friend (in person one of the finest men that could be seen) entered, like another Archbishop Laud, in high prelatical state, preceded by his officers and ministers of the Church, conducting him in files to the robing-chamber, and back again to the throne. After divine service, the officiating clergy presented themselves in the hall of his palace to pay their court. I asked him how many were to dine with us: he answered, “ Not one.” He did them kindnesses, but he gave them no entertainments: they were in excellent discipline. I had accustomed myself so lately to admire the mild and condescending character of my benevolent and hospitable father at Kilmore, that I confess the contrast did not please me; but the primate *knew*, my father *loved*, mankind. I saw the princely demesne at Armagh covered with a small army of wretched creatures, making hay after the old Irish fashion, in loose great-coats; a lazy, ragged, dirty gang. How different was the scene I had contemplated in my father’s fields! But the primate left many noble monuments of his munificence in brick and stone; my father left his bounteous tokens in the human heart². ”

To the foregoing brief enumeration of Primate Robinson’s princely munificence other examples might have been added. A publick infirmary, erected by his means, and in a great degree by his contributions; a publick library, constructed, endowed, and furnished at his cost, with what a Greek His numerous benefactions.

² CUMBERLAND’S *Memoirs*, pp. 354, 355.

inscription described as "the medicine of the soul;" the town of Armagh, converted by his prudential management of the episcopal property from an unsightly crowd of mud cabins into a handsome city of stone dwellings; an observatory, built at his expense, and inscribed with the appropriate motto, "The heavens declare the glory of God;" combined in attesting the multiplicity and extent, the solid value, and the practical usefulness, of his benefactions. In the mean time the creation of new parochial cures, and the providing of additional residences for the ministers of the Church, proved his solicitude for the welfare of the clergy and people of his diocese; and the legislative enactments which he caused to be effected for the general extension of these improvements bore witness to his care for the general welfare and enlarged and augmented efficiency of the Church.

His successor in
the vacated
bishopricks.

Bishop Jackson.

The vacancies made by these promotions of Bishop Robinson were supplied first by the consecration, and then by the translation, of Charles Jackson, who succeeded, both in the see of Ferns and Leighlin, and in that of Kildare, respectively, in the years 1761 and 1765. He was chaplain to the Duke of Bedford, lord lieutenant, at the time of his elevation to the episcopate as bishop of Ferns and Leighlin; and, on his removal to Kildare, was succeeded in his former see by Edward Young, who had occupied the see of Dromore only since the translation of Bishop Oswald to Raphoe, on the death of Bishop Downes, in 1763; Bishop Oswald also having sat for only a few months in Dromore, to which he was promoted on the death of Bishop Marlay, in April of the same year, 1763.

Both Oswald and Young were Englishmen, and chaplains of the Earl of Halifax. The former, who, having been educated at Oxford, in St. Mary's Hall, had been a prebendary of Westminster, was, in 1762, consecrated to the bishoprick of Clonfert, when Bishop Gore was translated from that see to Elphin on the death of Bishop Edward Synge. In 1763 he was translated from Dromore to Raphoe; whereupon Young was promoted from the deanery of Clogher, and consecrated bishop of Dromore. The promotion of Bishop Robinson to the primacy and of Bishop Jackson to the see of Kildare gave occasion, as already noticed, for Bishop Young's translation to Ferns and Leighlin, in February, 1765. His successor in Dromore was an Irishman, the Hon. Henry Maxwell, dean of Kilmore, and youngest son of John, baron of Farnham. His continuance in that bishoprick extended only from March, 1765, to April, 1766; when, on his translation to Meath, his vacancy was filled by another Englishman, vice-principal of Hertford College, Oxford, and chaplain to the Earl of Hertford, lord lieutenant, William Newcome, the future successor of Primate Robinson in the metropolitan throne.

Other episcopal appointments.

In connection with these episcopal changes another appointment remains to be noticed, resulting from the translation of Bishop Oswald to Dromore from Clonfert in 1763.

Denison Cumberland, bishop of Clonfert, 1763.

Denison Cumberland, grandson of Richard Cumberland, bishop of Peterborough, was educated at Westminster School, and from that admitted fellow-commoner of Trinity College, Cambridge. In compliance with the wish of his father-in-law, the

His elevation to
the episcopate.

celebrated Dr. Bentley, he accepted from Lord Chancellor King the rectory of Stanwick, in the county of Northampton, as soon as he was of age to hold it, and, after thirty years, exchanged it for the vicarage of Fulham, near London. A vacancy in the see of Clonfert occurring a short time before Lord Halifax quitted the government of Ireland, it was bestowed on Mr. Cumberland, notwithstanding great efforts which were made for withdrawing the nomination from Lord Halifax, and placing it at the disposal of his successor, the Earl of Northumberland. The expectant in behalf of whom this interest was exerted is related by Mr. Cumberland, the bishop's son, in his *Memoirs of his Life*³, to have been Dr. Markham, subsequently appointed to higher dignities in the Church of England.

His disposal of
his patronage.

On the offer of the bishoprick being made to Mr. Cumberland, "he received it," says his son, "in his calm manner, modestly remarking, that his talents were not turned to publick life, nor did he foresee any material advantages likely to accrue to such as belonged to him from his promotion to an Irish bishoprick. It was not consistent, he said, with his principles to avail himself of his patronage in that country to the exclusion of the clergy of his diocese; and, of course, he must deny himself the gratification of serving his friends and relations in England, if any such should solicit him. This did happen in more instances than one; and I can witness with what pain he withstood requests which he would have been so happy to have complied with; but his conscience was a rule to him, and he never deviated from it in a single instance⁴."

His estimable
character.

Bishop Cumberland appears to have borne his

³ P. 233.

⁴ P. 239.

dignity with unblemished reputation, and to have been honoured and beloved by the people of Ireland for his benevolence, his equity, his integrity, and his numerous virtues, testified by his exertions to promote the welfare of all with whom he was connected. In particular, the city of Dublin was pleased to confer upon him a very extraordinary honour, in presenting him with his freedom in a gold box; a form of high respect, which his son specifies as being such as they had never before observed towards any person below the rank of their chief governour. The motives, assigned in the deed which accompanied the box, are in general for the great respectability of his character, and in particular for his disinterested protection of the Irish clergy⁵.

The vacancy of the primacy was soon followed by that of the archbishoprick of Dublin, upon the death of Archbishop Cobbe, which occurred on Sunday, the 14th of April, 1765. He was in the seventy-ninth year of his age, and the forty-fifth of his episcopate; having occupied the sees of Killala and Achonry, of Dromore, and of Kildare, previously to his translation to the metropolitan dignity in 1731. An anecdote is related of his conduct before he was made a bishop, which reflects honour on him, as a sign of liberal and disinterested feeling. In 1718, being then Dean of Kilmacduagh, he received from the Duke of Dorset, whose chaplain he was, an offer of the valuable benefice of St. Mary's, Dublin, which had fallen by lapse to the crown, in consequence of the incumbent's neglect to take out a faculty before his promotion to another

Death of Arch-
bishop Cobbe.

Anecdote of his
disinterestedness.

⁵ CUMBERLAND'S *Memoirs*, p. 290.

benefice. The incumbent was Dean Francis, father of the translator of Horace: in a note on Dean Swift's *Epistolary Correspondence*, he is stated to have enjoyed the benefice for eighteen years; and, being an old tory, to have been "most spitefully turned out of it, by the virulence of party rage⁶." Dr. Cobbe, however, generously refused the benefice, as belonging to another man, who had fallen into an error, but was guilty of no crime. However, as remarked in a MS. note in Mr. Cooper's copy of WARE'S *Bishops*, "a king-fisher was easily found for the purpose, one Dean Cross, who got possession of that living." It appears from Primate Boulter's *Letters*, that Dean Cross would on two occasions have fain succeeded to a bishoprick, for which he made application, when the primate offered no objection to his preferment: his attempts, however, were not successful⁷.

His plan of a religious society,
1758.

But, to return to the archbishop. As he presided over the see of Dublin in 1758, it must have been of him that Mr. Wesley spoke, when, in his *Journal* for that year he gave the following relation: "Among the letters I read in publick last week was one from Mr. Gillies, giving an account of a society lately formed at Glasgow, for promoting Christian knowledge among the poor, chiefly by distributing Bibles among them, and other religious books. I could not then help expressing my amazement, that nothing of this kind had been attempted in Ireland, and enquiring if it was not high time, that such a society should be formed in Dublin? This morning Dr. T. showed me a paper, which the archbishop had just sent to each of his clergy; exhorting them to

⁶ SWIFT'S *Works*, xi., p. 133.

⁷ BOULTER'S *Letters*, pp. 112, 279, 285.

‘ erect a society for the distribution of books among the poor.’” Of the result of this exhortation of the archbishop I can give no account; but in an article of the *Anthologia Hibernica*, for September, 1793, he is named as “that excellent prelate, Archbishop Cobbe⁸,” and is respectfully commemorated for his patronage of a meritorious clergyman, which calls from the writer the remark, that “these rewards of virtue and learning reflect as much lustre on the amiable donor, as they conferred honour on the receiver.”

His patronage.

The object of the archbishop’s patronage on this occasion was Dr. John Gast, son of a Protestant of Saintonge, in the province of Guyenne, in France, where he followed the profession of physick, until the religious persecution in that country, in 1684, compelled him to fly to Ireland for refuge. The son was educated in Trinity College; and, having graduated, and been admitted to holy orders, served as chaplain to the French congregation at Portarlington, and afterwards as curate of a Dublin parish. A work on the rudiments of Grecian history, published in 1753, produced from the provost and senior fellows of the university, in 1760, a certificate of their approval of its execution, and the degree of doctor of divinity for its author; who, in the following year, was further distinguished by being collated to the benefice of Arklow by the archbishop, and, three years after, to the archdeaconry of Glandelagh, the former of which he subsequently exchanged for the parish of St. Nicholas Without, Dublin. In these preferments Dr. Gast continued to exercise his ministry till the year 1788, devoting a long life, as a parochial clergyman of the Church of Ireland, to the

Account of Dr
Gast.

⁸ WESLEY’S *Journal*, x., 150.

⁹ Vol. ii., p. 187.

service of God and the good of mankind ; respected and beloved by his parishioners, diligent in endeavouring to reconcile to the Church those who were of the Popish communion, and leaving a character, as a minister of the Gospel, for which his parishioners testified their respect and affection by erecting and inscribing a marble monument to his memory, in grateful remembrance of his services. Thus, during about twenty-three years, he survived his patron, a living memorial of the archbishop's judgment, which had distinguished his virtue and learning. The almost contemporaneous evidence of the writer in the *Anthologia* was, to all appearance, founded on a personal knowledge of one, probably of both, the individuals whom he commemorates.

Archbishop
Carmichael.

The death of Archbishop Cobbe gave occasion for the translation of Bishop Carmichael from Meath to Dublin, and of Bishop Pococke from Ossory to Meath ; Gore, Bishop of Elphin, who was first nominated to the latter see, having declined to take out his patent, on finding that a large sum was to be paid to his predecessor's executors for the episcopal residence at Ardraccan. Bishop Pococke, therefore, who was translated by the king's letter to Elphin, in June, 1765, was thereupon translated, on the recommendation of the Earl of Northumberland, directly to Meath in July ; and in the ensuing September was suddenly taken off by an apoplectick stroke, in the course of his visitation. His place was supplied in Ossory by the consecration of Charles Dodgson, an Englishman, chaplain to the lord lieutenant ; and in Meath by the translation of Arthur Smyth from the bishoprick of Down and Connor, wherein he was succeeded by James Trail, chaplain

Other episcopal
appointments.

to the Earl of Hertford, who had succeeded to the vicerealty, August the 7th of this year. Dr. Trail was a native of Scotland, but beneficed in England, being vicar of West Ham, in Essex, and rector of St. John, Horsleydown, in the borough of Southwark.

Before the close of the year 1765, and six months and three days from his translation, reckoning, namely, from the 12th of June to the 15th of December, Archbishop Carmichael died at Bath. Bishop Smyth, who had succeeded him in Meath, succeeded him likewise in Dublin, whither he was translated the 14th of April, 1766: the following day Bishop Maxwell was translated to Meath from Dromore, where he was followed by William Newcome, raised on that occasion to the episcopate by the Earl of Hertford, to whom he was chaplain.

Death of Archbishop Carmichael, 1765.

His successor.

The incidental notice, lately taken of Dr. Gast, may be made the occasion for a remark, that amidst her own afflictions and distresses, the Church of Ireland had at different periods, and for a long continuance of time, afforded a refuge to the victims of foreign persecution, and the means of professing their Protestant belief in security and peace. Near the commencement of the Reformation, the ancestors of the family of Verschoyle emigrated to Ireland during the persecutions which the professors of the reformed faith in Holland, their native country, suffered from the intolerant zeal of Philip II: and Mr. Mason, in his *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, mentions that a brass chandelier, which but a few years before had been removed from the church of St. Catherine, in Dublin, bore the name of one of the family, who had presented it to the parish in

French refugees.

Persecution by Philip II.

Revocation of
edict of Nantes.

1637¹⁰. In later days, the revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Louis XIV. of France, which drove large multitudes of his subjects to abandon their country for their religion, caused a numerous portion of the refugees to seek an asylum in Ireland. And after the battle of the Boyne, a regiment of French Hugonots, who had there fought under the command of King William, were fain to establish themselves in their adopted country.

Congregations in
Dublin and else-
where.

Of these, the number was so considerable in Dublin, as to constitute, according to the report of the historian of that city¹¹, three distinct congregations, to one of which, being conformable to the doctrine of the Church of Ireland, was assigned a chapel under the roof of St. Patrick's Cathedral: a circumstance, which is marked, in Archbishop King's MS. Correspondence, by some letters addressed by him to the Rev. Charles Vignoles, and other leading ministers of that congregation. Others of the refugees were settled in Waterford, and others again in Lisburn, where clergymen, for celebrating the service of the Church in the French language, were paid by the government of the country, and where congregations were continued till a very recent period. But the most important colony was one established at Portarlington, in the Queen's County, which was long in high repute for its seminaries of education, and especially for the opportunities afforded by it of instruction in the French tongue.

Refugee clergy-
men of eminence.

Some of these foreign clergymen rose to stations of eminence in the Irish Church. Mr. Abbadie, who is mentioned by Primate Boulter as a man of learning, and "one who for many years had made

¹⁰ MASON's *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral*, p. 457.

¹¹ *History of Dublin*, ii., p. 342.

a figure in the world by the writings he had published¹²," was dean of Killaloe; and, having been promised a better preferment, would have been placed in the deanery of St. Patrick's, but that his ignorance of the English language was thought to disqualify him for holding the greatest preferment in Dublin. The deanery of Killaloe was conferred on Mr. Maturin, the son of a refugee, and a refugee himself, who is reported by his descendant to have been "a man of very various erudition," and to have left behind him "an immense mass of manuscripts, principally in Latin, and a few in French¹³." His son also was promoted to the deanery of St. Patrick's, and is commemorated as an able mathematician. To others likewise of this expatriated body, or to their immediate progeny, Irish literature is said to have been indebted. The first literary journal, which appeared in Ireland, was established in 1744 by the Rev. Mr. Droz, the son or grandson of a French refugee: and it was continued after his death by the Rev. Mr. Desvieux, who stood in a similar relation to one of that community¹⁴. The name of Gast has been already mentioned, as having given occasion for these brief notices. That of Vignoles also has been quoted from Archbishop King's Correspondence. And the names of Saurin, La Touche, L'Estrange, Lefanu, Dubordieu, and others, familiar with those who are acquainted with the nomenclature of the Irish clergy and gentry, may be cited as living memorials of the hospitality with which their forefathers were received in the country: and, I may add, of the moral and intellectual worth by which that hospitality has been compensated.

Refugee families
in Ireland.

¹² BOULTER'S *Letters*, i., p. 81. ¹³ MASON'S *St. Patrick's*, p. 445.

¹⁴ *History of Dublin*, ii., p. 341.

Meanwhile, the great body of these emigrants were distinguished by their habits of industry, and their skill in manufactures; especially the manufacture of silks, which, on the same occasion, was introduced into Spitalfields, London, was established by them in the liberties of Dublin. At the same time they adhered to their principles of repugnance to the Romish domination and corruptions: but by degrees their marks of religious, as well as of national, peculiarity have been obliterated, and they have become generally incorporated with the Church and country of their adoption.

Incorporated
with the general
Protestant popu-
lation.

SECTION II.

Viscount Townshend. Dr. Leland. His Works, Literary Character, and Preferments. Vacant Bishopricks during Lord Townshend's Administration. Hon. Fred. Aug. Hervey. Other Episcopal appointments. Account of Bishop Mann. His estimable Character. Primate Robinson's care of the Church. Acts of Parliament procured by him. Bishop Cumberland's translation. Use of his patronage, and management of his Estates. His Death and Burial. Question concerning the correctness of his Son's narrative. Position of Bishop Bedell's Tomb. Stricture on the phrase "Catholick." Archbishop Ryder's Death and Burial at Nice. Episcopal appointments. Opulence of Clergy overrated. Their condition in 1775. Value of Bishopricks and Deaneries, 1776-1779.

IN August, 1767, the chief government of Ireland, which had been administered by the Lord Chancellor Bowes, the Earl of Drogheda, and Mr. Ponsonby, having been relinquished the preceding year by the Earl of Hertford, and nominally but not actually filled by the Earl of Bristol in October, 1766, was undertaken by Viscount Townshend, who appointed for his chaplain Dr. Thomas Leland, fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. Dr. Leland was previously well known to the publick as the editor of the *Philippick Orations of Demosthenes*, and the translator of them, and of the other orations, into English; and as the author of the *Life of Philip of Macedon*, and of *Dissertations on Human Eloquence*. Afterwards he became further known as author of the *History of Ireland*, and of some occasional Sermons, as well as of three posthumous volumes. A critical judgment is given of these works in the

Viscount Townshend, lord lieutenant, 1767.

Dr. Leland,

His works,

Anthologia Hibernica, for March, 1793; and in NICHOLLS'S *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, vol. viii., p. 55-57: from which I transcribe the following brief character of the author, supposed to have been written by Dr. Parr:

And literary
character.

"Of Leland," he says, "my opinion is not founded upon hearsay evidence; nor is it determined solely by the great authority of Dr. Johnson, who always mentioned Leland with cordial regard and marked respect. It might, perhaps, be invidious for me to hazard a favourable decision upon the *History of Ireland*: because the merits of that work have been disputed by criticks: but I may with confidence appeal to writings which have long contributed to publick amusement, and have often been honoured by publick approbation: to the *Life of Philip*, and to the *Translation of Demosthenes*; to the judicious *Dissertation upon Eloquence*, and to the spirited *Defence* of that dissertation."

His preferments.

These works had been published before the arrival of Lord Townshend in Ireland; and as the new viceroy was sufficiently aware of the merits of the author to appoint him his chaplain, his friends entertained hopes, apparently not without reason, that he would have been advanced to the episcopate. His preferment, however, was limited to the prebend of Rathmichael, in the cathedral church of St. Patrick, united with the vicarage of Bray, both of small value, but tenable with his fellowship. To these he was collated in 1768. Why the anticipations of his friends, with respect to his higher promotion, were frustrated, is not apparent. It could hardly have been for want of opportunity during the unusually long period of more than five years that Lord Townshend's government continued, and there is reason to think, that it was not, in every case at least, from regard to the superior professional or literary pretensions of those who were preferred.

In fact, during Lord Townshend's viceroyalty, from August the 19th, 1767, to October 30th, 1772, there occurred in the Irish episcopate seven vacancies, which were severally filled by the consecration of the Bishops Hervey, Agar, Averell, Fowler, Cope, Mann, and Bourke.

Vacant bishopricks in Lord Townshend's administration.

In January, 1767, the death of Bishop Johnson made a vacancy in the see of Cloyne, which was filled by the preferment of the honourable Frederick Augustus Hervey from the mastership of Magdalen College, Cambridge, which station he had occupied from June, 1760. And in January, 1768, the death of Bishop Barnard made a vacancy in the see of Derry, which was likewise filled by the preferment of the honourable Frederick Augustus Hervey from the bishoprick of Cloyne. There is connected with this preferment a traditional anecdote, rendered not improbable by the eccentricities of its subject, that the Bishop of Cloyne was amusing himself in feats of activity with some of the young men attached to the castle, trying which could jump furthest, when a note was put into his hands; on reading which, he exclaimed he would jump no more; he had beaten them all, for he had jumped from Cloyne to Derry. However this be, the translation was effected, and Charles Agar, dean of Kilmore, elevated not long afterwards to the temporal barony of Somerton, and eventually to the archiepiscopal dignity, a native of Gowran Castle, his father's seat in the county of Kilkenny, Ireland, but educated at Christ Church, Oxford, where his portrait is preserved, standing in his episcopal robes, was now consecrated, in February, 1768, to the bishoprick of Cloyne.

Hon. Frederick Hervey, bishop of Cloyne.

Promoted to Derry.

Agar made bishop of Cloyne.

Another death, namely, of Bishop Leslie, in 1770, caused an opening in the see of Limerick,

Death of Bishop Averell.

which was filled by the consecration of Dr. John Averell, dean of that cathedral, on the 6th of January, 1771. On the 14th of September he died, in the course of his primary visitation, at Inishmore, in the county of Kerry, and was succeeded by Bishop Gore, translated thither from Elphin. The see of Elphin was filled by the translation of Bishop Jemmet Brown from Cork and Ross, to which bishoprick Isaac Mann was consecrated in March, 1772, having been previously Archdeacon of Dublin.

Robert Fowler,
consecrated to
Killaloe.

In the mean time, Robert Fowler, an Englishman, doctor of divinity, of Trinity College, Cambridge, and prebendary of Westminster, had been brought to Ireland, under the patronage of the lord lieutenant, and consecrated, in July, 1771, to the bishoprick of Killaloe, void by the death of Bishop Nicholas Synge, the fifth and last prelate of that episcopal family; the grandnephew, the grandson, and the brother, of three bishops, himself a bishop, and an archbishop's son. The cause of Dr. Fowler's appointment was a disinclination in Lord Townshend's chaplain to accept preferment, accompanied by the condition of residence in Ireland; and permission was in consequence given for him to negotiate an exchange, which transferred Dr. Fowler from his prebend of Westminster to the bishoprick of Killaloe, and eventually to the archbishoprick of Dublin.

Other episcopal
appointments.

About the same period, between five and six years' occupancy of the metropolitan see of Dublin was terminated by the death of Archbishop Smyth, in 1771. He was succeeded by Bishop Cradock, from Kilmore, and he again, by Bishop Cumberland, from Clonfert. The dean of Dromore, Walter Cope, a native of Drumilly, in the county of Armagh, and

educated in the university of Dublin, was consecrated to the vacant bishoprick of Clonfert in March, 1772. The same was the date of the consecration of Bishop Mann, whose elevation to the see of Cork and Ross has been already noticed. But it was somewhat later, namely, in the month of October, of the same year, that Joseph Deane Bourke, a native of Ireland, and educated in Trinity College, Dublin, having been first possessed of the deanery of Killaloe, and then of that of Dromore, a member of the family soon afterwards ennobled with the earldom of Mayo, to which title, as well as to the archiepiscopal dignity of Tuam, he eventually succeeded, was consecrated to the bishoprick of Ferns and Leighlin, on the death of Bishop Young. This was the last of the seven appointments to the episcopate made during the viceregal government of Lord Townshend, who, on the 30th of October, in that year, resigned his office to Earl Harcourt.

Lord Townshend
succeeded by
Earl Harcourt.

If, of these seven opportunities, one had been embraced for conferring the episcopal dignity on Dr. Leland, the selection would have reflected credit on the administration of Lord Townshend, who has been transmitted to posterity with honour, for one of the objects of his selection, namely, Bishop Mann.

Isaac Mann was a native of Norwich, but received his academical education at Trinity College, Dublin, under the patronage of the Lord Chancellor Jocelyn, by whose favour, also, he procured several promotions in the Church, and eventually the arch-deaconry of Dublin. On the assumption of the viceregal authority by Lord Townshend, he became one of his Excellency's chaplains; and having been called on by the duties of his office to administer spiritual consolation to the first Lady Townshend,

Account of
Bishop Mann.

during an illness, which terminated in her death, he gave such convincing proofs of piety, discretion, and tenderness, in the treatment of a mind anticipating the awful close of mortal existence, that, by the dying breath of that honourable lady, he was recommended to the special patronage of her lord. A vacancy in the see of Cork and Ross, in 1772, a short time before Lord Townshend's relinquishment of the government, afforded an opportunity for fulfilling the wishes of the deceased. To both parties it must have been a gratifying, as it was an honourable, occurrence. By the writer, from whom this anecdote is derived, and who describes himself as connected with the departed prelate by no other ties than those of long acquaintance and friendship, it is confidently affirmed, that "no promotion to that high and important office in the Church had, in the memory of man, given more sincere or general satisfaction; never had a chief governour a more fortunate opportunity of throwing a lustre over the close of his administration; and with whatever emotions, in future days, whether of uneasiness or of pleasure, Lord Townshend might take a retrospect of his conduct in the viceroyalty of Ireland, it might either comfort or delight him to reflect, that he had bequeathed to this country *a good bishop*."

His appointment
to Cork and Ross,
1772.

His estimable
character.

By a constant residence in his diocese, unless withdrawn by attendance on parliament, or by ill health and the infirmities of age, Bishop Mann testified his sense of episcopal duty: and he provided for the personal superintendence of his successors by entirely rebuilding the palace at Cork, his own residence being, in the mean time, kept at the country seat of Ballinespeg, which he made the abode of

innocent cheerfulness, and decent, but not expensive, hospitality. Of his scriptural erudition, of which he is said to have been possessed in a high degree, he was contented to publish no more than two unpretending but valuable memorials, an *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, and *The four Gospels and Acts, with Notes Explanatory and Critical, for the use of Families and Schools*. As a preacher, he was eminent: gentle in his manner, insinuating, and persuasive; distinguished more for making an useful impression on the heart, than for rhetorical declamation. Of his social and domestick virtues, let one example be added. His brother died in early life, leaving a widow and five children in circumstances far from affluent. Dr. Mann received the entire family under his roof: his own prospects of conjugal happiness he sacrificed to their good: to the end of his life he behaved towards them with all the tenderness and care of the best husband and parent: and he had his present reward in the unremitting affection of the widow and the fatherless.

The care of Primate Robinson for the welfare and improvement of the Church was at this time manifested by an act of parliament, passed under his auspices for erecting parochial chapels of ease, and making them perpetual cures in parishes of large extent. The act, which is chapter 16 of the eleventh and twelfth years of King George III., sets forth in its preamble, that “there are several parishes within this kingdom of such large extent, that the mother churches of such parishes are not sufficient to accommodate the number of inhabitants who might resort thither for divine worship, and, on account of the great distance many of them reside at, they cannot

Primate Robinson's care for the Church.

Act of 11, 12, Geo. III., chap. 16, for erecting new churches and chapels.

conveniently resort thereto." And, accordingly, it gives the bishops authority to erect in their several dioceses new churches or chapels in convenient places, within such parishes as to them respectively shall seem proper, provided that districts shall be first set out by the bishop, with consent of the incumbent, for constituting new parishes, which shall belong to the cure of the new churches or chapels, and form perpetual cures, the curates of which are declared capable of receiving endowment, and of making buildings and improvements on their glebes in the same manner as other incumbents, the nomination of the curate being assigned to the rector or incumbent of the mother parish.

Provision for
enrolment.

This is the principal enactment of the act, for the details of which the reader must be referred to the statute-book. One provision, however, should be specified, which requires, that the instrument, which sets out the bounds of the new parish, shall be "duly entered in the registry of the diocese, and enrolled in the Rolls' Office of this kingdom." By means of this provision I hoped to be enabled to report the effect of the act in the increase of new parishes and churches, as, on application to the council-chamber, I was enabled to report the effect of the act of George I., concerning the union and division of parishes. But on applying at the Rolls' Office to the person in whose custody the documents are lodged, I have been informed, with somewhat of the Shaksperian attribute of office, that its miscellaneous contents are in such a state or confusion, and the index so manifold and complicated, as to render the information on any particular subject of inquiry practically unattainable, even if the inquirer were willing to incur a very considerable charge of

Intelligence not
to be procured at
the Rolls' Office.

fees, payable to the treasury for every the minutest several article of intelligence.

Another act was passed at this time, being chapter 17 of the same session, for better enabling the clergy, having cure of souls, to reside on their benefices, and to build houses upon their glebelands. This was in pursuance of former acts of William III. and George I., which it professed to explain and render more effectual. The chief enactment of it was, that it authorised an incumbent, who should build or make other necessary improvements on a new site, to receive from his successor the full sum certified, instead of three-fourths, provided it did not exceed two years' clear income of the benefice.

Act 11 and 12 Geo. III., chap. 17, for encouraging residence on benefices.

Chapter 22 of the same session was also an act of an ecclesiastical nature. It recited "the burying of dead bodies in churches, as a practice very injurious to health:" and it forbade the burial of any dead body, or the breaking up of the ground, within the walls of any church, or within twelve feet on the outside of the walls, for the purpose of burying any dead body; it also forbade any ecclesiastical person to perform that part of the burial service appointed to be said at the grave, within the walls of a church, or within twelve feet on the outside. The penalty for every such offence was 10*l.*, to be laid out in the repairs of the church.

Act of 11, 12, Geo. III., chap. 22, for bidding burials in churches.

It has been stated above, that on the promotion of Bishop Cradock Bishop Cumberland was translated to the see of Kilmore, which, as remarked by his son, placed him in a more civilized country, and lodged him in a more comfortable house². His patronage in that see was very considerable; and

Bishop Cumberland's use of his patronage.

² CUMBERLAND'S *Memoirs*, p. 347.

this he is said to have bestowed upon the clergy of his diocese, promoting the curates to the smaller livings, as vacancies occurred, and exacting from every man, whom he put into a living, where there was no parsonage-house, a solemn promise to build; “but I am sorry to say,” observes his son, “that in no single instance was that promise fulfilled³.”

His management
of his estates.

The following circumstance in the bishop's management of his estates is mentioned by his son with merited commendation. “The opportunities he had of benefiting his fortune and family by fines, and the lapse of leases, which might have been considerable, he honourably declined to avail himself of; for when he had tendered his renewals upon the most moderate terms, and these had been delayed or rejected in his days of health, he peremptorily withstood their offers, when he found his life was hastening to its period, esteeming it, according to his high sense of honour, not perfectly fair to his successor, to take what he called the packing penny, and sweep clean before his departure. He left his see, therefore, much more valuable than he found it⁴.” Mr. Cumberland adds a particular, concerning which it is to be hoped that he was under a misapprehension, that “his legal demands for monies, expended on improvements, beneficial to the demesne, and regularly certified by his diocesan,” meaning, I presume, his metropolitan, “could not be recovered by his son for his daughter's use, till the lord primate took the cause in hand, and enforced the sluggish and unwilling satisfaction from the bishop who succeeded him.”

His death and
burial.

Bishop Cumberland died in 1774: his burial is thus related in the *Memoirs* of his son:

³ CUMBERLAND'S *Memoirs*, p. 377.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 378.

“ In a small patch of ground, enclosed with stone walls, adjoining to the churchyard of Kilmore, but not within the pale of the consecrated ground, my father’s corpse was interred beside the grave of the venerable and exemplary Bishop Bedell. This little spot, as containing the remains of that good and great man, my father had fenced and guarded with particular devotion; and he had more than once pointed it out to me as his destined grave, saying to me, as I well remember, in the words of the old prophet of Beth-el, ‘ When I am dead, then bury me in this sepulchre wherein the man of God is buried: lay my bones by his bones.’ This injunction was exactly fulfilled; and the Protestant Bishop of Kilmore, the mild friend of mankind, the impartial benefactor and unprejudiced protector of his Catholick poor, who almost adored him whilst living, was not permitted to deposit his remains within the precincts of his own churchyard, though they howled over his grave, and rent the air with their savage lamentations. Thus, whilst their carcasses monopolise the consecrated ground, his bones and the bones of Bedell make sacred the unblest soil in which they moulder⁵. ”

Mr. Cumberland’s narrative.

In a former portion of this narrative it has been given to be understood, that Bishop Bedell’s body was “ buried in the consecrated ground of his own churchyard; ” and this is agreeable to Bishop Burnet’s account, that “ his friends were obliged to obtain leave of the new intruding bishop, to bury his body in the churchyard of Kilmore, which with difficulty was done; and on the 9th of February he was buried, according to his directions, next to his wife’s coffin. ” This last circumstance is of considerable moment in confirming the former account; for it is hardly credible that the venerable prelate had deposited his wife’s remains in other ground than the consecrated churchyard, of which at that time he had the disposal. I think, therefore, that the

Question concerning its accuracy.

⁵ CUMBERLAND’S *Memoirs*, p. 376.

recollection of Mr. Cumberland, writing as he did after a long interval, and at an advanced period of life, was defective with respect to the spot, in which he describes his father's remains to have been deposited; the rather, as there is no appearance of any patch of ground and inclosure, such as he describes, adjoining to, but distinct from, the churchyard of Kilmore. Besides, his statement represents, first, that Bishop Cumberland selected himself, for his interment, a spot "not within the pale of the consecrated ground;" and then, that he "was not permitted to deposit his remains within the precincts of his own churchyard," through the opposition, if I apprehend aright, "of his Catholick poor;" an event which, in the year 1774, may be safely said to be beyond belief.

Position of Bishop Bedell's tomb.

For better satisfaction, however, I have sought information from the present Bishop of Kilmore, who kindly informs me, that he agrees with Bishop Burnet, that Bishop Bedell's tomb is within the ancient churchyard, and in consecrated ground. "The place," his Lordship observes, "is, and has been as long as I know, surrounded by a low wall, separating it from the rest of the churchyard, but *within the walls*. The spot of ground so surrounded is claimed by a family of the name of Sheridan, as their burial-ground. They assert, and it is believed in the parish, that the bishop died in the house of their ancestor, and was buried in the burying-ground belonging to their family." To a particular friend, also, who resides in the neighbourhood of Kilmore, I am indebted for some very minute and accurate inquiries and observations made upon the spot; the result of which on his mind is, that "he sees no reason whatever for the opinion of Bishop Bedell's having been buried in unconsecrated ground."

Thus, on the whole, whilst I cite Mr. Cumberland's statement of his father's burial, I question its correctness, so far as regards the precise spot of the interment. To his phrase, "Catholick poor," used whether by him, or by any other person, in the sense in which he intends it, namely, as designating the members of the Romish sect in Ireland, I am bound in conscience to object: if used by him correctly, the Church, of which his father was a bishop, at that time, and at this time the united Church of England and Ireland, is heretical and schismatical.

Stricture on the phrase "Catholick."

Bishop Cumberland was succeeded in the see of Kilmore by George Lewis Jones, who had been a fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and had graduated there as doctor of divinity, in 1772. He was chaplain to Earl Harcourt, who had followed Lord Townshend in the chief government of Ireland, October the 30th, 1772; and was consecrated to the bishoprick of Kilmore in 1775.

G. L. Jones, bishop of Kilmore.

On the 4th of February, in the same year, died Archbishop Ryder, at the advanced age of seventy-eight years, at Nice, in France; and there he was interred, on the 6th of February, by his own request, in a field purchased for a burying-ground by the consul; the Rev. Mr. Campbell, an English clergyman, reading the burial service, at the deceased prelate's house, and at the grave. The metropolitan see of Tuam, vacated by his death, was filled by the translation of Bishop Brown from Elphin, to which Bishop Dodgson was removed from Ossory; whereupon Bishop Newcome was translated to Ossory from Dromore. The new Bishop of Dromore was James Hawkins, D.D. of Trinity College, Dublin, son of W. Hawkins, Ulster king at arms, rector of Clonallan, in the diocese of Dromore, and Dean of Emly.

Archbishop Ryder's death and burial, at Nice.

New episcopal appointments.

He was appointed in April, 1775, and consecrated in the castle chapel, the 23rd of that month, by the Bishop of Clogher, Garnet, assisted by the Bishops of Ossory, Ferns, and Kilmore. It does not appear why the solemnity was not performed by the metropolitan.

Opulence of Irish
clergy overrated.

The opulence of the clergy of the Church of Ireland has been often the occasion of invidious remark. Information, adduced in the course of this narrative, may, perhaps, have diminished the estimate of the value of Irish benefices at different periods. The following statement of the case, at this particular period, may be of use in contributing to a discovery of the truth.

Their condition
in 1775.

Dr. Campbell, in his *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland*, written in 1775, thus describes the condition of the southern and western clergy:

“I had been taught to believe that the state of the Irish parochial clergy had been universally comfortable, if not affluent. But the case in Munster is mostly otherwise. It is, indeed, scarcely to be conceived, that in a country so uncultivated, a parish of moderate extent should yield sufficient for the liberal support of a parson. Accordingly, unions of large districts are here common; which after all give but a scanty subsistence. In the north, which is said to be very populous, and in the parts of Leinster which are cultivated, the case is different. There a small parish affords a decent maintenance. But in the south and west, where industry and consequent population is by every means discouraged, the situation of these gentlemen is rather to be pitied than envied. It requires a large income, indeed, to compensate for the want of houses, and markets, and those other comforts which the English clergy everywhere enjoy⁶.”

Value of bishop-
ricks and

The following catalogue of Irish bishopricks and

⁶ *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland*, p. 303.

deaneries, with their respective incomes, is copied from the *Gentleman's Magazine* for March, 1800, where it is given on the authority of Mr. Young's *Tour in Ireland*. On reference to the tour itself, I find no mention of the deaneries: but the value of the bishopricks is stated with the remark, that the author of the tour had "corrected them so often in the neighbourhood of each, that he believed it would be found nearly exact." The statement was made between the years 1776 and 1779: and it is accordingly introduced into its present position in the narrative, the arrangement of the sees being adapted to the metropolitan divisions of the kingdom.

ARCHBISHOPRICKS.		£.	DEANERIES.		£.	
Armagh		8000	Armagh		150	Archbishopricks.
Dublin and Glandelagh . .		5000	{ Christ Church		200	
			{ St. Patrick's		800	
Cashel and Emly		4000	{ Cashel		200	
			{ Emly		100	
Tuam and Adagh		4000	{ Tuam		300	
			{ Ardagh		200	
BISHOPRICKS.						
Meath		3400	Clonmacnoise		50	Bishopricks in the province of Armagh.
Derry		7000	Derry		1600	
Raphoe		2600	Raphoe		1600	
Clogher		4000	Clogher		800	
Dromore		2000	Dromore		400	
Kilmore		2600	Kilmore		600	
Down and Connor		2300	{ Down		1700	Province of Dublin.
			{ Connor		200	
Kildare		2600	Kildare		120	
Ossory		2000	Ossory		600	
Ferns and Leighlin		2200	{ Ferns		300	Province of Cashel.
			{ Leighlin		80	
Limerick, Ardfert, and } Aghadoe		3500	{ Limerick		600	
			{ Ardfert		60	

	BISHOPRICS.	£.	DEANERIES.		£.
Province of Tuam.	Waterford and Lismore	2500	{	Waterford .	400
				Lismore . .	300
	Cork and Ross . . .	2700	{	Cork . . .	400
				Ross . . .	20
	Cloyne	2500		Cloyne . .	220
	Killaloe and Kilfenora	2300	{	Killaloe . .	140
				Kilfenora .	210
	Elphin	3700		Elphin . .	250
	Clonfert and Kilmacduagh	2400	{	Clonfert . .	20
				Kilmacduagh	120
	Killala and Achonry .	2900	{	Killala . .	150
				Achonry . .	100

SECTION III.

Archbishop Cradock succeeded in Dublin by Bishop Fowler. Archbishop Cox succeeded in Cashel by Bishop Agar. Bishop Chinnery's infirmities and Death. Barnard, Bishop of Killaloe: particulars in his Character. Woodward, Bishop of Cloyne. Death of Bishop Chenerix of Waterford. His Family, Promotion, and Character. Other Episcopal Appointments. Legislative Enactments affecting the Church. Relaxation of restraints on Popery. Papists now first called Roman Catholics by Acts of Parliament. Illegal assumption of Titles. Immunities specified. Privilege to Protestant Dissenters in respect of Marriage. Acts commended by Lord Lieutenant. Disapproval by Bishops and other Peers. Opposition to both in the House of Lords. Protest against the Dissenters' Marriage Bill.

Archbishop
Cradock suc-
ceeded by
Bishop Fowler.

IN 1777 the Earl of Buckinghamshire succeeded Earl Harcourt as lord lieutenant: and in 1778, the death of Archbishop Cradock, at his palace of St. Sepulchre's, Dublin, the 10th of December, caused a vacancy in the metropolitan see, which was filled by Bishop Fowler: of whom Mr. Skelton has spoken with respect, for his regard to religion,

as well as for his kindness, condescension, and affability, not, however, unattended by warmth of temper, the usual "concomitant of good nature;" to whose conduct in a particular instance of his publick capacity he has obscurely alluded, as highly to his honour; and whose solemnity and devotion he has commemorated as unrivalled in reading the service of the Church¹; a quality which Mr. Wesley likewise has noticed, as worthy of being admired in this prelate, especially in administering the rite of ordination². Archbishop Fowler occupied his see till after the Union. The vacancy, made at Killaloe by his translation, was filled by George Chinnery, an Irishman, of the university of Dublin, and dean of Cork, to which dignity he had been advanced from the mastership of Middleton School, by the interest of the Earl of Shannon. He was consecrated at Christ Church, the 7th of March, 1779, by the Archbishop of Dublin, assisted by the Bishops of Meath, and Down and Connor, the solemnity having been fixed at eight o'clock in the morning, in consequence of the bishop-elect's great infirmities.

Chinnery, bishop
of Killaloe.

The year following the vacancy of the archbishoprick of Dublin, the metropolitan see of Cashel also was vacated, the 28th of May, by the death of Archbishop Cox, an ancient man in the ninetieth year of his age, of which he had passed thirty-six from his episcopal ordination; eleven in the suffragan bishoprick of Ossory, and twenty-five in the archbishoprick of Cashel. His portrait, in his episcopal robes, is preserved in Christ Church, Oxford, where he was educated as a gentleman commoner, according to the customary, but somewhat invidious, phrase of that university, or, in the language inscribed on

Archbishop Cox
succeeded by
Bishop Agar,
1779.

Their portraits
in Christ
Church, Oxford.

¹ BURDY'S *Life*, p. 446.

² WESLEY'S *Journal*, xx., p. 14.

the portrait, "superioris ordinis commensalis." He was succeeded in his archbishoprick by Bishop Agar, who has the merit of having completed the present cathedral of Cashel, a large and handsome edifice for one of modern structure; and who continued in this see till after the Union. His portrait also, standing in his episcopal robes, is preserved in Christ Church, where he received his academical education.

Bishop Chinnery's infirmities and death.

Archbishop Agar's successor in the see of Cloyne was Bishop Chinnery, consecrated not many months before to Killaloe, whose infirmities preventing him from going out, he was sworn before the Archbishop of Cashel at his own house, the 21st of February, 1780, and died at Cloyne on the 13th of August, the following year. In Killaloe, he had been succeeded by Thomas Barnard, son of the late Bishop of Derry, a doctor of divinity of the university of Dublin, where he had been educated, and successively Archdeacon and Dean of Derry.

Thomas Barnard, bishop of Killaloe.

Dr. Barnard was in the latter station, when characterised by Goldsmith in the poem of *Retaliation*, amongst the dishes which furnished that intellectual feast, as

"Venison just fresh from the plains."

And afterwards by the imaginary epitaph:

"Here lies the good dean, reunited to earth,
Who mix'd reason with pleasure, and wisdom with mirth;
If he had any faults, he has left us in doubt."

Particulars in his character, by Goldsmith,

And he was in the same station, when, after the discussion, at Sir Joshua Reynolds's, of Johnson's epitaph on Goldsmith, by a large company of their friends and acquaintance, it was determined to submit the composition to the author's reconsideration; and an address was accordingly drawn up to

Dr. Johnson, on the occasion, by Dr. Barnard, which Mr. Boswell has described as "replete with wit and humour; but which, it was feared, the doctor might think treated the subject with too much levity;" and which was thereupon superseded by another from the pen of Mr. Burke. Bishop Barnard was also a member of the "Literary Club," and is mentioned as such, together with Bishops Percy and Marlay, in Mr. Boswell's enumeration of 1792.

He was well acquainted with Dr. Johnson, to whom he paid remarkable attention, and with whom he lived on terms of mutual regard, according to the testimony of Mr. Boswell, who, at the same time, relates an anecdote, arising out of "a pretty smart altercation," when Johnson, "in a hasty humour, expressed himself in a manner not quite civil. Dr. Barnard," continues the biographer, "made it the subject of a copy of pleasant verses, in which he supposed himself to learn different perfections from different men. They concluded with delicate irony:

And Johnson.

" ' Johnson shall teach me how to place
In fairest light each borrow'd grace ;
From him I'll learn to write :
Copy his clear familiar style,
And, by the roughness of his file,
Grow, like himself, polite.' "

It may be added, that "a just and elegant compliment" was once paid to the bishop by Dr. Johnson, who, it seems, could occasionally amuse himself with so slight and playful a species of composition as a charade. "I have recovered one," says Mr. Boswell, "which he made on Dr. Barnard, now lord bishop of Killaloe, who has been pleased for many years to treat me with so much intimacy and social ease, that I may presume to call him not only my right reverend, but my very dear friend :

“ ‘CHARADE.

“ ‘ My *first* shuts out thieves from your house or your room ;
 My *second* expresses a Syrian perfume ;
 My *whole* is a man in whose converse is shared
 The strength of a BAR and the sweetness of NARD.’ ”

Woodward,
 bishop of Cloyne.

To revert to Bishop Chinnery, whose successor in Killaloe was Dr. Barnard, in Cloyne he was succeeded by Richard Woodward, dean of Clogher, of a family belonging to Bristol, formerly a member of Wadham College, Oxford, but afterwards a doctor of laws of the university of Dublin, and chancellor of St. Patrick's, which last preferment he had exchanged for the rectory of Louth. By Mr. Wesley, who attended divine service in the church of Clogher, in 1771, where “ the congregation was not only large, but remarkably well-behaved,” the dean is represented as “ one of the best readers he had heard, and one of the most easy, natural preachers.”³³ By the biographer of Mr. Skelton he was afterwards described, as “ a prelate, whose arguments were able to convince, and his eloquence to please and reform.”

Death of Bishop
 Chenevix.

The same year, 1779, died, also, Chenevix, bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in the thirty-fifth year of his episcopate, the whole of which he had passed in that see, with the exception of a few months in Killaloe. It is believed, that his family, which was of French extraction, had fled from their country at the revocation of the edict of Nantes, and become naturalised in England. He himself was chaplain to the British embassy at the Hague, when the Earl of Chesterfield was ambassador, and was taken over to Ireland as first chaplain, when Lord Chesterfield became viceroy, in January, 1745. It is said, that a pamphlet, which Dr. Chenevix wrote, rendered him obnoxious to the prime minister

His family.

³³ *Journal*, xvi., p. 31.

of the time, who objected to his advancement to a bishoprick ; but the lord lieutenant was so convinced of his merits, or so attached to his person, that he declared he would resign his office, if his recommendation was not complied with. This had its effect, and Chenevix was promoted, in 1745, to Killaloe, and, in the following year, to Waterford and Lismore.

Promotion,

In that diocese Bishop Chevenix is still remembered as a man of the most simple, innocent mind. To those who had been committed to his charge he gave lasting proofs of his benevolence: for, by his will, dated August the 13th, 1777, which is in the Prerogative Office, Dublin, and of which a copy is in the Consistorial Court of Waterford, he bequeathed to the diocese of Waterford 1600*l.*, the interest to be given to widows of clergymen of that diocese ; and 1000*l.* to the diocese of Lismore, the interest of which was to be expended for the benefit of that diocese at the discretion of the bishop for the time being.

And character.

In consequence of the death of Bishop Chenevix, which occurred the 11th of September, in this year, Bishop Newcome was translated from Ossory to Waterford and Lismore ; and John Hotham, the second son of a Yorkshire baronet, archdeacon of Middlesex, and chaplain to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, lord lieutenant, was promoted to the bishoprick of Ossory, to which he was consecrated the 14th of November, the same year.

Other episcopal appointments.

Early in the following year, 1780, Hawkins, bishop of Dromore, on the death of Oswald, bishop of Raphoe, was translated to that see, over which he presided till some years after the Union. In Dromore he was succeeded by the Honourable Wil-

liam Beresford, brother of George, first Marquis of Waterford, and rector of Urney, in the diocese of Derry, who was consecrated on the 8th of April by the primate. And on the death of Hutchinson, bishop of Killala, who died, aged eighty years, on the 27th of October the same year, William Cecil Pery was consecrated to that see by the Archbishop of Dublin on the 18th of February, 1781. He was a native of Limerick, and educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and had been successively dean of Killaloe and of Derry, and for many years chaplain to the House of Commons. In the interval between the making and the supply of this vacancy a change had taken place in the chief government, the Earl of Buckinghamshire having been succeeded by the Earl of Carlisle, on the 23rd of December, 1780.

Legislative enactments affecting the Church.

During the years in which these alterations in the Irish hierarchy were in progress, a series of legislative enactments had been commenced and were carrying forward, calculated to have a powerful effect on the future condition of the Church. Deeply impressed with a sense of the essential nature and the necessary tendency of the Popish tenets, under the guidance of the ministers of the Church of Rome; and having experienced in their own persons and property, and in those of their fathers and progenitors, the effects of such tenets, when suffered to operate without due control; the Irish legislature, in the early part of this century, had imposed strong restraints upon the members of the Romish Church. Ignorant or negligent of the true character of Popery, the legislators of the latter part of the century proceeded to take off those restraints by counteracting statutes, and to invest the Papists

Relaxation of restraints on Popery.

step by step with the privileges and power, which have continually urged them forward in their demands, and fortified them for the acquisition of more. But the end is not yet.

The first step of this kind was taken by parliament in the year 1774, during the viceroyalty of Earl Harcourt, when an act was passed "to enable his Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him." It was framed upon the ground of there being many of his Majesty's subjects in Ireland, "desirous to testify their loyalty and allegiance, but, on account of their religious tenets, prevented by the laws from giving publick assurances of such allegiance, and of their real principles and good will and affection towards their fellow-subjects." And, accordingly, the act set forth an oath, which might be taken by any Papist or person professing the Popish religion; and which, amongst other things, contained a declaration of belief, "that the Pope of Rome neither had, nor ought to have, any temporal or civil jurisdiction, power, superiority, or pre-eminence within this realm." The Pope's spiritual power was not noticed by the oath: manifest as it was, that the possession of temporal is indissolubly bound up with the possession of spiritual power; that the claim of temporal power by the Pope was, in almost all instances, founded on his possession of the spiritual power; and that his possession of spiritual power in Ireland did, in fact, invest him with a vast portion of temporal power. Yet it was conceded to the Papist, thus to retain his notorious and undisputed belief of the spiritual power of the Pope in Ireland, and thus to testify his allegiance to the king.

The small end of the wedge was thus intro-

Act of 13, 14. Geo. III., c. 35, for testifying allegiance, 1774.

Act of 17, 18, Geo. III., c. 49,

for relief of
Papists, 1778.

Power of taking
leases, &c.

duced ; it was not till 1778, under the viceroyalty of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, that an effort was made to drive it further. But in that parliament, another act was passed, 17 and 18 George III., c. 49, intituled “An act for the relief of his Majesty subjects of this kingdom professing the Popish religion.” The preamble adverts to two acts in the reign of Queen Anne, respectively in her second and eighth years, whereby “the Roman Catholicks of Ireland were made subject to several disabilities and incapacities therein particularly mentioned ;” and states, that, “from their uniform peaceable behaviour for a long series of years, it appears reasonable and expedient to relax the same.” And accordingly it empowers “Papists, or persons professing the Popish religion,” to “take leases for any term of years not exceeding nine hundred and ninety-nine years certain, or for any term of years determinable upon any number of lives not exceeding five ; and to purchase, or take by grant, limitation, descent, or devise, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in this kingdom, and to dispose of them by will or otherwise, to descend according to the common course of law, devisable and transferable in like manner as the lands of any other of his Majesty’s subjects.” It also enacted, that “the conformity of the eldest son of a Popish parent to the Church of Ireland, as by law established, should not affect or alter the estate of any Popish parent, by making him tenant for life, or by vesting a reversion or estate in such eldest son.” The benefits of the act were limited by the provision of taking and subscribing the oath of allegiance prescribed by the act of 1774. And they were not suffered to extend to “any person, who, having been converted from the Popish to the

Protestant religion, should afterwards relapse to Popery, or who, being a Protestant, should at any time become a Papist, or educate any of his children, under fourteen years of age, in the Popish religion."

In this act there occurs a particular phrase, which deserves to be pointed out to the reader's attention. The title refers to "his Majesty's subjects professing the *Popish* religion." And in the body of the act the terms "*Papists* or persons professing the *Popish* religion," "*Popish* parents," "*Popery*," perpetually occur. But, in the preamble, we find the phrase "the *Roman Catholicicks* of Ireland," used with reference to acts of Queen Anne, wherein the phrase was "*Papists*." The alteration is remarkable, as supplying, so far as my recollection reaches, the first example of deviation from the established phraseology of the legislature, except in the pretended parliament of King James II.

Papists now first
called Roman
Catholicicks.

In connection with this parliamentary innovation, it may be incidentally noticed, that, at about this period also, it appears, that the professors of the Romish religion were unlawfully attributing to their rulers distinctions, which belonged lawfully only to the rulers of the Irish Church. Dr. Campbell, in his *Philosophical Survey of Ireland*⁴, published in 1778, records it as a trivial circumstance, whence might be argued the prevalence of the Popish interest at Cork, that, on directing his guide to conduct him from the cathedral to the bishop's house, he was met by the question "Which bishop?" The same conclusion he drew at Kilkenny, from "hearing the titular bishop greeted in the style of his dignity." Let it then be here repeated, and let it be ever borne in mind, that neither the Popish

Illegal assumption
of titles.

prelates, nor their predecessors, were at any time in possession of the sees, of which they thus arrogated the titles, but were merely intrusive missionaries of a foreign prelate.

Act of 21 and 22
Geo. III., c. 24,
for further relief
of Papists, 1782.

But, reverting to the progress of parliamentary indulgence in favour of the subjects of that foreign prelate, I observe, that, after a second interval of four years, in the year 1782, under the viceroyalty of the Duke of Portland, another act was passed, 21 and 22 George III., c. 24, "for the further relief of his Majesty's subjects of this kingdom professing the Popish religion." The ground assumed for its enactments was, that the taking of the oath of allegiance, prescribed in 1774, ought to be considered as constituting persons "good and loyal subjects to his Majesty;" and that "a continuance of several of the laws formerly enacted, and still in force, against persons professing the Popish religion, was, therefore, unnecessary, in respect to those who had taken, or should take, the said oath." Accordingly, power was given to them of "purchasing in fee, or taking by grant, limitation, descent, or devise, any lands, tenements, or hereditaments, in this kingdom, the same being descendable, according to the course of the common law, and devisable and transferable, in like manner as the lands of Protestants." Thus the capacity of acquiring land by purchase, which, in 1778, was granted under a fiction, was given directly and entirely.

Further power of
acquiring land.

Popish ecclesiastics
discharged
from penalties.

Popish ecclesiastics, on taking the aforesaid oath of allegiance, and registering their names, ages, and places of abode, were discharged from the penalties, incapacities, or disabilities, mentioned in the acts of the ninth of William III., and of the second, fourth, and eighth of Queen Anne, which had respect to the

Popish clergy. They were, however, still restricted from officiating in any church or chapel with a steeple or bell, or at any funeral in any church or churchyard; or from exercising any of the rites or ceremonies of the Popish religion, or wearing the habits of their order, save within their usual places of worship, or in private houses; or from using any symbol or mark of ecclesiastical dignity or authority; or assuming or taking any ecclesiastical rank or title whatsoever; or from procuring, inciting, or persuading any Protestant to become a Papist.

By a repeal of the act of the eighth of Queen Anne, the penalty was removed from such Papists as should refuse to appear and testify on oath, where and when he heard the Popish mass celebrated, and the names of the persons who celebrated and were present at it. And by a repeal of parts of several other acts, of the seventh of William III., the ninth of George II., the sixth of George I., and the second of Anne, various secular immunities were extended to them.

Further immunities.

By another act of this same parliament, chapter 62, repealing former enactments, persons professing the Popish religion were allowed to keep school, and to have the guardianship, care, and tuition of their own or other Popish children; but the act did not extend to any Popish schoolmaster, who should receive into his school Protestant scholars; nor did it allow any Popish university, or college, or endowed school, nor authorise any Papist to keep school, without the licence of the ordinary of the diocese.

Thus much of relief and encouragement was afforded to the Papists of Ireland by the acts of the parliament of 1782. Means, indeed, were at the same time provided, for “rendering the manner of conforming from the Popish to the Protestant reli-

Manner of conforming made more easy.

gion more easy and expeditious." In the preamble to chapter 26 of this session, "the manner of conforming, according to the laws then in force, is stated to be attended with considerable delay and difficulty." It was enacted, therefore, "That all persons, desirous of conforming, should be reputed Protestants of the Church of Ireland, on receiving from any parish minister the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, any Sunday, in the time of Divine service, according to the order of the Church; and on subscribing the declaration in the act to prevent the further growth of Popery;" and taking the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration, which declaration and oaths every such minister was authorised and required to receive and administer: a certificate of such requisites having been performed being filed in the Court of Chancery. The minister was also directed to keep a roll of parchment, containing the declaration and oath, and which should be signed by every person conforming. But the good intentions of this act were counteracted by the enactments for the encouragement of Popery.

Privilege to Protestant dissenters.

But this year, 1782, the year memorable as the era of the establishment of the legislative independence of Ireland, was memorable also for additional enactments, in favour of the hereditary enemies of the Irish Church. In the same session, wherein these immunities were granted to the Papists, there was a very important privilege granted to the Protestant dissenters. The restriction of the sacramental test, imposed by the act of the second year of Queen Anne, by which all persons were required to qualify themselves for holding offices, civil or military, by receiving the sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the usage of the Church

of Ireland, and which they had in former years in vain endeavoured to shake off, had been repealed in 1780, by the act of the 19th and 20th of George III., chapter 6, in favour of all persons being Protestants. This statute opened to dissenting laymen the possession of offices in the state. But by a statute passed in the parliament of 1782, an ecclesiastical function, which had been previously limited to the clergy of the Church, was extended to dissenting ministers and teachers in connection with persons dissenting from the Church. For, by the act 21 and 22 George III., chapter 25, being, according to its title, for their relief, it was enacted, that "all marriages heretofore solemnised, or hereafter to be solemnised, between Protestant dissenters, and by Protestant dissenting ministers or teachers, should be good and valid, to all intents and purposes, as if they had been solemnised by a clergyman of the Church of Ireland."

Act of 19 and 20
Geo. III., c. 6,
for repealing the
sacramental test,
1780.

Act of 21 and 22
Geo. III., c. 25,
relating to dissen-
ters' marriages.

This act for the relief, so it professed to be, of the dissenters, as well as those for the relief of the Papists, were passed under the viceroyalty of the Duke of Portland, who entered upon the chief government during the progress of the session, about the middle of April; and at its close, on the 27th of July, adverted to these, amongst other "very important acts, which would for ever distinguish the period of this memorable session." "You have cherished and enlarged," he said, addressing the houses of Parliament in his speech from the throne, "the wise principles of toleration, and made considerable advances in abolishing those distinctions, which have too long impeded the progress of industry, and divided the nation."

Acts commended
by lord lieute-
nant.

But however these things may have been regarded by the lord lieutenant, and the majority of

Disapproved by
bishops, and
other peers.

the legislature of Ireland, such encouragement, conferred on the two religious parties who were in notorious and unceasing hostility to the Church, was viewed with natural jealousy, and encountered with corresponding resistance, by her governours, who, in co-operation with a respectable body of lay members of her communion, did not fail, in their places in parliament, to testify their disapprobation of the countenance given to Popish and Protestant dissent.

Opposition to the
Popery Relief
Bill,

In the former case, when a motion was made on the 2nd of May in the House of Lords for the committal of the Popery relief bill the following day, an amendment was proposed to substitute for "tomorrow" the 1st day of September next. After a debate, on a division it appeared that the number in favour of the immediate committal was thirty-nine, and against it twenty-five: which were increased by the addition of proxies to forty-six and twenty-nine respectively. It does not appear how many spiritual peers were opposed to the measure: but on this occasion there were present in the house the Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, and Cashel, and fifteen bishops; namely, of Meath, Kildare, Elphin, Down and Connor, Waterford and Lismore, Cork and Ross, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, Ferns and Leighlin, Kilmore, Raphoe, Ossory, Killaloe and Kilfenora, Dromore, Cloyne, and Killala and Achonry. The only prelates absent were the Archbishop of Tuam, and the Bishops of Derry, Limerick, and Clogher. Subsequently, the bill for the education of Papists was passed without opposition.

And to the Dis-
senter's Relief
Bill.

In the latter case, namely, that of the countenance given by the legislature to Protestant dissenters, on the 3rd of May, the bill for the relief of

such dissenters was read a second time in the House of Lords, in the presence of seventeen spiritual and forty-four temporal peers. After the reading of petitions, and the hearing of counsel for and against the bill, a long debate ensued: when a motion was made, and the question put, that the said bill be committed for to-morrow. On a division, the contents were twenty-nine, and the not-contents twenty; and by the addition of proxies, the former were increased to thirty-five, and the latter to twenty-three. The bill was accordingly carried. But it gave occasion to the following protest, to which, besides the names of nine temporal peers, will be found those of the three Archbishops of Armagh, Dublin, and Cashel, and of ten bishops. The four bishops, who were present at the debate, but whose names are not subscribed to the protest, were Kilmore, Killaloe, Dromore, and Killala:

“ DISSIDENTENT.

Protest in the
House of Lords.

“ I. Because it is apprehended, that this bill, professing to allow *Protestant* dissenting teachers to celebrate marriages between *Protestant* dissenters, may encourage almost every species of clandestine and improvident marriages, not only between *Protestant* dissenters of all denominations, but between *Protestants* of the Established Church: for it is apprehended, that neither by this bill, nor by any other law now in being, can it be ascertained whether the parties be, or be not, *Protestant* dissenters; so that any man and woman, who may have gone once or twice to a meeting-house, or to hear a field preacher, and calling themselves *Protestant* dissenters, may be married under the sanction of this bill by a *Protestant* dissenting teacher, whether he be a *Presbyterian* teacher, an *Independent* teacher, an *Anabaptist* teacher, a *Moravian* teacher, or any other *Protestant* dissenting teacher whatsoever. Nay it is apprehended, that a degraded *Popish* priest, a degraded clergyman of the Esta-

blished Church, and by the 6th George I., c. 5, s. 8, any man whatsoever pretending to holy orders, and taking the oaths and subscribing the declaration therein prescribed, has under this bill a right to solemnise marriages. And, therefore, the lowest and most profligate men in the state may instantly qualify themselves for that purpose.

“II. Because it is apprehended, that such marriages may not only be celebrated by all such persons, but that, as this bill makes marriages so celebrated good and valid to all intents and purposes whatsoever, those marriages are so far privileged, that there can be no divorce *a vinculo* for pre-contract, consanguinity, or impotence. For this bill gives to such marriages all the rights and benefits of those celebrated by the clergy of the Established Church, but does not subject them to the same objections.

“III. Because it is apprehended, that under this bill marriages may be celebrated by all *Protestant* dissenting teachers, with absolute impunity to themselves, between parties within the prohibited degrees of kindred; without publication of banns, without licence, in a private place, at any hour of the night; without witnesses, without registering such marriage between minors, and without the consent of parents, guardians, or of the lord chancellor; though such transgressions would subject a clergyman of the Established Church to deprivation, if beneficed, and to degradation, if not beneficed; and in the case of a *Popish* priest, would be felony, without benefit of clergy. And by making such marriages, heretofore bad, good and valid, legal heirs may be robbed of their inheritance by this *ex post facto* law.

“IV. Because this bill makes valid, to all intents and purposes whatsoever, all matrimonial contracts heretofore entered into between *Protestant* dissenters, and solemnised by *Protestant* dissenting teachers, whether such matrimonial contracts were consummated or not. From whence it is apprehended, that such contracts, not consummated, will, by this *ex post facto* law, be of force to make void subsequent marriages consummated; and to subject women, who are now lawful wives, to be divorced, and their children to be bastardized; although by the 33rd Henry VIII., c. 6,

and the 12th George I., c. 3, no contract of marriage, celebrated even by a clergyman of the Established Church, but not consummated, shall make void a subsequent marriage which was consummated.

“ V. Because this bill, by vesting generally in *Protestant* dissenting teachers, without distinction, an unregulated power of celebrating marriages, exposes dissenters themselves and their children, to all the evil consequences attendant upon clandestine and improvident marriages, equally with the members of the Established Church.

“ And of the numberless sects of *Protestant* dissenters, no one denomination of them is guarded by this bill against clandestine and improvident marriages, to be celebrated between persons of their persuasion by dissenting teachers of any other denomination whatsoever.

“ VI. Because it was admitted in debate, that this bill is extremely defective; yet it was argued, that it ought to be passed, because it might be hereafter amended; an argument, which, it is conceived, would rather justify the rejection of a bad bill, to which this branch of the legislature is fully competent, than support the passing of such a bill, with a view to future amendment of it, which cannot be obtained, but by the concurrent agreement of all branches of the legislature. For this argument would justify the commission of an actual evil, which might be avoided, in order to apply a future remedy, that possibly might never be obtained.

“ VII. Because those who opposed this bill did repeatedly declare themselves willing to vote for another bill, rendering all matrimonial contracts or marriages heretofore entered into between *Protestant* dissenters and celebrated by *Protestant* dissenting ministers or teachers, as good and valid, to all intents and purposes, as such contracts or marriages would have been, if celebrated by the clergy of the Established Church. And also rendering all matrimonial contracts or marriages, hereafter to be entered into between *Protestant* dissenters, and celebrated by *Protestant* dissenting ministers or teachers of their own respective congregations, under proper regulations, as good and valid, to all intents and purposes, as such contracts or marriages

would be, if celebrated by the clergy of the Established Church.

(Signed)

“ Richard Armagh.	Bellamont.
Belmore.	Eniskillen.
Shannon.	James Raphoe.
Tracton.	Carlow.
R. Dublin.	James Down and
Henry Meath.	Connor.
William Waterford.	Antrim.
Clanwilliam.	Richard Cloyne.
Milltown.	J. D. Leighlin and
Isaac Cork and Ross.	Ferns.
Walter Clonfert.	Cha. Kildare.
Charles Cashel.	Charles Elphin.”

The importance which belongs to the foregoing document, with reference to the law which the protesters had ineffectually endeavoured to intercept, has induced me to transcribe it at length. The tone of calm consideration, discretion, and moderation, which pervades it, must be perceptible by every reader: but the wisdom and foresight of its framers will be most justly, and therefore most highly, estimated by such as have had opportunities of seeing or learning the injuries, which under the sanction of that law have been inflicted on sound religion, on pure morality, on the decencies, the charities, and the comforts of social life; and the frauds, the impositions, and the subterfuges practised under its shelter by those from whose profession better things might have been expected. Multitudes of members of the Established Church have been induced to call themselves Protestant dissenters, for the sole purpose of being married by a Protestant dissenting teacher; and many a Protestant dissenting teacher has been known to require from members of the Church written declarations, that they were Protestant dis-

senters, for the sole purpose of enabling him to marry them, under the sanction of this statute. To those, who resisted the enactment, a grateful acknowledgment is still due from such, as properly value Christian truth and simplicity: and I therefore add that the spiritual peers, as known by their family names, who protested against this enactment, were the Archbishops Robinson, of Armagh; Fowler, of Dublin; and Agar, of Cashel: and the Bishops Maxwell, of Meath; Newcome, of Waterford; Mann, of Cork and Ross; Cope, of Clonfert; Hawkins, of Raphoe; Trail, of Down and Connor; Woodward, of Cloyne; Bourke, of Leighlin and Ferns; Jackson, of Kildare; and Dodgson, of Elphin.

SECTION IV.

Death and Character of Bishop Garnet. Percy, Bishop of Dromore. His Character and Publications. Residence in his diocese, great age, and Death. Archbishop Brown succeeded by Bishop Bourke. Law, Bishop of Clonfert. His Conduct with respect to the Romanists. Bishop Trail succeeded in Down and Connor by William Dickson. Volunteer Associations. National Convention. Bishop of Derry a delegate. His temporal rank and influence. Character and progress to Dublin. Procession through the Metropolis. Conduct in the assembly. Subsequent proceedings. Correspondence with the Presbytery of Derry. His residence in Italy, and Death. A patron of the Methodists. His Character by Mr. Wesley.

AFTER the passing of the last-named acts, but during the course of the same session, three spiritual peers took their seats in the House of Lords on their promotion, which in each case was the consequence of the death of a very respectable prelate, Garnet, bishop of Clogher, aged seventy-eight years, to whose honour it is recorded by Dr. Campbell, in

Death and
character of
Bishop Garnet.

his *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland*, that he pursued in his episcopal course the same plan as Primate Robinson, improved his cathedral and palace, built churches where they were wanting, and provided that scarce a parish in his diocese should be without a parsonage-house; and of whom Mr. Burdy, in his *Life of Mr. Skelton*, makes honourable mention, as “a prelate of great piety and humility, kind to his domesticks, and a friend to literature and religion, prompt in discovering men of worth and abilities, and distinguished for promoting them and treating them with merited respect.” The successor of Bishop Garnet in Clogher was Hotham, translated from Ossory: and together with Bishop Hotham their seats in parliament were now taken by Beresford, the new bishop of Ossory, translated from Dromore, where he had recently erected a handsome and convenient residence; and by Percy, the new bishop of Dromore, to which bishoprick he was consecrated from the deanery of Carlisle.

Account of
Thomas Percy.

Thomas Percy, not unknown among biblical scholars, though more known among the followers of general and polite literature in the latter half of the eighteenth century, the heir male of the ancient Percies, earls of Northumberland, was a native of Bridgnorth, in Shropshire, and educated at Christ Church, Oxford, from which he received the vicarage of Easton Mauduit, in Northamptonshire, in 1756. By invitation of the Duke and Duchess of Northumberland, with whom he claimed a family relation, he became in 1765 a resident in their household, as domestick chaplain. In 1769 he was appointed a chaplain in ordinary to King George III., whereupon he took his degree of doctor in divinity at Cambridge, having been admitted a member of Emanuel

Bishop of
Dromore, 1782.

College: and in 1778 was promoted to the deanery of Carlisle, where, as Mr. Boswell relates, he had the character of being very popular, and whence he was transferred to the Irish episcopate in 1782.

Mr. Nicholls, in his *Literary Anecdotes*, commemorates him¹ as "well known for more than half a century by various learned and ingenious publications, and distinguished by the most active and exemplary publick and private virtues: in him," he adds, "literature has lost one of its brightest ornaments and warmest patrons; his ardour of genius, his fine classical taste, his assiduity of research, and his indefatigable zeal in its cause, were such as were possessed by the distinguished few, and will for ever render his name dear to learning and science. He was the intimate friend of Shenstone, Johnson, Goldsmith, Reynolds; and the last of the illustrious association of men of letters, who flourished at the commencement of King George III.'s reign."

His character.

Of Dr. Percy's value Johnson in particular was highly sensible: and he has left a very interesting testimony of his sentiments in a letter addressed by him to Mr. Boswell, by whom it has been preserved in the life of the great moralist. Percy had been hurt by some observation which had fallen from Johnson in conversation; and this being communicated to Johnson, he thus signified his concern on the occasion:

Valued by Dr. Johnson.

"If Percy is really offended, I am sorry; for he is a man whom I never knew to offend any one. He is a man very willing to learn, and very able to teach: a man, out of whose company I never go, without having learned something. It is sure that he vexes me sometimes, but I am afraid it is by making me feel my own ignorance. So

¹ NICHOLLS' *Literary Anecdotes*, iii., p. 752.

much extension of mind, and so much minute accuracy of inquiry, if you survey your whole circle of acquaintance, you will find so scarce, if you find at all, that you will value Percy by comparison. Lord Hailes is somewhat like him: but Lord Hailes does not, perhaps, go beyond him in research, and I do not know that he equals him in elegance. Percy's attention to poetry has given grace and splendour to his studies of antiquity. A mere antiquarian is a rugged being.

"Upon the whole, you see that what I might say in sport or petulance to him, is very consistent with full conviction of his merit."

Dr. Percy, on being made acquainted with this letter of Johnson in his praise, was highly delighted with it, and said, "I would rather have this than degrees from all the universities in Europe. It will be for me, and my children, and grandchildren²."

His publications,
literary,

In 1765 he first published the work for which he is most generally celebrated, *The Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*: of which Mr. Nicholls justly says, that it "constitutes an era in the history of English literature in the eighteenth century;" and in which "he recovered from obscurity, and preserved from oblivion, many beautiful remains of genius; supplying the deficiencies in some, that were mere fragments and detached stanzas, and forming them into a whole by congenial taste, feeling, and imagination." For his other publications of a lighter kind the reader may be referred to

And theological.

Mr. Nicholls' entertaining and instructive volumes. As more according with the bishop's professional character, and as more in harmony with the present narrative, I specify his publication of "The Song of Solomon, newly translated from the original Hebrew, with a Commentary and Annotations," in 1764; his

² BOSWELL'S *Life*, vi., pp. 298, 299.

“Sermon, preached before the Sons of the Clergy, at their Anniversary Meeting at St. Paul’s, May 11, 1769;” his “Key to the New Testament,” a concise manual for students of sacred literature, first published in 1765, and often reprinted; and the assistance rendered by him to Dr. Ducarel in completing his list of the various editions of the Bible in English.

Bishop Percy resided constantly in his diocese, where he is said to have promoted the instruction and comfort of the poor with unremitting attention, and superintended the sacred and civil interests of the diocese with vigilance and assiduity: revered and beloved for his piety, liberality, benevolence, and hospitality, by persons of every rank and religious denomination. Under the loss of sight, of which he was gradually deprived some years before his death, he steadily maintained his habitual cheerfulness; and, in his last painful illness, displayed such fortitude and strength of mind, such patience and resignation to the Divine will, and expressed such heartfelt thankfulness for the goodness and mercy shown to him in the course of a long and happy life, as were truly impressive, and worthy of that pure Christian spirit, in him so eminently conspicuous. He continued to preside over the bishoprick of Dromore beyond the period of the Union; his death taking place at his episcopal residence the 30th of September, 1811, in the eighty-third year of his age. He was buried in a vault constructed by himself for the purpose, adjoining his cathedral church. His valuable library was purchased for the Earl of Caledon, and was removed to his Lordship’s mansion at Caledon, in the county of Armagh. There is a fine mezzo-tinto portrait of him in a velvet cap,

His residence in his diocese.

His great age and death.

Portraits of him.

holding in his hand a thick volume, labelled MSS., engraven in 1775, from a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds. It is inscribed with the name of "Thomas Percy, S. T. P.," to which, in some impressions, his dignity was afterwards added, of "Dean of Carlisle," in 1778, and of "Bishop of Dromore," in 1782. There is another portrait of him in his episcopal habit, taken from a painting also by Sir Joshua Reynolds, which continues to form an appropriate ornament of the bishop's palace at Dromore. And a third likeness of him is given in DIBDIN'S *Decameron*, a very interesting whole length, of which the upper part has been copied into NICHOLLS' *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. vi., p. 552. It is there described as "representing the bishop, when an old man and nearly deprived of sight, walking in his garden, and about to feed his swans." It is a thin, spare figure, in a morning episcopal undress, with the full wig and three-cornered hat, used by elderly clergymen of the day, and with the hands placed one upon the other, and together resting upon a walking stick.

Archbishop
Brown suc-
ceeded by Bishop
Bourke.

In the same year, 1782, but somewhat later, died Brown, archbishop of Tuam. His vacancy was filled by the translation of Bishop Bourke from Ferns and Leighlin; as was his again by the translation of Bishop Cope from Clonfert. His successor was Dr. John Law, son of the Bishop of Carlisle, the well-known patron and friend of Archdeacon Paley. The son was born at Grey-stoke, in Cumberland, in 1745, and was educated first on the foundation of the Charter House, in London, and afterwards at Christ's College, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow, having previously distinguished himself by his success both in his scientifick and in his classical

Account of Dr.
Law.

studies. In 1773 he was preferred by his father to the vicarage of Warkworth, in Northumberland, and to a prebendal stall in Carlisle: and in 1777 to the archdeaconry of the diocese. Whilst in possession of that dignity he was mentioned by Mr. Boswell, in his *Life of Dr. Johnson*, “as a man of great variety of knowledge, uncommon genius, and, he believed, sincere religion.” From the archdeaconry of Carlisle, in 1782, he was removed to the bishoprick of Clonfert. “It has been reported,” says Mr. Nicholls, in his *Literary Anecdotes*³, “that this promotion was most unexpectedly offered to the bishop by the late Duke of Portland, when that nobleman was lord lieutenant of Ireland, in order to bestow the preferments held by Dr. Law upon a gentleman, to whose exertions the duke was principally indebted for his success in the celebrated trial between himself and Sir James Lowther.” From this see Dr. Law was removed successively to the bishopricks of Killala, 1787, and Elphin, 1795: the last of which he retained till his death, March 19, 1810.

Promoted to
Clonfert.

Upon the above-named authority the following anecdote is recorded: “When he took possession of the see of Killala, and learnt that almost the whole of the population were Roman Catholics, he used these expressions: ‘that, as it was a hopeless task to make them Protestants, it would answer every desirable purpose to make them good Catholics:’ and with this view he got printed at his own expence, and distributed gratis through the diocese, a new edition of the works of the Rev. J. Gother, which breathe the piety, and in plain and intelligible language inculcate the morality, of the Bible.” The narrator records this anecdote, “as furnishing an

Anecdote of him.

Liberality attributed to him.

³ Vol. viii., p. 395.

useful instance of the wise and genuine liberality of his character:" but he has given no opinion of the compatibility of such conduct with the bishop's clerical and episcopal obligations. "The Bishop of Elphin," it is added, "has been recorded as 'a man of great variety of knowledge, uncommon genius, and sincere religion.' In regard to his literary character, we are not aware that any production avowed by himself has been given to the publick: yet it has been supposed that he had a considerable share in the composition of the *Moral and Political Philosophy* of his friend, Dr. Paley; and we believe the chapter on *Reverencing the Deity* has been generally ascribed to him." To judge, however, from the foregoing anecdote, his religious principles were not distinguished by a strict adherence to scriptural truth, as professed and taught by the Church: at least there is, to my mind, no perceptible agreement between the consecration pledge, that the bishop will be "ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and false doctrines from the flock committed to his charge;" and the putting forth and the distribution of a work, impregnated with error and false doctrine, for the instruction of those who are committed to him.

Fitness of his
conduct ques-
tioned.

Bishop Trail
succeeded in
Down and Connor
by W. Dickson.

The death of Bishop Trail, at Lisburn, the 12th of November, 1783, caused a vacancy in the see of Down and Connor, which was filled by the consecration of William Dickson, first chaplain to the lord lieutenant, the Earl of Northington. He was also a personal friend, and, at Hertford College, Oxford, a fellow-collegian, of Mr. Fox, one of the last acts of whose administration was this promotion; and I remember to have heard a statement, which I believe to be authentick, that the promotion was commu-

nicated to the person promoted in a letter from that statesman, to the following effect: "I have ceased to be minister, and you are bishop of Down." This occurrence produced the somewhat singular effect of a son elevated to a station of professional superiority above his father, within his own jurisdiction; for the father of Bishop Dickson had been, and, after his son's advancement, continued to be, dean of Down. The bishop survived the Union, of which we shall hereafter find him an opponent.

It would be beyond the scope of this narrative to enter into the political contests which agitated Ireland about this period. But the volunteer associations spread over the country require a few words of passing allusion, by reason of the prominent and conspicuous part taken in them by one of the prelates of the Irish Church on a certain memorable occasion. These associations were formed for the declared purpose of establishing the national independence, and redressing the alleged grievances of Ireland. On the 8th of September, 1783, a meeting was held at Dungannon, consisting of about five hundred delegates, returned from two hundred and forty-eight volunteer corps in the province of Ulster, and representing not less than eighteen thousand individuals. Many of these delegates were men of high rank and large property; and they unanimously agreed to a series of thirteen resolutions, setting forth their grievances and claims, and concluding with one to the following effect: "That a committee of five persons from each county be now chosen, by ballot, to represent this province in a grand national convention, to be held, at noon, in the Royal Exchange, at Dublin, on the 10th day of November next, to which, we trust, each of the other provinces

Volunteer associations.

1783.

National Convention.

will send delegates, to digest and publish a plan of parliamentary reform; to pursue such measures as may appear to them most likely to render it effectual; to adjourn from time to time; and convene provincial meetings, if found necessary."

Bishop of Derry a delegate.

Of the delegates chosen, in pursuance of this resolution, from the county of Londonderry, the Lord Bishop of Derry stood at the head.

This prelate, who was the second son of the Earl of Bristol, had, since his translation from the bishoprick of Cloyne to that of Derry, by the premature death of his elder brother, succeeded to the hereditary honours of his family. Not content with ecclesiastical authority, he is said to have "become ambitious of political power, and to have sought to place himself at the head of the Irish nation. Possessed of an immense revenue; by rank a temporal peer; by consecration a spiritual one; with powerful patronage and extensive connections; he united most of the qualities best calculated to promote his objects, and, in particular, had acquired a vast popularity among the Irish, by the phenomenon of an English nobleman identifying himself with the Irish nation, and appearing inferior to none in a zealous assertion of their rights against his own countrymen. It was a circumstance too novel and too important to escape their marked observation, and a conduct too generous and magnanimous not to excite the love, and call forth the admiration, of a grateful people."

His temporal rank and influence.

To the foregoing extract from the work of a partisan, I add the following estimate of his character by another hand, together with a sketch of his progress to Dublin, in the character of a delegate of the National Convention:

“ Lord Bristol was a man of considerable parts ; but far more brilliant than solid. His family was, indeed, famous for talents—equally so for eccentricity ; and the eccentricity of the whole race shone out, and seemed to be concentrated in him. In one respect, he was not unlike Villiers, duke of Buckingham : ‘ Everything by starts and nothing long ; ’ generous, but uncertain ; splendid, but fantastical ; an admirer of the fine arts, without any just selection ; engaging, often licentious in conversation ; extremely polite, extremely violent ; it is indubitably true, that, amidst all his erratiek course, his bounty was not seldom directed to the most proper and deserving objects. His distribution of Church livings, chiefly, as I have been informed, among the older and respectable clergy in his own diocese, must always be mentioned with that warm approbation which it is justly entitled to. It is said, how truly I know not, that he had applied for the bishoprick of Durham, afterwards for the lord lieutenancy of Ireland ; was refused both, and, *hinc illæ lacrymæ*, hence his opposition. But the inequality, the irregular flow of his mind at every period of his life, sufficiently illustrate his conduct at this particular and momentous period. Such, however, was this illustrious prelate, who, notwithstanding he scarcely ever attended parliament, and spent most of his time in Italy, was now called upon to correct the abuses of parliament, and direct the vessel of state in that course where statesmen of the most experience, and persons of the calmest judgment, have had the misfortune totally to fail. His progress from his diocese to the metropolis, and his entrance into it, were perfectly correspondent to the rest of his conduct. Through every town on the road, he seemed to court, and was received with, all warlike honours ; and I remember seeing him pass by the parliament-house in Dublin—lords and commons were then both sitting—escorted by a body of dragoons, full of spirits and talk, apparently enjoying the eager gaze of the surrounding multitude, and displaying altogether the self-complacency of a favourite marshal of France, on his way to Versailles, rather than the grave deportment of a prelate of the Church of England.”

His character,
and progress to
Dublin.

Entrance into
the metropolis.

This description of the Bishop of Derry's progress towards Dublin from his northern diocese, where he had built a magnificent mansion in a remote and singular situation, and did numerous acts which nobody could account for, has been taken from Mr. Hardy's *Life of the Earl of Charlemont*, p. 262. From Sir Jonah Barrington's *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, which furnished the previous extract, is subjoined a graphick exhibition of the "pride, pomp, and circumstance," wherewith the earl-bishop held on his procession through the city to the place of the assembly :

Procession to the
place of assembly.

"He took his seat amongst the Irish delegates at the Rotunda with the greatest splendour ; and to prove that he preferred the claims of the Irish volunteers to both his English rank as Earl of Bristol, and his Irish rank as a spiritual noble, he entered Dublin in royal state, drew up his equipage at the entrance to the House of Lords, as if he halted to teach the peers their duty to their country, and then moved forward to take his seat at the Rotunda, as an Irish delegate in the national convention. Such a circumstance can be scarcely ditul in England. . .

"The lords had taken their seats in the House of Peers, when the Bishop of Derry began his procession to take his seat in the convention. He had several carriages in his suite, and sat in an open landau, drawn by six beautiful horses, caparisoned with purple ribands. He was dressed in purple, his horses, equipages, and servants being in the most splendid trappings and liveries. He had brought to Dublin, as his escort, a troop of light cavalry, raised by his unfortunate and guilty nephew, George Robert Fitzgerald : they were splendidly dressed and accoutred, and were mounted on the finest chargers that the bishop or their commander could procure. A part of these dragoons led the procession, another closed it, and some rode on each side of his Lordship's carriage. Trumpets announced his approach, and detachments from several volunteer corps of Dublin joined his Lordship's cavalcade. He never ceased

making dignified obeisances to the multitude: his salutations were enthusiastically returned on every side: 'Long live the bishop!' echoed from every window; yet all was peace and harmony, and never did there appear so extraordinary a procession within the realm of Ireland.

"This cavalcade marched slowly through the principal streets, till it arrived at the portico of the House of Lords, which adjoined that of the Commons. A short halt was then made, the trumpets sounded, the sudden and unexpected clangor of which echoed throughout the long corridors. Both houses had just finished prayers, and were proceeding to business; and, totally unconscious of the cause, several members rushed to the entrance. The bishop saluted all with royal dignity; the volunteers presented arms, and the bands played the Volunteers' March. Of a sudden another clangor of trumpets was heard; the astonished lords and commons, unable to divine what was to ensue, or the reason of the extraordinary appearance of the bishop, retired to their respective chambers, and with great solicitude awaited the result.

"The bishop, however, had done what he intended; he had astonished both houses, and had proved to them his principles and his determination. Amidst the shouts and cheers of thousands he proceeded to the Rotunda, where, in point of dignity and importance, he certainly appeared to surpass the whole of his brother delegates. He entered the chamber in the greatest form, presented his credentials, took his seat, conversed a few moments with all the ceremony of a temporal prince, and then, with the excess of that dignified courtesy, of which he was a perfect master, he retired as he had entered, and drove away in the same majestick style, and amidst reiterated applauses, to his house, where the volunteers had previously mounted a guard of honour. He entertained a great number of persons of rank at a magnificent dinner; and the ensuing day began his course among the delegates, as an ordinary man of business."

His conduct in
the assembly.

This national convention, wherein the northern delegates were met by others from the rest of the kingdom, naturally excited alarm in the government,

Subsequent pro-
ceedings.

and measures were in contemplation for putting it down with a high hand. But prudence dictated an expedient, by which the opinions of the assembly, respecting the extension of certain privileges to the Papists, were divided, and thus the efforts of the convention became ultimately abortive. As to the eccentric prelate, whose connexion with these transactions has brought them under our notice, after having received an address, *under arms*, from one of the volunteer battalions for his patriotick exertions, which he answered in a manner, judged even by his partisans to be “true in principle, but too strong in terms,” his immediate arrest was proposed by some members of the government. More prudent councils, however, prevailed; and, together with the cause, which forced him into a temporary importance, he appears to have sunk into insignificance as a publick political character.

Commendation
of the bishop by
the presbytery of
Derry.

Meanwhile he had received a testimony of approbation from a body, to whose notions of ecclesiastical polity, of private judgment, and of liberality of sentiment in religious matters, he approached more near than might well beseem a governour, or, indeed, any sound and consistent member, of Christ’s apostolical Church. At a meeting of the presbytery of Derry, in Londonderry, May 19th, 1784, an address to the Earl of Bristol was unanimously agreed to, signifying that,

“When the valuable part of this kingdom were forward in doing justice to his merit, the presbytery of Derry, who resided immediately in his Lordship’s diocese, thought themselves bound to express their perfect approbation of the liberality of his Lordship’s religious sentiments. Christianity,” they proceed to observe, “is liberal; and he is the best disciple of Jesus Christ, who possesses the most exten-

sive charity and good-will to the human race. They conceive it, therefore, not inconsistent with their duty, as ministers of the Gospel of peace, to give that praise to a prelate of another Church, which the unaffected purity and rectitude of his own claims from every honest heart. Equally incapable of being profited by adulation to your Lordship; abhorring the mean idea, in case they were; and sensible of meeting with your Lordship's contempt on that account, they rejoice in this opportunity of giving their tribute of deserved praise to a character in every respect so dignified.

“ Signed, by order,

“ SAM. PATTEN, Moderator.

JOHN LAW, Clerk.”

To this effusion of self-complacency from a His answer. sectarian body, the composition of whose address is below criticism, though sufficiently worthy of the occasion and of the sentiments which it conveys, the Bishop of Derry deemed it suitable to his profession and order to return the following answer, which commences with an allusion to the freedom of the city, lately conferred on his Lordship's “unfortunate and guilty nephew,” as we have lately seen him described in terms, not marked with undue severity towards one who within two years underwent the sentence of the law for murder, George Robert Fitzgerald:

“To the Presbytery of Derry.

“Just landed, as it were, to witness the inauguration of my hospitable nephew, as a citizen of this grateful and independent city, the Presbytery of Derry (if I may use a trite adage) have caught me, as my *enemies* never will catch me, *flying*.

“I am happy, my brethren, to receive in this episcopal mansion so honourable a testimony of the Presbytery's affection: but I feel still more happy in the consciousness of deserving it. That liberality of sentiment, which you

ascribe to me, flows from the rare consistency of a Protestant bishop, who feels it his duty, and has therefore made it his practice, to venerate in others that *unalienable exercise of private judgment*, which he and his ancestors claimed for themselves. Happy epoch in Irish annals! and formidable only to the bigots of either sect, when the Presbytery of Derry, instigated neither by fear nor adulation, can proclaim the liberality of a bishop, and glory in their testimony.

“On the *great object*, which now centers in me the applauses of such various and even contradictory denominations of citizens, I do own to you the very rock which founds my cathedral is less immoveable, than my purpose to liberate this high-mettled nation from the petulant and rapacious oligarchy which plunder and insult it. A convulsion of nature might indeed shiver the one to atoms: but no convulsion, either of nature or of the state, could slacken my purpose: it may destroy, but it cannot stagger me.

“BRISTOL.

“*Londonderry, 19th May, 1784.*”

The foregoing letter is copied from the *Dublin University Magazine*, of August, 1840; into the pages of which it is professed to be transferred from a Londonderry paper of the year 1784. Internal evidence to its genuineness co-operates with this outward testimony in assigning the letter to its alleged author. The immoveable resolution, however, indicated in the rhetorical figure of the patriotick prelate, seems to have evaporated; and to have given way to a predilection for a residence in Italy, where he passed the latter years of his life. By the authority, which supplied the foregoing information of his correspondence with the Presbytery of Derry, he is reported to have conformed to a great degree in dress and habits to the dignified clergy of Rome, and to have been treated with much consideration by the cardinals and governing ecclesiasticks of the

His residence
and deportment
in Italy.

states of the Romish church: and on one occasion, in particular, whilst travelling, to have carried with him from a cardinal governour of Rome a letter of introduction to those monasteries, at which he might find it convenient to rest; recommending to the superiors of the several societies the Lord Bishop of Derry, as worthy of all hospitable attention and high consideration.

But this preference of a continental life, whilst it counteracted his ambition for political distinction, withdrew him likewise from the scene and the occupations of his professional charge. That he was not recalled by authority to residence in his diocese, may perhaps excite some astonishment. There is, however, reason, to think, that his ecclesiastical superiors, aware as they were of the extravagance of his mind and conduct, and of the difficulty of laying him under any effectual restraint, judged his absence from Ireland less mischievous than his presence. He survived the Union; and died at Albano, near Rome, the 8th of July, 1803.

Absence from his diocese, and death.

The Bishop of Derry's general eccentricity is notorious: it is perhaps less commonly known that he was a patron of Methodism and the Methodists, and his example was followed by many of his clergy. On Whitsunday, May the 30th, 1773, Mr. Wesley dined near Londonderry, at the house of a gentleman, "Where," he says, "were five clergymen besides me, all of whom attended the preaching every evening. One would have imagined from this friendship of the clergy, joined with the good-will both of the bishop and dean, the society would increase swiftly, but, in fact, it does not increase at all." And describing a subsequent visit to the same place in

A patron of the Methodists.

His character,
by Mr. Wesley.

1775, he says, "June 4, being Whitsunday, the bishop preached a judicious, useful sermon, on the blasphemy of the Holy Ghost. He is both a good writer, and a good speaker. And he celebrated the Lord's Supper with admirable solemnity. . . . Tuesday 6, the bishop invited me to dinner, and told me, 'I know you do not love *our* hours, and will therefore order dinner to be on table between two and three o'clock.' We had a piece of boiled beef and an English pudding. This is true good breeding. The bishop is entirely easy and unaffected in his whole behaviour, exemplary in all parts of publick worship, and plenteous in good works⁵."

Methodism not
patronised by the
bishops.

I do not find that any other of the Irish bishops gave countenance to Mr. Wesley's proceedings; unless it were Bishop Barnard, "the good old Bishop of Londonderry," on whom he says that he waited at Bristol, in 1766, and spent two or three hours in useful conversation⁶."

But in the April of the last-named year, 1775, he being in Dublin, "the good old dean of St. Patrick's," he relates, "desired me to come within the rails, and assist him at the Lord's Supper. This also was a means of removing much prejudice from those who were zealous for the Church⁷." The dean at this time was Dr. Francis Corbet, who died a very ancient man in the following August, at the advanced age of eighty-seven years. Several of the dignitaries and parochial clergy likewise at this time admitted Mr. Wesley into their pulpits, and attended his preaching, in other parts of the kingdom, as well as in the diocese of Derry. His societies, meanwhile, were much multiplied and augmented, with some

But in a degree
by the other
clergy.

⁵ WESLEY'S *Journal*, xvii., p. 54.

⁶ *Ibid.*, xiv., p. 59.

⁷ *Ibid.*, xvii., p. 48.

examples of diminution and decay. The seeds of separation also from the Church, which were inherent in the principles of Methodism, though counteracted by Mr. Wesley's exertions, were occasionally producing their natural fruit. At Omagh, in 1773, he preached to a congregation, whom he "warned of the *madness* which was spreading among them, namely, *leaving the Church*. Most of them, I believe," he adds, "will take the advice: I hope all that are of our society^e."

SECTION V.

The Duke of Rutland Lord Lieutenant. One Episcopal vacancy during his Government. Charter Schools generally patronised by Chief Governours. Education recommended from the Throne. Mr. Orde's Plan, and Resolutions and Orders for effecting it. Sentiments of the Lord Lieutenant adopted by the House of Commons. Proposed System of Education. Relinquished with the Session of Parliament. Insurrectionary Tumults of the Peasantry. Effects on the Clergy. White-boys. Oak-boys. Steel-boys. Right-boys. Brought under notice of Parliament. Attorney-General's Speech. Bishop Woodward's Tract on the Church. Outrages on the Clergy. Interruption of Church Service. Extent of Disturbances. Impunity of Criminals. Intimidation of Witnesses. Clergy vindicated. Misery of Peasantry, and its Causes. Act for Protection and Compensation of Clergy. Inquiry into Tythes proposed and rejected. Excellent Character of Bishop Woodward.

THE Duke of Rutland succeeded the Earl of Northington in the viceroyalty on the 3rd of June, 1784, and continued in that office till October, 1787. During this period, of more than three years, there occurred in the Irish episcopate only one vacancy;

^e WESLEY'S *Journal*, xvi., 103.

and that, in the summer of his appointment, by the death of Gore, bishop of Limerick. The vacancy was filled by the translation of Bishop Pery from Killala, in which see his place was supplied by the consecration of William Preston, chaplain to the new lord lieutenant.

The Duke of Rutland's administration was marked by two classes of events, deeply affecting the condition of the kingdom in general, and especially in its religious and moral relations: namely, the plan of education, which was put forward by the government, but failed of being carried into effect, for the improvement of the people; and the legislative enactments, which had been rendered necessary by the combinations and insurrectionary outrages of the peasantry during a considerable series of years.

Charter schools
patronised by the
chief governors.

The English Protestant charter schools, of the institution of which, in 1730, an account has been given, were an usual topick of approbation and recommendation from the viceroys, in their speeches to the houses of parliament at the opening of parliamentary sessions. Thus, in October, 1781, on one of those occasions, the Earl of Carlisle had uttered the following sentiments: "The humanity and wisdom of those motives, which influence your support of the Protestant charter schools, as seminaries of true religion and honest industry, will continue to engage your regard." And in October, 1783, the Earl of Northington had expressed himself to the like effect: "The Protestant charter schools, an institution founded in wisdom and humanity, are most eminently entitled to your care." After the same manner, in January, 1785, the Duke of Rutland adverted to the subject, connecting, however, with his notice of that particular topick, a recom-

1781.

1783.

1785.

mentation of means for educating the people in general:

“The liberality,” he observes, “which you have shown to the maintenance of your Protestant charter schools, and other publick institutions, makes it unnecessary for me to recommend them to your care. You cannot more beneficially exert this laudable spirit, than by directing your attention to improve, and to diffuse throughout the kingdom, the advantages of a good education: sensible of its essential consequence to the morals and happiness of the people, and to the dignity of the nation, I am happy to assure you of his Majesty’s gracious patronage; and shall be earnest to give every assistance in my power to the success of such measures, as your wisdom may devise for this important purpose.”

Education recommended from the throne.

It does not appear, however, that in this session any steps were taken for carrying into effect the lord lieutenant’s recommendation. But in January, 1786, he again directed their attention to “such measures as might animate the industry, extend the education, and improve the morals of the people.” And, in pursuance of this subject, on the 6th of April, Mr. Secretary Orde submitted to the House of Commons certain resolutions, the object of which was to extend the means of education at such a cheap rate, that few persons should be excluded from its advantages. He professed himself aware, that there were several endowed schools throughout the kingdom, and some of them rich; but their very opulence was the chief cause that defeated the intention of their founders: for the masters of some of the best-endowed schools, content with receiving their salaries, either did no duty at all, or did it in so careless a manner, that the youth of the kingdom derived very little advantage from it. He would not, therefore, propose to proceed in the common manner, by endowing

Recommendation repeated, 1786.

Mr. Secretary Orde’s plan of education.

schools for the benefit of masters; but rather hoped some method might be adopted, to help or support young people under a course of education, not merely by paying the master, but by assisting the scholars in the pursuit of knowledge; and afterwards to encourage scholars, so formed, to become teachers, rising in succession. This he thought might be done at an expence, small indeed when compared with the benefits which the nation must derive from it.

Resolutions for
effecting it.

He then moved, first, a resolution, "That the national foundation of one or more publick schools, with regulations adapted thereto, for facilitating and extending to the youth of this kingdom the means of good education, would be of great publick utility:" and thereupon, "That an humble address be presented to his Grace the lord lieutenant, requesting that his Grace will be pleased to give directions for preparing plans of the necessary arrangements for establishing publick schools, with an estimate of the expence thereof, accompanied with observations respecting the situations most proper for the same."

Order made in
consequence.

It was then ordered, that the proper persons do make returns to the house, of the schools of royal or other foundations in the respective dioceses of this kingdom; specifying the present yearly value of their respective endowments, of what they consist, the names of the masters and assistants, the salaries or allowances paid to the masters, ushers, assistants, or other officers belonging to the said schools, as the same stood on the 25th day of March, 1786, together with the number of scholars, the boarders, and the day scholars.

It was also ordered, that the registers (registrars) of the several dioceses do return to this house, on the first day of the next session, an account

of the English schools kept by the rectors or vicars in their respective dioceses, with the number of scholars therein respectively, on the 25th day of March, 1786.

In what manner these orders were executed, or what was the result of them, does not appear. But in January, 1787, the lord lieutenant again pressed the subject upon the attention of both houses of parliament. "The Protestant charter schools," he remarked, "and other publick institutions for charitable purposes, will not fail to engage your constant care and encouragement. And I hope that some liberal and extensive plan for the general improvement of education will be matured for an early execution."

Subject resumed
by the lord lieu-
tenant.

In a congratulatory address to his Majesty, caused by the king's "providential deliverance from the desperate effort of a frantick assassin," the House of Commons repeated these sentiments of the lord lieutenant, declaring "that the Protestant charter schools, and other publick institutions for charitable purposes, should command their attention, and that they would not fail in applying themselves to the important object of a general improvement of education."

His sentiments
repeated by the
House of
Commons.

Accordingly, on the 12th of April, Mr. Secretary Orde again proceeded to take into consideration the state of education in Ireland, which he described to be in so deplorable situation, at least so far as regarded the lower classes of the community, that it might be truly said of them, "for lack of learning the land perisheth:" and he imputed all the violent and atrocious acts, which had too often disgraced the nation, to a want of education, and consequently a want of that moral and religious sense of duty to

Subject proce-
cuted by Mr.
Orde.

the legislature, and obedience to the laws, which is the great bond of society.

System of education proposed.

In furtherance of his general purpose, he proposed a system of education, consisting of several classes or divisions. It was to begin with the children of the lowest orders of the people, by means of parish schools, under a modified application of the statute of 28th Henry VIII., which Mr. Orde, setting thereby an example which has not been without a follower in more modern times, seems not to have understood, and in consequence to have misrepresented: for he represents the act as laying an absolute obligation, which it did not lay, on every parochial minister, to "teach every child that presented himself for instruction in the English language." The second division was to consist of four great schools, one in each province, similar to the Blue Coat Hospital in Dublin, or Christ's Hospital in London. The third object was the diocesan schools, which were to be put on a better footing, so as to lay a proper foundation for classical learning. The fourth object was the establishment of two great academies, immediately preparatory to the university. Another university constituted the fifth division of the system. And all these institutions were to be preserved as pure as possible, by appointing intelligent visitors, persons eminently distinguished for learning and abilities.

Followed by a series of resolutions.

The statement of the system was followed by a long series of resolutions, which adopted in succession the several parts; comprised an address to the lord lieutenant for directions relative to the necessary plans and estimates; and gave a pledge that the house, at the commencement of the next session of parliament, would proceed to the immediate con-

sideration of such further measures as might be requisite for carrying the foregoing resolutions into effect. But before the commencement of the next session, the Duke of Rutland was taken off by a fever on the 24th of October. After an interval of about two months, during which the chief government was committed to the Archbishop of Armagh, the lord chancellor, Lord Lifford, and the Right Hon. John Foster, the speaker of the House of Commons, the Marquis of Buckingham succeeded on the 16th of December to the viceregency of Ireland. And the session of parliament, which commenced on the 17th of January, 1788, was prorogued on the 18th of April, without resuming the question of general education.

Plan of education
relinquished.

Parliament of
1788.

It has been lately stated, that on introducing his measure of national education, the secretary alluded to the violent and atrocious acts which had too often disgraced the Irish nation. In connection with the history of the Church, a reference must be now made to those acts, proceeding from combinations of the peasantry, which had shown themselves for the last twenty years and more in different parts of the kingdom, under various appellations, and perpetrated many deeds of violence, robbery, and murder, so as to have excited the serious attention of the government, and rendered necessary the interference of military power, as well as of legislative control.

Insurrectionary
tumults of the
peasantry.

Of these insurrectionary tumults, whatever were the primary causes, and wherever were the scenes of action, the clergy in a great degree became the victims.

Their effects on
the clergy.

In Munster, some landlords let their lands to

The White-boys,
or Levellers.

1762.

cotters at a rent far exceeding their value; and, as a compensation, allowed commonage to their tenants: afterwards they inclosed the commons, and thus deprived the unhappy peasants of the only means of making their bargains tolerable. Hence arose the Whiteboys, or Levellers, in 1762. "Too ignorant," says Dr. Campbell, as quoted in the *Collectanea Politica*, i., p. 33, "to know the law, and too poor to bear the expense of it, they betook themselves to violence as their only resource. As mobs never subside without doing some injury, so these insurgents, having no prospect of redress, began to direct their vengeance against the clergy. Smarting under the galling load of oppression, the deluded rabble fled everywhere for relief, but where they ought: and in order to divert their attention from themselves, it became the policy of the landlords and graziers to cherish, or at least connive at, the spirit of curtailing the church of its pittance."

Oak-boys, 1763.

In the north some discontent was manifested among the poorer inhabitants of a particular parish, by reason of a grievance, to which they thought themselves improperly subject in respect to the repair of the highways. They rose in 1763 almost to a man; and from the oaken branches, which they wore in their hats, were denominated *Oak-boys*. The discontent being as general as the grievance, the contagion seized the neighbouring parishes: from parishes it spread to baronies, and from baronies to counties, till at length the greater part of the province was engaged. The many-headed monster, as Dr. Campbell, cited by the before-named work, again observes, being now roused, did not know where to stop; but began a general redress of grievances, whether real or imaginary. And among other

objects of their resentment were the clergy, whom they resolved to curtail of their tythes.

The rising of the Steel-boys in 1769 was caused by the conduct of an absentee nobleman, possessed of one of the largest estates in the kingdom: who, instead of letting it, when out of lease, for the highest rent, introduced the novel mode of taking large fines and small rents. The occupier of the ground, though willing to pay the highest rent, was unable to pay the fines; and was therefore dispossessed by the wealthy undertaker, who, not contented with a moderate interest for his money, racked the rents to a pitch above the reach of the old tenant. On this the people rose against fore-stallers: but, not confining themselves to their original object, they became, like the Oak-boys, general reformers, and the clergy suffered from their violence.

Steel-boys, 1769.

Notwithstanding the efforts which were made to suppress the spirit of discontent and insurrection, it continued to manifest itself under various forms, and in different places; so that the suppression of it was thought worthy of being particularly recommended in the Duke of Rutland's speech at the opening of parliament in January, 1786. "A systematick improvement of the police," he observed, "and a vigorous execution of the laws, are essential, not only to the due collection of the publick revenue, but to the security of private property, and, indeed, to the protection of society. The frequent outrages, which have been committed in some parts of the kingdom, will particularly call your attention to this important object."

Lord lieutenant's speech on these outrages, 1786.

The outrages, here specially alluded to, were committed by a misguided set of people, in other parts of the country, but particularly in and about the

Right-boys.

county of Kilkenny, who had chosen the appellation of Right-boys; and had combined together in a spirit of lawlessness and depredation, and bound themselves in an oath to mutual co-operation in their projects of iniquity. One of the obligations, under which the conspirators pledged themselves by this most solemn engagement to mutual fidelity and co-operation, was to resist the laws of the land, and to obey none but those of Captain Right. And so strictly did they adhere to this engagement, that when one of those, who were banded together for such nefarious purposes, was legally convicted of some violation of the law, and was condemned to be publicly whipped at Carrick-on-Suir, the high sheriff of the county of Waterford, Sir Richard Musgrave, Bart., who himself records the fact in his *Memoirs of the different Rebellions in Ireland*, could not procure a substitute to execute the sentence of the law on the criminal, though he offered a large sum of money for a remuneration; and was therefore under the necessity of performing that office with his own hands, in the face of an enraged mob of vindictive and resentful beholders.

Such combinations could not be permitted to exist unnoticed. And in the following year, 1787, these outrages, having increased to an alarming degree, were again brought by the lord lieutenant under the consideration of parliament, with specifick mention of the Church and the clergy, which had been made signally the objects of attack :

Brought under
notice of parliament,
1787.

“ I had hoped, that, upon the present occasion of meeting you again in parliament, it would have been in my power to have announced to you the entire suppression of those commotions, which in some parts of the kingdom have disturbed the general tranquillity. Under the present cir-

cumstances I am persuaded, by my confidence in the accustomed proofs of your wisdom and zeal, that I shall receive from you whatever assistance may be necessary for the more effectual vindication of the laws, and the protection of society. Your uniform regard for the rights of your fellow-subjects, and your zealous attachment to the religious and civil constitutions of your country, will stimulate your attention to their inseparable interests, and will ensure your especial support to the Established Church, and the respectable situation of its ministers."

In a debate, which arose in the House of Commons upon the answer to this speech, the attorney-general, Mr. Fitzgibbon, gave the following account of what had come to his knowledge respecting the proceedings of the insurgents :

Speech of attorney-general.

" Their commencement was in one or two parishes in the county of Kerry, and they proceeded thus. The people assembled in a mass-house, and there took an oath to obey the laws of Captain Right, and to starve the clergy. They then proceeded to the next parishes on the following Sunday, and there swore the people in the same manner, with this addition, that they, the people last sworn, should, on the ensuing Sunday, proceed to the chapels of their next neighbouring parishes, and swear the inhabitants of those parishes in like manner.

Origin of recent disturbances.

" Proceeding in this manner, they very soon went through the province of Munster. The first object of their reformation was tythes : they swore not to give more than a certain price per acre ; not to take from the minister at a great price ; not to assist, or allow him to be assisted, in drawing the tythe ; and to permit no proctor. They next took upon them to prevent the collection of parish cesses ; then to nominate parish clerks, and in some cases curates ; to say what church should, or should not, be repaired ; and in one case to threaten, that they would burn a new church, if the old one was not given for a mass-house. . . . Wherever they went, they found the people as ready to take an oath to cheat the clergy, as they were to propose it ;

Their progress.

but, if any one did resist, the torments, which he was doomed to undergo, were too horrible even for savages to be supposed guilty of."

Bishop Woodward's tract on the Church, 1787.

It was about this time, namely, in the year 1787, that Dr. Woodward, bishop of Cloyne, put out a tract under the title of "The present State of the Church of Ireland: containing a Description of its precarious Situation, and the consequent Danger to the Publick;" and, together with other matters, "A general Account of the Origin and Progress of the Insurrections in Munster." The disturbances, of which he wrote, having prevailed in the diocese entrusted to his care, he gave "an official alarm to the nation:" a matter of necessity, as he states in the preface to the ninth edition, "when the national Church was assailed by open force, sapped by artful publications, and betrayed by interested individuals; when its clergy were despoiled of their property, persecuted in their persons, traduced in their character, and of course embarrassed in their ministry; when pastors were driven in terror from their cures, churches insulted and violated, the source of their repairs cut off, the supplies for the decency of Divine service and the celebration of the holy communion withheld; when the disorders, which had overrun one province, were spreading to the others, and advancing towards the capital; and in that moment of danger there by no means appeared, in the great body of Protestants, a vigilance suited to their critical situation."

Historical facts contained in it.

The publication, which with its postscript extends to 137 pages, contains a valuable fund of observation and argument on the condition of the Church. I notice it for the purpose of extracting from it the account of some historical facts, for the authenticity

of which the high character of the author, and his dignified station, and his opportunities of information, are a sufficient warrant.

Hence it appears, that “the outrages of the White-boys in the South,” as he calls them, “supposed to be confined to tythes, did by no means stop there. They extended to the persons of the established clergy, who were hunted from their parishes:” in exemplification of which it is alleged, that “in the diocese of Cloyne seven rectors, hitherto constantly resident, had applied to the ordinary for leave to absent themselves, from well-grounded apprehension of personal danger: three of whom were so reduced in their incomes, from a competency of 200*l.* or 300*l.* a year, that they did not receive a curate’s salary, and, of course, Divine service was discontinued. The insurgents controlled the proceedings of vestries, in granting money for the repair of churches and other things essential to the decency of Divine worship, though the Roman Catholics were very reasonably precluded by law from voting on such occasions. They intimidated the parish officers by the most savage threats from collecting the rates, and even opposed them by force. In one instance they proceeded to such extravagance as to nail up a church, that of Donoghmore, in the diocese of Cloyne; to forbid the curate, at his peril, to officiate, though the rector was disabled by age and infirmities; and to force the clerk to swear not to attend him: in another, to threaten publicly, and to bind themselves by oath, in presence of one of the churchwardens, to burn a new church in the parish of Glanmire, in the diocese of Cork, unless the old one were reserved for a mass-house. . . . Such was the violence of a Popish mob, assem-

Outrages on the persons of the clergy.

Interruptions in the service of the Church.

Extent of the disturbances.

bled in various and numerous bodies, through the entire province of Munster, and part of Leinster and Connaught; provided with arms forced out of the hands of Protestants, and extorting money to purchase ammunition, and defray the expence of their nightly excursions, as well as the support of their confederates under confinement." And this violence was unhappily seconded by "the connivance of some members of the Established Church, the supineness of more, the timidity of the generality of magistrates, a corrupt encouragement of these lawless acts in not a few, the difficulty of prevailing on witnesses to appear, (not only from the danger of appearing, but from the oaths extorted from them not to appear,) against criminals the most notorious, the natural effect of the impunity of such criminals, the consequent temporary subversion of the provision for the established clergy."

Impunity of the
criminals.

Of the effect of the intimidation of witnesses, just mentioned as one of the symptoms of these outrageous proceedings, proof was supplied by the proceedings of the assizes in Munster, immediately previous to the publication of Bishop Woodward's tract. Instances of breaking open houses, and robbing the inhabitants of fire-arms, ammunition, and money; of incendiary letters; of maiming inoffensive and helpless persons; and of other capital crimes, notoriously committed, in every quarter of the province, by many different parties of men, each amounting to several hundreds, had occurred in such multitudes, that the number of persons guilty of capital felonies must have amounted to thousands: yet only two persons were capitally convicted, and not one in the extensive county of Cork, where the outrages were at least as flagrant and general as in any other. The

cause, says the writer, is obvious; witnesses did not dare to appear. And, he adds, "the repetition of like offences, since the assizes, when all disputes about tythes were at an end for the current year; the continuance of assembling in numerous well-armed bodies, and passing winter nights in levying money, and taking fire-arms forcibly and feloniously from the Protestants, a proceeding which now extends to the province of Leinster, within less than fifty miles of the capital, are proofs too pregnant of the effect of the impunity of their associates, and of their future intentions."

Intimidation of witnesses.

In perusing such statements of outrages, of which the clergy had been the first, and continued to be a principal object, questions naturally present themselves to the reader, whether the clergy had, by their misconduct, brought this persecution upon themselves, or what was the cause of their maltreatment? And to such inquiries the answer is supplied by the same authority as that already cited in parliament:

Conduct of the clergy.

"Now, upon the best inquiry that I have been able to make," adds the attorney-general, "it does not appear that there is the least ground to accuse the clergy of extortion. Far from receiving the tenth, I know of no instance in which they receive the twentieth part. I am very well acquainted with the province of Munster, and I know, that it is impossible for human wretchedness to exceed that of the miserable peasantry in that province. I know that the unhappy tenantry are ground to powder by relentless landlords; I know that, far from being able to give the clergy their just dues, they have not food and raiment for themselves; the landlord grasps the whole: and sorry I am to add, that, not satisfied with the present extortion, some landlords have been so base as to instigate the insurgents to rob the clergy of their tythes, not in order to alleviate the distresses of the tenantry, but that they might add the clergy's share to the cruel rack-rents already paid. I fear

Vindicated by the attorney-general.

Misery of the peasantry, and its cause.

it will require the utmost ability of parliament to come to the root of these evils. The poor people of Munster live in a more abject state of poverty than human nature can be supposed able to bear; their miseries are intolerable; but they do not originate with the clergy; nor can the legislature stand by and see them take the redress into their own hands. Nothing can be done for their benefit while the country remains in a state of anarchy¹."

Act of 27 Geo. III., c. 15, to prevent tumultuous risings.

The consequence was an act, passed in this session, 27 George III., c. 15, "to prevent tumultuous risings and assemblies, and for the more effectual punishment of persons guilty of outrage, riot, and illegal combination, and of administering and taking unlawful oaths."

Protection given to the clergy.

Some of the enactments of this act were of a general kind; two of them were specially designed for the protection of the Church and clergy against unlawful and riotous assemblies. The fifth clause declared it felony, if any persons so assembled should demolish or pull down any church or chapel for the celebration of Divine service, according to the usage of the Church of Ireland; or should wilfully burn or set fire to, or maliciously fasten up, any church or chapel; or, by threats or force, prevent or obstruct any clergyman from officiating or celebrating Divine worship therein, or maim or hurt any clergyman officiating or performing, or about to officiate or perform, Divine service therein. And the eleventh clause enacted fine and imprisonment, or corporal punishment, against all persons convicted of unlawful combinations or confederacies, to defraud any clergyman of the Church of Ireland, or lay-impropriator, of his legal tythes or dues, or to obstruct him in collecting them; or, by force, threats, or other unlawful means, to prevent him, or any person em-

¹ *Collect. Polit.* ii., iii.

ployed by him, from viewing, valuing, setting, or selling, any tythes to which he is entitled.

This statute was prospective. But, besides this, Compensation for losses. was passed a retrospective act, chapter 36, enabling all ecclesiastical persons or bodies, entitled to tythes in certain counties, to recover a just compensation, if, by means of violence, threats, and unlawful oaths and combinations, they had not received their tythes, or securities for their tythes, due for the year 1786; or if, by such means, they had been compelled to enter into inadequate compositions, or take inadequate compensation for such tythes. The counties were Limerick, Kerry, Cork, Tipperary, Waterford, Clare, and Kilkenny.

The lord lieutenant, at the close of the session, signified his Majesty's entire approbation of the wise and vigourous measures by which parliament had testified its zeal for the preservation of the publick peace, and the tranquillity of the country. "My strenuous exertions," he added, "shall not be wanting, to carry your salutary provisions into execution, to assert the just dominion of the laws, and to establish the security of property, as well as personal safety, to all descriptions of his Majesty's subjects in this kingdom." King's approbation expressed by lord lieutenant.

But, in the following session, 1788, the Duke of Rutland having been, meanwhile, succeeded by the Marquis of Buckingham, among the different subjects which occupied the attention of parliament, was that of tythes, into which Mr. Grattan proposed an inquiry, in a speech of considerable length, wherein he descanted, with no little asperity, on the exorbitancy and illegality of clerical exactions; on the extortions of the tythe-proctor, "a wretch who follows his own nature, when he converts authority into corrup- Inquiry into tythes proposed by Mr. Grattan, 1788.

tion, and law into peculation;" on the recent improvement of certain livings; on the constitution and proceedings of ecclesiastical courts, "calculated to give every latitude to partiality and corruption;" on the evil of the peasant being brought "under the lash of ecclesiastical authority, that great scourge of the farmer;" and, as the principal source of all other evils, on the uncertainty of tythes. "The full tenth," he contended, "ever must be oppressive. A tenth of your land, your labour, and your capital, to those who contribute in no shape whatsoever to the produce, must be oppression; they only think otherwise, who suppose that everything is little which is given to the parson; that no burden can be heavy, if it is the weight of the parson; that landlords should give up their rent, and tenants the profits of their labour—and all too little." And he warned "bigotry and schism, the zealot's fire, and the high-priest's intolerance, through all their discordancy, to tremble, while an enlightened parliament, with arms of general protection, overarched the whole community, and rooted the Protestant ascendancy in the sovereign mercy of its nature."

Motion rejected. The House, however, seems to have been neither persuaded by his arguments, nor dazzled by his rhetoric; for, on the question of going into the proposed inquiry, a division took place, and the measure was rejected by a majority of seventy-two.

Act of former session renewed.

An act similar to that which had been passed in the preceding session, with reference to a just compensation for the tythes of 1786, was passed in this session also, with reference to a compensation for those of 1787.

Respect due to Bishop Woodward.

Before we quit this topick, a small tribute of respect appears due to the excellent Bishop Wood-

ward, who stood forward, as we have seen, for the protection of his suffering clergy, and it shall be paid in the language of one whose testimony was founded on personal knowledge and observation :

“ Nothing,” says Sir Richard Musgrave, “ marked so strongly the depravity of the times, as the malignant attacks, attended with scurrility and abuse, which were made on this amiable prelate for this seasonable and spiritual discharge of his pastoral duty. I had the honour of being well acquainted with him, and I never knew a person more profoundly and elegantly learned, or so well versed, not only in everything that concerned the ecclesiastical department, but in the various duties of every line of social life. Having visited every part of the Continent, he spoke the modern languages with great fluency and purity, and had uncommon ease and affability of manner.

Sir R. Musgrave's character of him.

“ He had the most exalted piety, and was not only very charitable himself, but an active promoter of publick charities. His eloquence in the pulpit was irresistible, as his style was nervous and elegant, his voice was loud and harmonious, and he had great dignity of manner.

“ With all these exalted qualities and endowments, he possessed the most brilliant wit, and such a happy vein of humour, as enlivened society wherever he happened to be present.

“ This necessary and important duty (of stating in his pamphlet the origin and progress of the insurrection in Munster), the neglect of which would have been criminal, drew on him a host of foes, consisting of Popish bishops, priests, friars, and Presbyterian ministers, who abused and vilified him with singular malignity ; and even some members of parliament had the hardened audacity to arraign him with much severity.”

“ This amiable prelate,” adds the same authority, “ made a most eloquent speech in support of the privileges granted to the Roman Catholicks in the year 1782.” Such an act of indulgence, towards the professors of a hostile creed, might have been ex-

pected to defend him from assault, when, in discharge of his duty, he stepped forward to expose the insurrectionary spirit, which was ravaging and desolating the kingdom.

SECTION VI.

Episcopal appointments. Marlay, Bishop of Clonfert. Bennett, Bishop of Cork and Ross. Condition of Church of Rome in Ireland. Session of 1792. Bill for removing Disabilities from Roman Catholics. Change of language in describing them. Enactments, commended by Lord Lieutenant in his Majesty's name. Further power sought for them. Speech of Lord Lieutenant, 1793. Censurable phraseology. Bill for further Relief. Powerfully opposed, but passed. Commended by Lord Lieutenant. Papists improperly called Catholics. Their discontent. Appointment of Earl Fitzwilliam to the Chief Government. His sudden recall. Episcopal changes. Death of Primate Robinson. His Temporal Dignities and Professional Character. Reflections on it. Mr. Wesley's Stricture upon him answered and confuted. His Will. Portraits of him. Portraits of the Royal Family and of the Primates bequeathed to his successors. Bishop Newcome elevated by Lord Fitzwilliam to the Primacy. Lord Charlemont's Narrative. The new Primate patronised by the King.

Translation of
Bishop Law.

1787.

Consecration of
Bishop Marlay.

THE death of Bishop Cope, who was engaged in building an episcopal residence at Ferns, which he did not live to finish, but which was completed by his successors, caused in 1787 the translation of Bishop Preston to Ferns and Leighlin from Killala. To the latter bishoprick, Law, bishop of Clonfert, was translated. And Richard Marlay, dean of Ferns, was consecrated to the bishoprick of Clonfert. He was son of Lord Chief Justice Marlay, and nephew of George Marlay, brother of the chief justice, who

had been Bishop of Dromore from 1745 to 1763. Descended from an ancient family of French extraction, which had come over to England with the Norman William, and of which some of the members in after ages left a name distinguished in English history for loyalty and gallantry, Thomas Marlay appears to have been the first of the race, who was transplanted to Ireland, where he was appointed solicitor general in 1725, and afterwards became chief baron of the exchequer, and lastly chief justice of Ireland. He had been born and educated in England, which may be thus presumed to have been the native country of his brother, the Bishop of Dromore. His son was born in Dublin, and before his promotion to the episcopate had been dean of Ferns. In the *Memoirs* of Mr. Grattan, who was his uncle, he is said to "have been remarkable for his wit and humour, and also for his literary talents; and to have formed one of the gay circle that in those days adorned the city of Dublin:" it is there also related, "that he composed well, and wrote a prologue for the private theatricals at Carton, the seat of the Duke of Leinster; a humourous comedy, which however was never published; and also some amusing pieces of poetry." Some account is also given of him by Mr. Hardy, in his *Life of the Earl of Charlemont*. He is related to have formed an early intimacy with that nobleman, and to have preserved an uninterrupted friendship with him during life: to have added the most engaging manners to the most agreeable talents; and to have been an excellent prelate, and universally esteemed and regarded¹. In particular, he lived on terms of intimacy with Mr. Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dr.

His family,

And character.

¹ HARDY'S *Life of Earl of Charlemont*, p. 14.

Johnson, Mr. Malone, and Mr. Boswell: by the last of whom, in his *Life of Dr. Johnson*, he is named, together with Bishop Percy of Dromore, and Bishop Barnard of Killaloe, in an enumeration of the members of the "Literary Club," as it existed in 1792².

Other episcopal
appointments,
1788,

In the next year, 1788, in consequence of the death of Mann, bishop of Cork and Ross, Euseby Cleaver succeeded by consecration to the vacant see. A native of England, he had been educated at Christ Church, Oxford; and was chaplain to the Marquis of Buckingham, lord lieutenant; and brother to Dr. William Cleaver, bishop of Chester.

1789,

In the following year, 1789, on the death of Bishop Preston, whose superintendence of Ferns and Leighlin did not extend to two years, Bishop Cleaver was appointed his successor: being succeeded in Cork and Ross by William Foster, son of the chief baron of the exchequer, and chaplain to the House of Commons. He was consecrated June 14th of that year, in St. Peter's Church, Dublin, by the Archbishop of Dublin.

1790

And again in the ensuing year, 1790, on the death of Jackson, bishop of Kildare, Bishop Jones was translated to that see, in which he survived the Union, from Kilmore; where he was succeeded by Bishop Foster, from Cork and Ross. To the vacant bishoprick was consecrated William Bennett, chaplain to the lord lieutenant, the Earl of Westmoreland, who had recently succeeded the Marquis of Buckingham in the chief government; whose private tutor he had been, as likewise his college tutor, during his Lordship's residence at Emanuel College, Cambridge. He had been educated under Dr. Thackeray, at Harrow school, where, among his

Bennett, bishop
of Cork and Ross.

His early life and
pursuits.

² BOSWELL'S *Life of Johnson*, i., p. 434.

school-fellows were Sir William Jones and Dr. Parr, with whom he was associated in a political play, of which Jones was the inventor. Proceeding thence to Cambridge, he became a fellow of Emanuel College, where he succeeded to the tutorship, soon after Dr. Farmer had become master of that society in 1775: and having taken his degree of bachelor of divinity in 1777, proceeded to that of doctor in 1790, apparently on his elevation to the episcopate. By Mr. Nicholls, in his *Literary Anecdotes*, he is commemorated as “an elegant and profound scholar, who was afterwards most deservedly honoured with a mitre³,” as “the excellent and benevolent Bishop of Cloyne,” to which see he was translated in 1794. In a list of some of the first antiquaries of the three kingdoms, whom Mr. Gough counted among his correspondents, occurs the name of Bishop Bennett⁴; of whose attachment to that pursuit I happen to possess a memorial, in a copy of LEDWICH’s *Antiquities of Ireland*, interspersed with various illustrative engravings and MS. notes in the hand-writing of the bishop, at the sale of whose books it was purchased after his death in 1820. He was well-known and much esteemed by the late Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Manners Sutton, who had been his pupil at Emanuel College, and at whose table in Lambeth Palace I have often seen him an honoured guest.

The greater portion of time, during the latter years of his life, was spent by Bishop Bennett in London, where illness in his family, of a peculiar and very afflicting nature, was considered by him as rendering his attendance necessary. He had always borne the character of an able and eloquent preacher; and as his powerful assistance was frequently sought,

His residence in
London,

³ NICHOLLS’ *Literary Anecdotes*, ii., 629., i. 673. ⁴ *Ibid.*, vi., 303.

And death, 1820.

so it was cheerfully rendered, in behalf of the charitable institutions of the metropolis. Accordingly, in March, 1820, he had undertaken to contribute his services in this way at St. Michael's, Cornhill; and although his health had been much impaired by a recent attack of the gout, and the coldness of the weather was severe, he faithfully performed his promise. This last and meritorious exertion is said to have shortened his life; and to have been the occasion of his death on the 14th of the following July⁵.

Condition of Church of Rome in Ireland.

I revert to the condition of the members of the church of Rome in Ireland, and observe that no proceedings for the enlargement of their power seem to have been had in parliament since 1782; and that in the opening of the session of 1792, which commenced the 19th of January, the speech of the lord lieutenant, the Earl of Westmoreland, contained no particular reference to the Papists. The session, however, did not pass away, without a powerful effort, productive of important consequences in their favour.

Session of 1792.

Bill for removing disabilities from Romanists.

After some debate in the House of Commons, leave was given, on the motion of Sir Hercules Langrishe, to bring in a bill "for removing certain restraints and disabilities, under which his Majesty's Roman Catholick subjects labour, from statutes at present in force." And the bill was accordingly brought in on the 4th of February.

The purport of this bill was to repeal particular enactments in the reigns of King William, Queen Anne, and of Kings George I. and II., and to enact a law in opposition to the repealed statutes.

Both the language of the bill, and the new enactments, were remarkable.

⁵ NICHOLLS' *Illustrations of Literature*, iv., p. 705.

In the acts of the preceding reigns, the members of the Romish church had been always called "Papists," or "persons professing the Popish religion;" and the religion itself had been always termed "the Popish religion, or Popery:" and such are the terms used on this occasion in reciting the titles and the enactments of those statutes. But in the title of the bill now offered to parliament, mention is made of "his Majesty's Roman Catholick subjects;" and they are continually denominated in the bill, as "persons professing the Roman Catholick religion." This change in the phraseology of the legislature, unexampled, except in King James's pretended parliament, was obviously not accidental.

Remarkable change of language in describing them.

The enactments themselves were intended to annul the disabilities contained in the aforesaid statutes, and to admit the members of the Romish church in Ireland to the opposite privileges: namely, to allow them the profession and practice of the law, in all its various departments; to enable them to establish literary seminaries and academies for the instruction and education of their own youth; and to allow them to intermarry with Protestants, and to keep such a number of apprentices as they might choose, without restraint, for the conduct of their several trades and crafts.

Intention of the enactments.

These concessions were noticed with commendation by the lord lieutenant, in his speech from the throne, on the 18th of April; when he declared "that he had his Majesty's commands to express his approbation of the wisdom that had guided the proceedings of the houses of parliament during the session; especially in the liberal indulgencies they had afforded to their Roman Catholick brethren, by establishing the legality of intermarriage, by admit-

Commended by lord lieutenant in his Majesty's name.

ting them to the profession of the law, and the benefits of education, and by removing all restrictions upon their industry in trade and manufactures."

Further power
sought for the
Papists.

But this did not suffice. The character of Popery is accurately drawn by the words of the satirist, describing a warrior of insatiable ambition :

"Think nothing gain'd, he cries, while aught remains."

A further repeal of the laws affecting the Irish members of the Church of Rome was still the object of their desires ; and their particular and immediate scope was the attainment of the elective franchise.

Speech of lord
lieutenant, Jan.
10, 1793.

The speech of the lord lieutenant, on opening the next session, January the 10th, 1793, was ominous of its proceedings. "I have it in particular command from his Majesty, to recommend it to you to apply yourselves to the consideration of such measures, as may be most likely to strengthen and cement a general union of sentiment among all classes and descriptions of his Majesty's subjects, in support of the established constitution : with this view his Majesty trusts, that the situation of his Majesty's Catholick subjects will engage your serious attention ; and in the consideration of this subject, he relies on the wisdom and liberality of his parliament."

Censurable
phraseology.

"His Majesty's Catholick subjects !" Such was the phrase, by which the representative of the king chose to designate the sectarists of a foreign church, whose emissaries were studiously employed in subverting that true member of the Catholick Church, the National Church of Ireland. And with such an example from the throne, it is perhaps little to be admired, if the members of that foreign church, adopting the viceregal phraseology, presented themselves before the king, with "the humble petition of the undersigned Catholicks, on behalf of them-

selves and the rest of the Catholick subjects of the kingdom of Ireland." But that it should have pleased the king to receive very graciously a petition from persons so designating themselves, may well excite surprise, accompanied with indignation towards his Majesty's unfaithful advisers.

In pursuance of the lord lieutenant's recommendation, on the 4th of February Mr. Secretary Hobart moved for leave to bring in a bill for the further relief of the Roman Catholics; and was seconded by Sir Hercules Langrishe, in the spirit of a liberal-minded gentleman, carried away by abstract notions of generosity and honour, but little versed, as it should seem, in the history of his country, and ignorant or reckless of the essential religious principles of those for whom he pleaded. On the other hand, the motion was resisted by Dr. Duigenan, in a masterly speech, abounding with historical research, legal learning, and powerful argumentation, wherein he exposed the misrepresentations and falsehoods by which the Roman Catholics supported their pretensions to further legislative relief; the non-existence of their alleged grievances; the futility of their claims for political power, and the dangerous consequences of its being granted. "It is very plain," he remarked, "from what I have already stated, that the laws, as they now stand, secure to them the fullest and most perfect enjoyment of their religion, liberty, and property, both real and personal, together with the completest powers of acquisition: they are deprived of no advantages enjoyed by Protestants, except of political power, which, if we shall be so mad as to give to them, the present frame of this government must be thereby dissolved, and the state uprooted from its

Bill for further relief of Roman Catholics.

Powerfully resisted by Dr. Duigenan.

Security of Roman Catholics under existing laws.

deepest foundation." And again, "I have, according to the recommendation of the speech, seriously considered the real condition of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, which I find to be a state of perfect security both of their liberty and property; and not that state, untruly depicted in that false and acrimonious libel, their petition to his Majesty. The opinion I have formed on the whole matter is, that it is utterly inconsistent with the safety and preservation of the present Irish constitution in Church and State, and utterly incompatible with the true interest of the whole British empire, to invest them with any other privileges than they now are by law entitled to; and I will therefore oppose this bill in every stage of it, convinced as I am in my conscience, that, by acting thus, I do my duty to my God, my king, and my country."

Their petition
false and libel-
lous.

Bill passed.

Notwithstanding, however, this solemn admonition, founded on a clear perception of the essential and unalienable character of Popery, and supported by the testimony of former experience, the specious rhetorick of a false and spurious liberality prevailed over the sound reasoning of reflective wisdom and prudent forethought. The incapacity of the Papists to do mischief was interpreted into indisposition to do it; and an experiment was determined to be made of their good will, by placing political power in their hands. In spite of this opposition to the further aggrandisement and invigoration of the old enemies of the faith and Church of the kingdom the bill was passed in the Lower House, and transmitted to the Upper, where it does not appear to have encountered any serious resistance, although it underwent from the lords several amendments, which were admitted by the commons. At the time

of its passing in the Upper House, the only spiritual peers present were the Archbishop of Cashel and seven bishops. The inclination of the crown in its favour had been already signified by the opening speech of the viceroy, and the royal consent was readily given. Thus the bill, though somewhat modified in its progress, became, in substance, as originally devised, an act of the legislature; and the Romanists were invested with fresh privileges, which placed them nearly on a footing of equality with Protestants, the chief, if not the sole, political exception being that of their non-admission to parliament, whilst the acquisition of the elective franchise placed them in immediate possession of great political power, and gave them the assured prospect of more in future.

Privileges conferred on the Romanists

The lord lieutenant, in his speech at the close of the session, commended, as highly pleasing to the king, the wisdom and liberality of this further indulgence to the Roman Catholicks, whom, however, he refrained from denominating "Catholicks," after the precedent of his opening speech. Perhaps, on reflection, his own good sense may have led him to perceive the offensive and injurious tendency of such language, being a concession of the claim of the Romish church to universal and exclusive dominion, and a surrender of the character of the Church of Ireland as a true member of the Holy Catholick Church of Christ. Possibly he may have been admonished elsewhere of his error, or he may have learned a lesson of caution and discretion from the censure of Dr. Duigenan on this phrase in the petition of the Romanists:

Commended by lord lieutenant.

Correction of his language.

"This petition," he said, "commences with deception. The petitioners, on the title of it, denominate themselves

Papists improperly called Catholicks.

Catholics, whereas they are Roman Catholicicks; that is, they are persons who acknowledge the supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, a foreign prince, in spirituals, as all the Irish, who style themselves Catholicicks, do, and will not allow his Majesty to be the supreme head of the Church within this kingdom, nor will they take the oath of supremacy; and I shall demonstrate, before I sit down, that a very great portion of temporal power is incident to, and cannot, by any device, be separated from, the spiritual supremacy avowed by the Roman Catholicicks of this kingdom to be vested in the Bishop of Rome. At present, I only just mark the fallacy contained in the very title of this petition, and which is invariably pursued, in this point, through the whole, in which the petitioners constantly style themselves Catholicicks, without the addition of Rome. It is thus old tales represent the devil, when he appears to mortals, cautiously concealing the cloven foot."

Their discontent.

Great, however, as were the indulgences granted by this act to the Popish party, they were not satisfactory. It fell short of their wishes, if not of their expectations, and they proclaimed that nothing would suffice short of what they were pleased to call a complete emancipation and admission to all the privileges of the constitution. No further proceedings, however, in their favour were adopted in the next session of parliament; but, towards the close of the year 1794, Earl Fitzwilliam was appointed to succeed the Earl of Westmoreland in the chief government, and was sent over in the ensuing January with full powers, as was by some understood, of giving to the Papists the privileges for which they were solicitous, or, as understood by others, with limited powers, which he by his own authority exceeded. From some want of harmony, however, between him and the English government, his viceregency was soon abridged and concluded. After a period, which extended only from the 4th of

Appointment of
Earl Fitzwilliam,
1794.

His sudden
recall, 1795.

January to the 24th of March, 1795, he was suddenly recalled; and with his removal was suspended, for a season, the project of investing the Irish Papists with the authority of legislators, which must have brought into extreme jeopardy, perhaps devoted to ruin, as a national establishment, the Irish Church, and for the abortion of which the humble and devout gratitude of the Church is due to her divine founder, the Author and Giver of the true Catholick faith.

About this period, the following changes took place among the members of the Irish episcopate: Episcopal changes, 1794.

In 1794, the death of Pery, lord Glentworth, bishop of Limerick, occasioned the translation of Bishop Barnard to that see, from Killaloe, where he was succeeded by the Honourable William Knox, fourth son of Thomas, first Viscount Northland, who had previously been chaplain to the House of Commons. These two prelates remained in their respective sees till after the Union. The death of Bishop Woodward, of Cloyne, the same year, occasioned the translation of Bishop Bennett to that see, from Cork and Ross, where he was succeeded by the dean of Ferns, the Honourable Thomas Stopford, third son of James, first Earl of Courtown; and, on the death of Archbishop Bourke, who had become earl of Mayo, Bishop Beresford was translated to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam, from the bishoprick of Ossory, which was conferred on Thomas Lewis O'Beirne, private secretary to Earl Fitzwilliam. He was afterwards translated to Meath; but Archbishop Beresford, subsequently raised to the Irish peerage by the title of Baron Decies, and the Bishops Bennett and Stopford, survived the Union in their respective sees.

On the 10th of October, in the same year, 1794, Death of Primate

Robinson, Oct.
10, 1794.

His temporal dig-
nities.

His professional
character.

the Church of Ireland was deprived of the superintendence of her primate, Archbishop Robinson, who died at Clifton, near Bristol, on that day, in the forty-third year of his episcopate, of which he had passed almost thirty in the primacy. To his ecclesiastical dignities, he had, in the interval, added the secular honours of the baronetcy, to which he succeeded on the death of his elder brother, 1785, and of the peerage, to which he was raised in 1777, by the title of Baron Rokeby, of Armagh, with remainder to his relative, Matthew Robinson, of West Layton, Esq.; and he was the first primate who bore the title of prelate of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick, which was instituted in 1783. Of his character and actions there has been already occasion to speak in the course of this narrative. I do not find that there exist any memorials of his literary or theological talents, nor does he appear to have attained any celebrity in those respects during his life; for, although the sermons which he sometimes preached are said to have been excellent in style and doctrine, his voice was low, and indistinctly heard^o. But the archiepiscopal residence at Armagh abounds with monuments to his liberality, which is visibly perpetuated, also, in various churches of his diocese. A bequest of 5000*l.* for establishing an university in Ulster, provided it were done within five years after his decease, would have for ever connected his name with the dissemination of sound religion and useful learning in Ireland: as, in consequence of the vigilance with which he provided for the exigencies of the Church, by means especially of the legislative enactments effected under his auspices, the name of Primate Robinson is familiar in the mouths of the Irish clergy as household words.

^o STUART'S *History of Armagh*, p. 454.

That this illustrious person, as intimated by the biographer and on the authority of Mr. Skelton, “was very careful to build churches, but did not care what sort of clergymen he put in them,” is too grave a charge to be admitted on the credit of a general, vague, and unsubstantiated remark. And, if it was of this distinguished prelate, eminent as he was for his very laudable exertions in building churches and parsonage-houses, that Dr. Johnson spoke, as related by Mr. Boswell, as of one “not esteemed a man of much professional learning, or a liberal patron of it;” together with the seeming censure, let the apology of the great moralist be borne in mind: “yet it is well where a man possesses any strong positive excellence. Few have all kinds of merit belonging to their character. We must not examine matters too deeply. No, Sir; a fallible being will fail somewhere⁷.”

Reflections on his character.

On a visit to Ireland, in June, 1787, Mr. Wesley enters in his *Journal* the following notice of Armagh: “We took a view of the primate’s lodge and chapel, elegant in the highest degree, and of the domain surrounding them, which is laid out and planted in the most beautiful manner. And what hath the owner thereof? Not so much as the beholding thereof with his eyes! Probably he will behold it no more! He is fully taken up in building a large seat near Dublin! At above eighty years of age!

Mr. Wesley’s stricture upon him.

. . . . “Tu secunda marmora
Locas sub ipsum funus, et sepulchri
Inmemor struis domos!⁸”

Upon the quality of this remark I offer no animadversion, but I cite it for the purpose of presenting its antidote in the judicious and charitable

Answered by Mr. Stuart.

⁷ BOSWELL’S *Life*, ii., 128.

⁸ WESLEY’S *Journal*, xxi., p. 60.

apology of the historian of Armagh: "Even the virtues of men of exalted rank sometimes subject them to reproach. Primate Robinson's taste for improvement, and his benevolent wish to give employment to the peasantry of the country, continued unabated till the latest period of his life. It had grown by exercise into habit. . . . Of this habit John Wesley, who, in other respects, was a man of mildness, charity, and candour, speaks with some asperity. . . . As if it were impossible that an old man should be employed in perfecting works of temporary utility in this world, whilst he was making due preparation for the more important matters of eternity⁹."

Its confutation.

Mr. Wesley did not survive the person whom he made the subject of his reprehension. If he had, the will of Primate Robinson might have met his eyes; and he might thence have been admonished that the construction of a dwelling-house did not necessarily imply forgetfulness of the tomb. The will ran in this wise:

Primate Robinson's will.

"I, Richard, archbishop of Armagh, being mindful of mortality, do make this my last will and testament.

"At the appointed time, I am prepared to resign my soul, the vital and active principle of my nature, to the self-existent Creator of all things, and the beneficent Governour of the universe, from whom I received it, in all humble hope, through the mediation of Jesus Christ, my only Saviour, that the sins and errors of my past life may be pardoned, and that I may be removed to a more permanent scene of happiness in a future state. On this occasion, likewise, I must declare my well-grounded affection to the religion established in England and Ireland, which I am persuaded is the most primitive and rational system of Christianity at this time publicly professed in any part of the earth, and that it will be found, when duly considered, to be exactly framed for the encouragement and advance-

⁹ STUART'S *Armagh*, p. 453.

ment of learning and piety, and for the preservation of the peace and the promotion of the general interest of society."

His noble and commanding countenance is perpetuated to posterity by a portrait, painted by the masterly hand of Sir Joshua Reynolds: representing him, whilst bishop of Kildare, sitting in his episcopal robes, with a folio volume open before him; and preserved, in duplicate, at the palace of Armagh, in the series of primates since the Reformation, and in the hall of Christ Church, Oxford, of which society the handsome edifice, commonly named Canterbury Gate, was constructed principally by his munificence, as testified by its superscription.

His portrait at Armagh and Christ Church, Oxford.

The portrait in the archiepiscopal residence, painted, as the will of the primate states, by Sir Joshua Reynolds, was bequeathed by him to the dean and chapter of Armagh, in trust for the use of the primate for the time being. The bequest comprised also portraits of the Princess Sophia, and her husband the Elector of Hanover, with their descendants, the British sovereigns, including their then Majesties King George III. and Queen Charlotte. And to these were added the portraits of the primates, thirteen in number, reaching down to the time of Archbishop Robinson from that of Henry Ussher, who was raised to the primacy in the year 1595, towards the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. These complete the series of Protestant archbishops of Armagh during that period. I am not aware that there exist likenesses of any of their predecessors, except in the case of Adam Loftus, who occupied the archbishoprick, and withal the primacy of all Ireland, from 1562 to 1568, and of whom I have seen a fine whole-length representation, in his attire as lord chancellor, in the possession of

Bequest of portraits of the royal family,

And of the primates.

Lord Robert Tottenham, the present bishop of Clogher. Of the archbishops of Armagh, Lancaster, Long, and Garvey, who fill up the interval between Loftus and Henry Ussher, I have not learned that there is any pictorial representation; nor of Browne, who, as archbishop of Dublin, was elevated to the primacy by the special favour of King Edward VI.

Another portrait
of Primate
Robinson.

There is in the possession of his family another portrait of Primate Robinson, by the same excellent artist, taken after his elevation to the primacy, and apparently when somewhat advanced in life, and exhibiting him as walking in his usual morning dress of a coat and short cassock, and wearing a three-cornered hat. The cathedral of Armagh is introduced in the distance. Of both of these portraits there are engravings: and in the first volume of the *Anthologia Hibernica*, there is an engraving also by Brocas, from a medal struck by Mossop, of Dublin, which presents on the obverse the head of this illustrious prelate, surrounded by the inscription, "Richard Robinson, Baron Rokeby, Lord Primate of all Ireland;" and on the reverse, the south front of the Observatory at Armagh, round which are inscribed the words, placed on it by the primate at the time of its erection, "The heavens declare the glory of God. M.DCC.LXXX.IX."

A medal of him.

Appointment of
his successor,
1793,

Though the primacy was vacated in October, 1794, it was not until January 27, 1795, that it was again filled. The author of *Collectanea Politica* has inserted into his work a comparison drawn in some of the publick papers between Lord Westmoreland's and Lord Fitzwilliam's administrations, as showing the state of the popular mind on the recall of the latter nobleman: and in the course of the comparison

occurs the following articles. During Lord Westmoreland's administration, "Recommendation of the Bishop of Cloyne to be provost, who was to have been also Bishop of Ossory, and to have had two boroughs for the use of government." During Lord Fitzwilliam's administration, "The primacy rescued from a monopolizing breed of jobbers, and given to learning and piety. The college rescued from a stranger, an intruder, and a jobber; and committed to the care of one of its own body."

Of this obscure allusion, obviously made by a political partisan, the explanation appears to be found in an endeavour to elevate Beresford, bishop of Ossory, to the primacy; and to place, as his successor in the see of Ossory, Bennett, bishop of Cloyne, for whom the provostship also was designed. Bishop Beresford, instead of this promotion, was appointed, as we have seen, to the archbishoprick of Tuam, which had become vacant the August preceding the October in which Primate Robinson died: and the see of Ossory was thereupon given to O'Beirne, under the patronage of Lord Fitzwilliam. The provostship fell to the lot of Dr. Murray, one of the senior fellows.

Effected by Lord Fitzwilliam.

Meanwhile Archbishop Robinson's actual successor in the primacy, characterized above by the qualities of piety and learning, was Bishop Newcome, who was translated from Waterford and Lismore, in January, 1795. This occurrence was noticed after the following manner, in a letter of January the 10th, by the Earl of Charlemont, as related in Mr. Hardy's life of that nobleman:

Elevation of Bishop Newcome.

"I cannot avoid flattering myself, that we have now got a chief governour, who comes over with the best intentions, and the strongest desire of doing us all the good in his power. Already we have had a foretaste and earnest

Lord Charlemont's narrative.

of his administration. Regardless of ministerial influence or convenience, he has restored the university to its rights, and has placed at the head of the Church a prelate, not from recommendation, but from character, and whose unassuming virtue, conduct, principles, and erudition, have alone recommended him to that high office. In both these appointments, publick utility has alone been considered. Murray could possibly have had no protection but his own intrinsic merit; and Newcome had no English patron but Charles Fox. From such commencement it would be uncharitable, and even foolish, not to indulge the most sanguine hopes, both with respect to him and his principal advisers."

It will naturally occur to the reader, that the language of the foregoing extracts receives some of its colouring from the political predilections of the writers: and that however distinguished may have been the character, and however exemplary the virtues, of the new primate, it is not to that cause alone that the commendation, bestowed on his patrons by his panegyrist, is to be attributed.

Bishop Newcome's connection with Mr. Fox.

In explanation of the mention made of Mr. Fox in this preferment, it should be noticed, that Bishop Newcome had been Mr. Fox's tutor at Hertford College, Oxford, where, upon some occasion of innocent sportiveness with his illustrious pupil, he met with an accident which caused the loss of his right arm: and that he maintained throughout life with that eminent statesman an intercourse of reciprocal friendship. That he was assisted therefore in his professional advancement by the benevolence and kind services of Mr. Fox, may readily be admitted: I learn, however, from a relation of the primate, that he had on this occasion another "English patron," for that he was promoted to the primacy by the express appointment of King George III. Such, at least, is the traditionary belief in his family.

His promotion by the king.

SECTION VII.

Primate Newcome's Visitation and Charge. Non-cures. Duty of their Incumbents. Bishop O'Beirne's Charge. Number and activity of Romish Clergy. Duty of the Clergy of the Church. Revival of office of Rural Deans. Commenced by Archbishop Agar. Adopted by other Prelates. Professional diligence of Bishop O'Beirne. Association for Promoting the Christian Religion. Episcopal appointments in 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798. Earl Camden, Lord Lieutenant. Young, Bishop of Clonfert. His great and various excellence. Death of Primate Newcome. His Character. His Biblical Studies. Tendency of his Publications. Evil use made of them. Last Episcopal appointment before the Union.

IN the year following his appointment to the primacy, Archbishop Newcome held his primary visitation of the province of Ulster, and took occasion to state and enforce the duty of clerical residence, in a Charge, which he read in some dioceses, and intended to read in all but for the interruption of ill health. He published it at the request of many very respectable hearers, as stated by him in an advertisement prefixed; and "inscribed it to the bishops and clergy of Ulster, with sincere regard, and with an earnest desire to co-operate with them in every measure conducive to the reputation, prosperity, and stability of the National Church."

Primate Newcome's visitation and charge, 1795.

In this Charge some of the obvious arguments for clerical residence are put forward clearly and forcibly; and an Appendix to it contains a collection of legal documents upon the subject. I perceive in it, however, nothing illustrative of the condition of the Irish Church in particular, unless it be the observations upon those anomalous benefices, wherein

Its contents.

the absence of a church, a parsonage-house, and a glebe, afforded the incumbent a colourable pretext for non-residence :

Non-cures, or
benefices without
a church.

Duty of their
incumbents.

“But what,” demands the primate, “is the duty of such as are instituted to benefices without a church; or to non-cures, as they are usually but improperly termed? For to all who possess them, the cure of souls is committed with the usual solemnity. The reply does not admit of hesitation: it is their duty to keep constant residence on such benefices, if no other has been conferred on them. Why should their parishioners labour under a double inconvenience, in being deprived both of their minister and of their church? Surely the performance of occasional duties cannot be legally or conscientiously dispensed with in the circumstances supposed: and these a substitute of some neighbouring parish is likely to perform with inferior care, and from a distance inconvenient to such as have a right to require them. I add, that the residence of an exemplary clergyman on such benefices, will naturally lead to the purchase of a competent glebe, and to the erecting of a glebe-house and of a church: and that, in the mean time, some other place may perhaps be obtained for the publick worship of a few pious parishioners, or, at least, for convening such children as need catechetical instruction.”

Bishop O’Beirne’s
charge to the
clergy of Ossory.

About the same time, this anomalous peculiarity in the Irish Church was again made the subject of publick episcopal reprehension. In his primary charge to the clergy of the diocese of Ossory, in 1795, Bishop O’Beirne, whilst he enforced upon his clergy the obligations of personal attendance on the wants of their parishioners, animadverted in terms of strong reprobation upon the abuse of “non-cures:” “a description of ecclesiastical benefice, for which we can discover no authority, except in an eagerness to find any excuse, and seize any pretext, for neglecting the most sacred and obligatory of our duties.” And he condemned the minister, who

should absent himself from such a benefice, as one who “violating all that he owed to the redeemed of Christ, whom he engaged to instruct and to comfort, and forgetful of that awful name, by which he had sworn, abandoned his charge; leaving them to whatever casual instruction they could gather from others, to pick up the ‘word by the wayside;’ to beg even for baptism for their children from some charitable hand, often from ministers of another faith, while he, standing on the mere privilege of an accommodating conscience, set every other consideration at defiance.” It can hardly admit of a question, that to the condition of parishes in such a state of spiritual destitution as these, as well as to the very insufficient provision frequently existing for the Church’s ministrations in others, are to be attributed the facts, not only of persons not being added to the Church, but of others falling away from and deserting her communion.

Meanwhile the ministers of the Romish church in Ireland, more numerous as they were in a manifold degree, were found at all times and everywhere active. It was to this cause that the Bishop of Ossory, in his second charge of 1796, attributed “the pertinacious prevalency of the Roman Catholic religion in the country, and how it had maintained its influence over the great bulk of the people, amidst so many impediments and difficulties:” and he gave the following sketch of the ministers of that religion:

Number and
activity of
Romish clergy.

“Their clergy are indefatigable. Their labours are unremitting. They live in a constant familiar intercourse with all who are subject to their pastoral inspection. They visit them from house to house. Their only care, their sole employment, is to attend to the administration of their sacra-

Duty of the
clergy of the
Church.

ments, and to their multiplied observances and rites. They watch and surround the beds of the sick. They are 'instant in season, and out of season: they reprove, they rebuke, they exhort,' certainly 'with long-suffering, and with doctrine,' such as it is. 'They are wise,' observes Archbishop Secker, 'in their generation, and, if we hope to be a match for them, we must imitate them.' If we hope to succeed in our good cause, we must come down to an emulation with them in exertions, that are worthy only of that cause: an emulation, not of envy or strife; not of angry controversy or disputation; not of any intemperance of proselytism, where the idle contest is merely to swell the numbers of nominal votaries, without making better Christians or better subjects, and with the continual breach of Christian charity and benevolence; but an emulation in the faithful, earnest, and persevering discharge of such pastoral duties, as are most calculated to secure us the respect, the love, the attachment, and the confidence of our flocks."

Revival of office
of rural deans.

An attempt was about this time made for the improvement of ecclesiastical discipline by the revival of the office of rural deans: an institution of very ancient date, and originally designed for the inspection and admonition of both clergy and laity within the respective deaneries, and for the information of the bishop concerning them, in order that, if requisite, he might interfere as directed by the law for their amendment. The institution had fallen into disuse in Ireland as well as in England: where, however, it was less needed on account of the archidiaconal superintendence which prevailed in that part of the empire, whereas in Ireland the archdeacons had no power or jurisdiction. Some of the governors of the Church accordingly, considering the office calculated for its benefit, took measures for its restoration in their dioceses. The first advance appears to have been made by the Archbishop of

Commenced by
Archbishop
Agar of Cashel.

Cashel, Dr. Agar, to whom, observes Bishop O'Beirne in a note on his first charge at Ossory, "the Church of Ireland is as much indebted as to any prelate of modern days." He framed new regulations, in order to render the institution fit for producing the best effects, and caused it to be revived throughout his whole province. Primate Newcome, on his appointment to the see of Armagh, both revived the office in his own diocese, and strongly recommended its adoption to his suffragans. And the Bishop of Ossory, having within his diocese adopted a similar plan, took the opportunity of his primary visitation for "returning his warmest thanks to his most respectable brethren, who had so cheerfully and zealously undertaken the very laborious task he had imposed upon them in the restoration of the ancient office of rural dean, and who were engaged in rendering him such essential services towards the discharge of his duty." He added, "Their labours, I trust, will not be in vain. In the information they have conveyed to me, I find much to rejoice at, and much to lament: from henceforth the whole object of my life, while God gives me health, shall be to endeavour to strengthen and extend the one, and to remedy and correct the other."

Adopted by other
prelates.

The earnestness of the diocesan appears to have been met with corresponding feelings by his clergy, at whose request, communicated by a letter of the vicar-general, Dr. Madden, he published his two first charges: a third, in 1797, designed for private circulation, was also published on the suggestion of the lord primate. A circular address to his clergy, the same year, was published with his permission, by the Association for discouraging Vice, and promoting the practice of Religion and Virtue. The three charges

Professional
diligence of
Bishop O'Beirne.

and the address, together with four occasional sermons, were collected together in a volume in 1799. After his translation to Meath, several charges, of which five are now lying before me, and an address to candidates for ordination, show the unremitting vigilance of this faithful pastor of Christ's flock.

Association for
discountenancing
Vice, &c.

Of the Association, to which allusion has been just made, it may be here convenient to notice, that the institution had recently been formed for the excellent purposes, intimated by its designation. It arose out of the vicious state of society, which was observed to be prevalent in Ireland towards the latter end of the eighteenth century: and as the evil was judged to originate in an ignorance and neglect, so a remedy was sought in the promotion, of the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion. Thus its avowed objects were the discouraging of vice, and the promoting of religion and virtue. Its subjects were the rising generation throughout the kingdom. Its instruments of improvement were schools erected under its patronage and with its aid; teachers provided in part or wholly with salaries from its funds; Bibles, books of Common Prayer, and other religious publications, distributed gratuitously or at low prices; and prizes conferred on the best-instructed and best-behaved children at periodical catechetical examinations conducted by the parochial clergy. Its principles were those of the Church of Ireland, of which it was a faithful offspring and minister, dispensing religious knowledge specially to her children, but embracing also the professors of other tenets. Its founders were three private churchmen, one ecclesiastick and two laicks; with whom were soon associated in its support other members of the Church, whose pre-

Institution and
particulars of it.

lates and other clergy, and a considerable number of its most respectable laity, gradually connected themselves with the association. Amongst its patrons it likewise reckoned from time to time the chief governours of Ireland: nor did it fail of receiving countenance in England from the kindred Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. To notice the rise of this association belongs to our undertaking, falling, as it does, within the period assigned to the present narrative. To proceed with an account of it would be to advance into a different period: suffice it to observe, that the society, having for many years conducted its enterprise with good success, was eventually deprived of its power by the intervention of rival societies, founded on more popular but less commendable principles, and by the withdrawal of the patronage of the government.

Loss of its power.

Archbishop Newcome, who, as we have seen, was elevated to the primacy from the bishoprick of Waterford and Lismore, in January, 1795, was succeeded in that see, the following March, by Marlay, bishop of Clonfert. Bishop Marlay retained his bishoprick till after the Union. His successor in Clonfert was the honourable Charles Brodrick, fourth son of George, third Viscount Midleton, and son-in-law of Bishop Woodward, by whom he had been made treasurer of Cloyne, and rector of Midleton. In the same year, 1795, on the death of Dodgson, bishop of Elphin, March the 7th, Bishop Law was translated to that see, from Killala, the 27th of that month, and remained in it till after the Union. Earl Fitzwilliam quitted the government the 24th of the same month; and immediately on his departure, the lord primate, and the lord chancellor, the Earl of Clare, were made lords justices, and so continued

Episcopal appointments, 1795.

Earl Camden,
lord lieutenant,
March 31, 1795.

until the arrival of Earl Camden with the viceregal authority, on the 31st of March. Dr. John Porter, who had been chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, attended the new lord lieutenant as his chaplain, and was consecrated to the bishoprick of Killala the 7th of the ensuing June.

Episcopal
changes, 1796.

In January, 1796, Foster, bishop of Kilmore, was translated to the see of Clogher, which had been vacated the 3rd of November preceding, by the death of Bishop Hotham. And in the following year, 1797, the see of Clogher was again vacated, by the death of Bishop Foster, after less than two years' occupancy. In Kilmore, he had been succeeded by Brodrick, bishop of Clonfert, who continued in the see till after the Union, being subsequently promoted to the archbishoprick of Cashel. In Clogher, Bishop Foster was succeeded by Porter, bishop of Killala, who also survived the Union in his new see. The former was succeeded in Clonfert by Hugh Hamilton, dean of Armagh; the latter in Killala by Joseph Stock, fellow of Trinity College, a distinguished Hebraist, and noted for his translation of the Book of Job into English, who was consecrated to that see in 1798.

1797.

1793.

In the same year, 1798, also, Bishop Maxwell died, in the see of Meath, having erected at Ardbraccan, for an episcopal residence, "a large and convenient mansion, in a style," says Dr. Beaufort, "of superior elegance, and with such simplicity as does equal honour to his Lordship's taste and liberality." His place was supplied by the translation of Bishop O'Beirne from Ossory, to which Bishop Hamilton was translated, from Clonfert. He was succeeded there by Matthew Young, senior fellow of Trinity College, who was consecrated to

the bishoprick in 1798, and vacated it November the 28th, 1800, the vacancy, however, being not filled till after the Union. The Bishops O'Beirne and Hamilton survived the Union in their respective sees of Meath and Ossory.

Of Bishop Young, not long before his death, the following honourable testimony was borne by Bennett, bishop of Cloyne, in a letter from Dublin, of June 5th, 1800, recorded in Mr. NICHOLLS' *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. iv., p. 712: "Dr. Young, the bishop of Cloufert, who is, I am afraid, dying of a cancer in his mouth, is the ablest man I have seen in this country, with the most keen and logical mind, united to exquisite taste. He has the playfulness and ingenuousness of a school-boy. The Church will have a severe loss in him."

Commemorated
by Bishop
Bennett.

The anticipation of Bishop Bennett was too well founded, and his estimate of the object of his panegyrick appears not to have exceeded the reality. Bishop Young died of the painful and lingering malady just mentioned, in the fiftieth year of his age; and by his death, it was said by one who spoke from personal, and, as it should seem, from intimate, acquaintance, that "science had lost one of its brightest luminaries; religion a sincere and powerful advocate; his country its proudest boast and ornament; and his friends all that could command esteem and conciliate affection. The versatility of his talents, the acuteness of his intellect, and his intense application to study, were happily blended with a native unassuming modesty; a simplicity of manners unaffected and irresistibly engaging; a cheerfulness and vivacity that knew no bounds but those of innocence; a heart throbbing with the warm feelings of private friendship and general philan-

His early death.

High character.

His early and various excellence.

thropy; and a firm and inflexible spirit of honour and integrity." He was elected to a fellowship of his college in 1775, having, at his examination, displayed a knowledge and comprehension of the Newtonian philosophy unexampled. To the professorship of natural and experimental philosophy, which became vacant in 1786, he was elected without competition. And in a society generally distinguished for the successful application of its members to scientific studies, he appears to have risen to a height of singular distinction. In the politer accomplishments of musick, drawing, and botany, he made acquirements which his commemorator, in the *Gentleman's Magazine*¹, has thought not unworthy of being specified, together with his literary proficiency; and, together with his mathematical and philosophical dissertations, other intellectual labours are attributed to him, which show that he was not inattentive to his peculiar duties as a divine. With him originated a society, consisting of a small number of his most intimate college friends, of which the principal object was the improvement of its members in theological learning. In Dublin, during the winter which preceded his dissolution, one of his studies was the Syriack language, of which he endeavoured to make himself master, with a view to improve and perfect a new version of the Psalms. At intervals, he amused himself with an essay on sophisms, of which he exemplified the different classes from the works of the deistical writers. And after his removal to Whitworth, in Lancashire, where he died, his last labours were devoted to an examination of the principles on which could be most unexceptionably demonstrated the existence of God.

¹ Vol. lxx., p. 1216.

His promotion to the episcopate was most honourable to all the parties concerned. The principal secretary being consulted by the lord lieutenant, who was the properest person to fill the vacant see, reported, that he believed Dr. Young to be the most distinguished literary character in the kingdom; and Dr. Young accordingly became bishop of Clonfert.

His honourable promotion.

On the 11th of October, 1800, died Primate Newcome, at his house in Stephen's-green, Dublin, and was interred in the new chapel of Trinity College. Of his seventy-one years, he had passed thirty-four as a bishop, and the last five in the primacy, to which he had been promoted soon after the death of Primate Robinson, and during the brief viceregal government of Earl Fitzwilliam, in 1795. Like his immediate predecessor, he appears not to have taken a prominent part in the political administration of affairs; but, unlike him, he has left few memorials to mark his episcopal character, beyond the attestation of his biographer, that, after his first promotion to the episcopate, he "discharged with great assiduity the duties of the episcopal office, and by his affability, prudence, and moderation, secured the respect of all parties and of all religious persuasions;" and that, "on his translation to the archiepiscopal see of Armagh, he maintained in this new situation the same character which had rendered him the object of universal respect and esteem at Dromore, Ossory, and Waterford." He was "obliged, indeed, to assume greater state in his manner of living and appearance, and to mix more in publick life, than was agreeable to his wishes; but he conducted himself in those scenes with the same pro-

Death of Primate Newcome.

His character.

priety which governed him in all his intercourse with the world, rejoicing when he was enabled to withdraw from them to the enjoyment of domestick happiness, and the pursuit of his literary studies²."

His pastoral care.

There has been already occasion to commemorate his attention to the due administration of his pastoral care, as exemplified in the charge delivered to his clergy, and published soon after his elevation to the primacy, wherein he calls attention to the absolute necessity of clerical residence, and therewith to a very important department of clerical duty, that of occasional and private instruction.

His biblical studies.

This publication, however, seems to have passed away with the other fugitive productions of the day, and has left hardly any memorial of the writer. As a biblical scholar, his reputation is more extended: and the student of Holy Scripture may derive assistance in his researches from this prelate's version of Ezekiel and of the twelve minor prophets, and from his "Harmony of the New Testament," as well as from his "Observations on our Lord's Conduct as a Divine Instructor." In two of his publications, however, he has been especially unhappy, if not from their bearing a tinge of unwholesome liberality on matters of very serious import, at least from the precedent which they have afforded to men of unsound principles, and from the discontent which they are calculated to produce in the minds of others. His "Historical View of the English Biblical Translations; the expediency of revising by authority our present Translation, and the means of executing such a work," published in 1792, may give good reason to think that his zeal outran his judgment; for that any imaginary and problematical benefit, contemplated

Tendency of his publications.

² REES'S *Cyclopaedia*.

in a new version of the holy Scriptures for publick use, would be more than counterbalanced by the disrepute cast on the old version, and the distrust of its fidelity thus excited in the popular mind.

His posthumous publication of an "Attempt towards Revising our English Translation of the Greek Scriptures," is liable to the same exception: and, in effect, it has been made the occasion and the basis, which he could hardly have anticipated, and which it is to be presumed that he would have deprecated and deplored, of another work under the title of an "Improved Version of the New Testament, published by a Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge." The castigation, which this work underwent at the time of its first appearance from some able sons and champions of the Anglican church, satisfactorily exposed the defective scholarship and the weakness of the critical powers of its editors, as well as the erroneousness and falsehood of their theological opinions. The primate's family lamented and condemned the use which had been made of their relative's authority: and others, who have no natural connection with him, but who feel for the honour of the Church, in which he bore so high a station, will long continue to grieve at the sight of his name placed in such an unholy association. He was succeeded by the Honourable William Stuart, fifth son of the Earl of Bute, and Bishop of St. David's, to which see he had been consecrated in 1793.

Evil use made of
one of them.

Bishop Stuart
raised to the pri-
macy.

This was the last episcopal appointment in Ireland before the Union, of which and of the previous incidents it now remains to speak, so far as they bore on ecclesiastical affairs, and on the incor-

Incidents pre-
vious to the
Union.

poration of the two national Churches of England and Ireland in one United Church.

SECTION VIII.

Reign of George III. favourable to the Romanists. Erection of Maynooth College by Act of Parliament. Restlessness of the Romanists. Rebellion of 1798. Its Popish character. Sufferings of members of the Church. Destruction of churches. Laudable conduct of Bishops Law and Percy. Persecution of Bishop Cleaver. Bishop Stock taken prisoner. Debate in the House of Lords. Speech of Bishop Dickson. Union of two kingdoms recommended by Lord Lieutenant. Rejected by House of Commons. Recommended by British Parliament. Carried in Irish Parliament. Provisions as affecting the Church. Churches of England and Ireland united. Representative Bishops. Act received Royal Assent, August 1, 1800. Carried into effect, January 1, 1801.

Privileges
granted to the
Romanists.

THE reign of King George III. had been in an unexampled and remarkable degree conspicuous for the removal of civil and political disabilities from the members of the Church of Rome in Ireland. After the act of 1793, they could not be regarded as suffering under any positive oppression: what remained of grievances was negative only.

Project for edu-
cating Popish
priests,

At the same time a positive and most important benefaction had been conferred upon them by a parliamentary provision for maintaining, disseminating, and perpetuating their religion in the country from the national resources. During the administration of the Earl of Westmoreland, in the year 1794, the chief ecclesiastical authority of the Romanists in Ireland, Dr. Troy, had represented to the government, that, in consequence of the disturbances then existing in France, which had been the usual resort of candidates for the Romish priesthood in

Ireland, a large number of Irish students had been deprived of the means of education: and that the establishment of a domestick seminary was requisite to meet the difficulty of supplying priests to perform the necessary duties of religion.

This purpose, however, was not accomplished during the short remnant of the Earl of Westmoreland's administration, nor during the still shorter succeeding administration of Earl Fitzwilliam, though great exertions were made for its accomplishment immediately on his appointment to the viceregal office, agreeable as such an establishment would have been to the avowed principles of the new lord lieutenant and his partisans, in favour of the Irish Papists. But it was reserved for the viceroyalty of Earl Camden, to give a new character to Popery in that portion of the empire, by taking it under the patronage, and fostering it at the expence, of the nation.

Accomplished
by Lord Camden,
1795.

Accordingly, in 1795, an act of parliament was passed, authorising the erection and endowment of a college at Maynooth, in the county of Kildare, for the education of Romish priests. Certain trustees were thereby empowered to receive donations for establishing and endowing an academy, and to acquire lands, free from forfeiture by mortmain, for the education of persons professing the Roman Catholick religion. Such donations appear not to have been made; but a sum of near 40,000*l.* was granted by parliament for its first establishment, and 8000*l.* in each succeeding session for its annual support, and for the maintenance and education of two hundred students, that so they might be trained to minister the rites of the Romish religion to Ireland's Romish population.

Act of parliament 53 Geo. III.,
for college at
Maynooth.

Deemed insufficient by the Papists.

Their restlessness.

Such a benefaction may have been thought calculated to conciliate the good will of that population to those by whom it was bestowed, the Protestant rulers of the kingdom; thus co-operating with the removal of civil and political disabilities. But the more they received, of the more were they desirous. And having been disappointed in their expectation of political aggrandisement by the government of Earl Fitzwilliam, they had recourse to other expedients. Towards the attainment of their end, they first urged forward the claim of parliamentary reform, in which object they were joined by the Protestant dissenters of the north; but in which they soon found that they would be defeated by the opposition of the government and of the legislature. The opportunity of succeeding by foreign aid then seemed to be opened to them by the French revolution; and they determined on connecting themselves with France, and invited to their assistance the French republicans, with the purpose of detaching Ireland from England. Hence arose combinations, conspiracies, tumults, insurrections, and finally the rebellion, which spread havock, desolation, and misery over no small portion of the kingdom, in the ever-memorable and disastrous year of 1798.

Rebellion of 1798.

To the hierarchy, and the respectable classes of the Romanists in Ireland, it is justice to observe, that they appear not to have been parties in the rebellion, but rather to have exerted their influence for its suppression. The great body, however, of the rebels consisted of members of the Romish church, in inferior situations; not without the encouragement, meanwhile, the support, and the guidance, of their immediate spiritual pastors. And the

Its Popish character.

bitterness, with which they regarded those who differed from them in religion, was testified by the acts of barbarity inflicted on their captives; barbarities, so atrocious in effect, and so unequivocal in their objects, that the Protestant dissenters, who had originally associated themselves with the Papists from a sameness of political sentiments, withdrew, on discovering the spirit of ruthless persecution, which was manifested against all who did not profess the Papal creed.

Their presbyterian partisans being thus detached from the confederacy, the rebellion was soon quelled in the province of Ulster. In the province of Leinster its principal strength was concentrated. The whole mass of the Popish inhabitants of the counties of Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, and Carlow, rose at once; and were joined by many inhabitants of the adjoining counties, particularly of Meath and Dublin, of the same religious persuasion. At one time their number in arms is said to have amounted to fifty thousand men. Confiding in this strength, they made no secret of their designs of extirpating Protestants. On the contrary, their object and intention was proclaimed to be the excision of all hereticks, whom they bound themselves by the most solemn oath, "to burn, destroy, and murder, up to their knees in blood."

Most prevalent
in Leinster.

"The generality of the priests," says an historian generally favourable to the Romish cause¹, "took the utmost pains to diffuse, as widely as possible, the malignant spirit of religious bigotry, and inveterate animosity against the Protestants, very few of whom were found in the ranks of the rebel army. Those, who had been imprudent enough to enter, were either obliged carefully to conceal their religion, or submit to be re-baptized by the priests, who were con-

Popish enthusiasm
in carrying
on the Rebellion

¹ Mr. Belsham, quoted in *Collectanea Politica*, iii., 362.

tinually preaching up, that, in destroying hereticks, they were performing a duty to heaven. Murphy, one of the most popular and profligate of this class, in a sermon delivered by him after the defeat at Ross, declared, ‘ that those who were killed in that battle had fallen in consequence of their want of faith ; that this general rising of the Catholicks was visibly the work of God ; that the Almighty had determined the hereticks, after having reigned so many years, should be now extirpated, and the true Catholick religion established.’ At the successful attack at Three Rocks, previous to the surrender of Wexford, the same Murphy marched at their head, telling them ‘ not to fear ; for if they took up the dust from the roads, and threw it at the king’s troops, they would fall dead before them.’ Many of the priests pretended to give charms, to prevent the balls of the soldiery from hurting them ; and Father Roche, one of the number, as was believed by these poor credulous wretches, did constantly catch the bullets, that came from his Majesty’s army, in his hand.”

Sufferings of the
members of the
Church ;

Under such circumstances as these, the sufferings of the Church in her members cannot but have been manifold and acute ; and in a history of the Church a specifick notice of them seems necessary to be introduced. The following may be taken as mere specimens ; for I would refrain from any lengthened detail.

At Prosperous ;

At a town called Prosperous, in the county of Kildare, the committing of many cruel atrocities was accompanied with cries of “ Where are the hereticks ? down with the hereticks ! ”

At Cree ;

At Cree, in the county of Wexford, the rebels, having attacked the house of an industrious farmer, and forced him out of it, they interrogated him as to his religion ; and on his acknowledgment that he was a Protestant, they kicked him in the head and different parts of the body ; thus putting him to death with the greatest cruelty.

In Kildare, they destroyed the house and property of a Mr. Crafford, whom they reviled for being a Protestant, and then put to death by thrusting a pike up his body, which penetrated almost to his throat, and wounded him in many other parts: they afterwards roasted him before a large fire, where he expired in the most shocking agony. One of his young children they put to death in the same manner. The mother, with another child, having been severely wounded, was rescued by the providential arrival of a party of loyalists.

At Kildare ;

At Enniscorthy, in the county of Wexford, an industrious tradesman was seized by the rebels, and required to renounce his religion as a Protestant, to confess to a priest, and receive baptism: on his refusal, he was piked in several parts of the body, and thrown out into a field for dead.

At Enniscorthy ;

At Gorey, in the same county, the Popish neighbours of a Protestant prisoner came to see him in his confinement, mocked him, wished him a speedy liberation, and hoped he would not lose any time in accepting the means to procure it; which was, to be christened by a priest, and embrace the holy Roman Catholick faith, as they called it; and, if he would not consent to these proposals, he should be shot.

At Gorey ;

At Oulard, in the same county of Wexford, the rebels burned the houses of the Protestant inhabitants. At Carbery, in the county of Kildare, they burned a Protestant charter school, and several houses; they then proceeded through Johnstown, burning and destroying the house of every Protestant on the road.

At Oulard and Carbery.

At Wexford, all the houses were searched for Protestants, who, on being discovered, were thrust into the jail: thence they were dragged out in de-

Massacre at Wexford.

tachments to the bridge, by dozens or half-dozens, and there the hereticks, for such was their familiar appellation, were piked in the most horrible and tormenting manner, and thrown over the parapet into the river.

Murder of clergy-
men.

Several clergymen in different places fell victims to the sanguinary fury of the rebels. The names of those of Enniscorthy, Oulart, Ballinagale, Rillan, and Templeshambo, are recorded. One clergyman of respectability was stripped naked, put into a pig-trough, and bled to death: after which the murderers danced and washed their feet in his blood. The parish minister of Camolin, in the county of Wexford, having during an imprisonment of ten days been continually urged to become a convert to Popery, was, on his refusal, eventually knocked down, stripped of his clothes, barely covered with some ragged garments, wounded with pikes, and sent bare-foot to Wexford jail.

Murder of Rev.
Dr. Burrowes.

The glebe-house of the Rev. Dr. Burrowes, rector of Kilmuckridge, in the county of Wexford, having been assailed and set on fire, he, together with his wife and family, and several of his Protestant parishioners, who had taken refuge in it, was by the danger of suffocation constrained to quit it, having received from the Popish priest, who headed the assailants, an assurance of safety, if they surrendered without further resistance. The penalty of his confidence was paid by the instant murder of himself and seven of his parishioners; and by a severe wound inflicted with a pike on his son, a youth of sixteen years of age, who was rendered motionless and apparently dead at the time, and actually died from its effects not long after.

Destitution of
diocese of Dublin.

Of eleven parishes in the diocese of Dublin, five

of which were within six miles of that city, the incumbents, together with their parishioners, were compelled by insults and menaces to seek safety in flight, after having experienced in most cases, if not all, the destruction of their houses and property, and imminent peril to their lives; many also of the Protestant inhabitants having been in some instances previously murdered.

In some also of these instances, the churches, as well as the persons and property of the clergy and the other members of the Church, were objects of Popish persecution. In Blessington, the parish church was greatly damaged by the rebels, and in Fonstown almost destroyed: in Hollywood, it was converted into a barrack.

Destruction of churches,

In various other cases likewise, the fury of the rebels was directed to the demolition of the parish churches, which they despoiled of their moveable furniture, and, with the wantonness of sacrilegious insult, abused and tore in pieces the sacred volumes that they contained for divine worship. At Gorey, in the county of Wexford, not satisfied with burning and plundering the place, they destroyed the church, dragged down the pulpit, burned some of the seats and pews, and actually stained it with the blood of two Protestants, whom they inhumanly put to death within its hallowed precincts. At Enniscrone, in the county of Sligo, they tore up the floors of the church, demolished the pews and the communion table, rifled with reckless and unfeeling indecency the tombs of the dead, and barbarously insulted the remains of a former vicar, which had been deposited there thirty years before under a monument, that commemorated the universal reverence cherished among his people for his humane and charitable disposition.

At Gorey

At Enniscrone.

Church and
clergyman of
Lackan.

Amongst other churches, profaned and damaged in the same county of Sligo, may be specially noticed that of Lackan, the vicar of which, the Rev. Mr. Little, resided constantly in his glebe-house, and was continually occupied in searching out and relieving the wants of his poor parishioners, without religious distinction. Being addicted to the study, and skilled in the practice, of medicine, he incurred no small expense in applying remedies for their several diseases; especially for those of the Romish population, whose poverty and numbers caused them to be in the greatest degree objects of his bounty. But in this calamitous season, his benevolence and holy charity were thought scorn of, and his kind offices requited with heartless barbarity. The clergyman and his wife were both in a feeble and declining state of health: nevertheless they were forced from their house, without a horse to carry them, and with scarcely clothes to cover them, and plundered of everything worth taking: to the wanton destruction of a valuable library, and of every other article of property, for which the plunderers could find no use, they added the demolition of the church.

Incidents
affecting the
hierarchy.

Some incidents occurred during this season of alarm and distress, in relation to the hierarchy of the Church, such as to require notice.

Bishop of
Elphin.

The bishoprick of Elphin comprises the county of Roscommon, in which also the residence of the bishop is situated. The Popish multitude in that county, being universally disaffected to the government, were on the point of joining the insurgents, and only waited for a signal from the leaders in their respective districts. But the evil was counteracted by the magnanimity and fortitude of the bishop, Dr. Law; who fortified his palace, resolutely maintained

His usefulness
in the rebellion.

his post, bade defiance to the rebels, animated the gentry and the well-disposed inhabitants by his example, and by his wise and seasonable exertions was the means, under divine providence, of preserving the property and lives of the Protestants of that county from the outrages of a deluded and infuriated multitude, who were thus kept in check, till the time of that rebellious tyranny was overpast.

Bishop Percy, also, by his residence and exertions at Dromore, especially by liberally contributing to the formation of a yeomanry corps, which completely restrained the operations of some ill-disposed persons in the neighbourhood, was instrumental in upholding the cause of true religion and loyalty, whilst the rebellion was raging in the counties of Down and Antrim, the former of which contains the diocese of Dromore.

Bishop of
Dromore.

Meanwhile, in the county of Wexford, where the rebellion was most rife, in common with the other members of the Church, who lay within reach of its desolating career, it had visited the abode of the exemplary prelate, who presided over the diocese of Ferns and Leighlin. Bishop Cleaver, a constant resident in the palace of Ferns, was as eminent for his mildness and condescension as he was for his great piety and extensive learning. That he regulated the affairs of his diocese with admirable discipline, and watched the conduct of his clergy with vigilance, and distinguished the most meritorious by acts of substantial favour, were features in his character which might have been naturally viewed with indifference by the votaries of an alien creed: but feelings of grateful and respectful attachment might have been reasonably expected from those who were the objects of his perpetual benevolence, and whose

Bishop of Ferns.

His character.

His persecution
in the rebellion.

wants were supplied, and their distresses alleviated, and their diseases remedied, by his bounty. By these objects of his bounty, however, actuated by the inhuman and remorseless spirit which now desolated the country, the life of their benefactor, and of her who was associated with him, as in domestick union, so in his works and labours of love, was avowedly sought. Their thirst for blood, indeed, was not gratified by that of the venerable prelate. But his house was plundered: his cellar was broken open, and its contents consumed amidst execrations of himself and of his order: all his valuable articles of furniture were rifled and carried off: his library was scattered abroad, and its most precious volumes converted into saddles for the horses of the rebels: and the cause assigned for the episcopal palace not being delivered over to destruction as well as to plunder was, that one of the Popish priests, who led on the plunderers, intended to keep it for himself.

Bishop of
Killala.

Another member of the episcopal body suffered during this season of alarm and dismay, or rather after the suppression of the rebellion. A small French squadron appeared in August on the coast of Connaught, off the county of Mayo; and cast anchor in the bay of Killala, where the troops disembarked, and took possession of the town, the commanding officer, General Humbert, establishing his head-quarters in the episcopal palace. The Bishop of Killala, Dr. Stock, who was engaged at the time in holding the annual visitation of his diocese, was with the dean and several of his clergy taken prisoner. He might, indeed, have made his escape, before the arrival of the invaders at his palace: but he took the praiseworthy resolution of

Taken prisoner
by the French.

remaining, and thus materially assisted the French officers in maintaining social order, and in preserving the lives and property of the Protestant inhabitants. He fell, however, into merciful hands, and was treated with much moderation and forbearance, of which he has made due mention in a narrative, which he afterwards published of the transactions. In particular, when the main body of the French marched forward into the country, they left behind them six officers and two hundred privates, for the purpose, as the general said, of protecting the Protestants from the sanguinary spirit of the Popish multitude. And to a desire expressed by a Popish priest, of being put in possession of the bishop's library, the officer in command, turning from him with contempt, made answer, "The bishop's library is as much his own now as it ever was."

Before the breaking out of the rebellion, the Earl of Moira had moved in the House of Lords an address, beseeching the lord-lieutenant to "pursue such conciliatory measures, as might allay the apprehensions, and extinguish the discontents, unhappily prevalent in the country;" and on the occasion he stigmatized, in the severest terms of reproach, the culpable misconduct of ministers in recalling Lord Fitzwilliam, and refusing to concede further immunities to the Romanists. The lord chancellor, the Earl of Clare, in answer, contended, that "the system of government had been a system of conciliation; that in no country had the experiment been so fairly tried as in Ireland; and in none had it so completely failed."

Debate between
Earl of Moira
and Lord Chan-
cellor Clare.

In the course of his speech he passed some reflections on the Bishop of Down and Connor, Dr.

Speech of Bishop
of Down and
Connor.

Dickson, who had promoted a petition to the king in favour of conciliatory measures. In reply, the bishop vindicated his character from this public aspersion, acknowledging that he was a friend to conciliation. "Coercion," he said, "had been tried long enough. With respect to Catholick emancipation, he considered it as a matter of right, not of favour; and a reform of parliament as an act of policy, which the state of the country rendered absolutely necessary: and the present calamities of the country he ascribed to that most impolitick and lamentable measure, the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam." This is the only prelate, of whom I find mention, as taking part in the debate. His language I transcribe as I have found it; and I cannot but lament, whatever may have been his political sentiments, that a bishop of the Church of Ireland should have allowed himself, if correctly reported, in the use of a phrase, so injurious to the character of the Church, as that of "Catholick emancipation." Lord Moira's motion was lost by a large majority.

Impropriety of his language.

In the month of May the rebellion broke out, and was soon subdued. But the recourse which had been had to foreign aid, with the view of separating Ireland from Great Britain, determined the English government to bind the two kingdoms together by an indissoluble chain. And on the opening of the session, January the 22nd, 1799, the lord lieutenant, Marquis Cornwallis, thus communicated the king's sentiments to the two houses of parliament:

Consequence of the rebellion.

Union of the two kingdoms recommended by Marquis Cornwallis, Jan. 22, 1799.

"The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention; and his Majesty con-

mands me to express his anxious hope, that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabrick, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire."

The proposal for the Union, however, being subsequently brought forward in the House of Commons, was rejected by a majority of 111 to 105; although, in the House of Lords, the answer to the viceroy's speech coincided with his recommendation.

Rejected by the House of Commons.

Meanwhile a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain was laid before his Majesty, accompanied by resolutions, "proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland, to be established by the mutual consent of both parliaments, founded on equal and liberal principles, on the similarity of laws, constitution, and government, and on a sense of mutual interests and affections."

Recommended by the British parliament.

A communication to this effect was made to the Irish houses of parliament by the lord lieutenant, on his prorogation of parliament, the 1st of June, 1799. On opening the session, January the 15th, 1800, he abstained from reference to the subject; whereupon, by an amendment of the address, an attempt was made to quash the project by anticipation, but was frustrated on a division by 138 against 96, in the House of Commons; majority 42.

Communication of lord lieutenant, June 1, 1799.

The proposal for the Union, being soon afterwards brought forward by Lord Castlereagh, was adopted by a majority of 43; the numbers being, 158 in favour, and 115 against it. In the House of Lords, the measure was carried with little difficulty; the

Proposal for Union carried in Irish parliament.

numbers being, contents, 53 present, or, including proxies, 75; not contents, 19, including proxies, 26: but a protest was entered on its journals by two spiritual, together with eighteen temporal, peers. The spiritual peers were Dickson, bishop of Down and Connor, and Marlay, bishop of Waterford and Lismore; the former an intimate friend of Mr. Fox, the latter an uncle of Mr. Grattan. The Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, and eight bishops, besides those above named, were present; but there was no specification of votes. The measure is understood to have had the approbation of the episcopal bench with the foregoing exceptions.

Provisions of the act as affecting the Church.

Act of 40 Geo. III., c. 38.

Churches of England and Ireland united.

The following were the provisions of the act of Union, as affecting the Church.

It was enacted, “as the fifth article of Union, that the Churches of England and Ireland, as now by law established, be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, to be called ‘The United Church of England and Ireland;’ and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government of said United Church shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England; and that the continuance and preservation of the said United Church, as the established Church of England and Ireland, shall be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union.”

Representative bishops.

The fourth article provided, that “four lords spiritual of Ireland, by rotation of sessions, should be the number to sit and vote on the part of Ireland in the House of Lords of the parliament of the United Kingdom.” And by the eighth article it was regulated how the four spiritual lords should be returned for each session; namely, that one of

the four archbishops of Ireland should sit in each session, by rotation among the archiepiscopal sees ; and that three of the eighteen bishops should sit in like manner, by rotation among the episcopal sees : that the primate of all Ireland should sit in the first session, then the Archbishops of Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, successively, and so by rotation of sessions for ever : and that the suffragan bishops should in like manner sit according to rotation, from session to session, in the following order: the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Derry ; the Bishops of Raphoe, of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoc, and of Dromore ; of Elphin, of Down and Connor, and of Waterford and Lismore ; of Leighlin and Ferns, of Cloyne, and of Cork and Ross ; of Killaloe and Kilfenora, of Kilmore, and of Clogher ; of Ossory, of Killala and Achonry, and of Clonfert and Kilmaeduaugh.

The act, being chapter 38 of the fortieth of George III., received the royal assent on the 1st day of August, 1800 : on the following day, in pursuance of the fifth clause, the Primate of all Ireland, and the Bishops of Meath, Kildare, and Derry, became the representatives of the lords spiritual of Ireland in the parliament of the United Kingdom, for the first session thereof ; and, the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland being united into one kingdom on the 1st of January, 1801, the Church of Ireland, and with it the Church of England, each ceased to have an independent, separate, national existence ; and the two were thenceforth united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, " The United Church of England and Ireland."

Act received the
royal assent.
Aug. 1, 1800.

Union effected,
Jan. 1, 1801.

SECTION IX.

Condition of the Church at the Union. Dr. Beaufort's Map and Memoir. Ecclesiastical Divisions. Number and distribution of Dioceses. Extent. Episcopal Residences and Revenues. Supply of Episcopal vacancies. Appointments from England and from Ireland. Deaneries and Archdeaconries. Constitution of Chapters. Cathedrals, ancient and modern. No Chapter Revenues. Corpses of dignities. Impropriations. Number of Parishes and Benefices. Patronage of Benefices. Number of Churches. Want of Churches and Parsonage-houses. Non-residence. Moderate revenues of Clergy. Emoluments and evil of Impropriations. Character of Hierarchy and Clergy. Room for improvement in the Church.

Condition of the Church, 1800.

WE have now reached the proposed period of our narrative in the Union of the two Churches; but before we bid a final farewell to our subject, it may be well to take in conclusion a summary view of the condition of the Church of Ireland, at this epoch of its history.

Dr. Beaufort's map and memoir.

In the year 1792, only eight years before the Union, the Rev. Dr. Daniel Augustus Beaufort constructed and published an entire new map of the kingdom of Ireland, and accompanied it with a "Memoir, illustrating the Topography of that Kingdom, and containing a short account of its present state, Civil and Ecclesiastical."

Ecclesiastical divisions of the map.

This map, that I may confine myself to the latter branch of the undertaking, accurately traces out the ecclesiastical divisions of the kingdom; carefully distinguishes the limits of each diocese, which have little or no dependence on the civil limits of counties and baronies; defines the situation and extent of the several parishes; and places every church in

its proper site, in such a manner that the eye can at once distinguish churches then existing from such as were in ruins: indicating also by the letters R. and V. following the name of each parish, whether it was a rectory or vicarage; and, by a single line under the name of a vicarage, denoting that the rectory was a lay impropriation, and, by a double line, that the tythes of the whole parish were impropriate. The utility of such a map, in perusing a history of the Church of Ireland, must be obvious: and I have accordingly procured it to be engraven on a reduced scale, as a commodious and valuable companion to the present volume.

The memoir, in illustration of the map, contains various statements on the ecclesiastical condition of Ireland at the time: founded on the authority of the registries and visitation books of the respective dioceses; on the communications with which the author was favoured by several of the bishops and clergy; and on the information which he acquired in visiting the different parts of the kingdom. From this memoir, which is now become extremely scarce and difficult of access, I have abstracted several particulars, and combined them with others from different sources, for the purpose of giving a compendious view of the condition of the Irish church at the period of the Union.

Particulars of the memoir.

The number of dioceses at this time continued to be the same as it was in 1678, a few years after the restoration of the Church with the monarchy: namely, four archbishopricks and eighteen bishopricks: the only difference in their distribution being, that Ardagh, which in 1661 was united to Kilmore, and after a short interval, in 1692 and 1693,

Number of dioceses,

And distribution.

when it formed a separate see, was re-united to that diocese, was, in 1741, again separated from it and annexed to Tuam; and that Kilfenora, which had been annexed to Tuam, was, in 1741, separated therefrom and given in commendam to the Bishop of Clonfert, and afterwards, in 1752, united to Killaloe, with which it continued thenceforth in union. Thus the episcopate of Ireland in 1800 consisted of the archbishoprick of Armagh in the northern province, with the seven suffragan bishopricks of Meath, Clogher, Derry, Down and Connor, Dromore, Kilmore, and Raphoe, besides the see of Ardagh, which, though in the province of Armagh, was annexed to the archbishoprick of Tuam: the archbishoprick of Dublin in the eastern province, with the three suffragan bishopricks of Kildare, Ferns and Leighlin, and Ossory: the archbishoprick of Cashel, with the bishoprick of Emly united to it, in the south, and the five suffragans of Cloyne, of Cork and Ross, of Killaloe and Kilfenora, of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe, and of Waterford and Lismore: and the archbishoprick of Tuam in the west, with the three suffragans of Clonfert and Kilmaedduagh, of Elphin, and of Killala and Achonry. The Archbishop of Armagh was lord primate and metropolitan of all Ireland; the Archbishop of Dublin was lord primate of Ireland; the Archbishops of Cashel and of Tuam, respectively, lord primate of Munster and of Connaught.

Their extent.

The dioceses were of very unequal extent. The archbishoprick of Tuam, which was considerably the largest in the kingdom, was, in Irish measure, more than 60 miles long, and 50 broad; or, in English, 77 miles by 63. The bishoprick of next greatest dimensions consisted of the united dioceses of Lime-

rick and Ardfert with Aghadoe; the former extending 27 Irish miles in length and 17 in breadth; the latter 52 by 48; or, in English measure, Limerick being 34 miles by 21, Ardfert 66 by 61. The other dioceses, as to their relative capacity, succeeded each other by the following enumeration: 3, Ferns and Leighlin; 4, Killaloe and Kilfenora; 5, Meath; 6, Derry; 7, Down and Connor; 8, Cloyne; 9, Clogher; 10, Killala and Achonry; 11, Raphoe; 12, Kilmore; 13, Cork and Ross; 14, 15, 16, the three other archbishopricks of Dublin, Armagh, and Cashel, with Emly united: of which Dublin was 50 miles in length and 36 in its greatest breadth, Irish measure, or 64 by 46, English; Armagh was 59 Irish miles long, and from 10 to 25 broad; or, in English measure, 75 miles long and from $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 32 broad; and Cashel, with Emly, 32 Irish miles one way and 30 the other, or 41 by 38 English. The succeeding dioceses in point of dimensions were: 17, Elphin; 18, Waterford and Lismore; 19, Ossory; 20, Kildare; 21, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh; 22, Ardagh; and 23, Dromore. This last, which was the smallest diocese, extended only 28 Irish miles in length, by 17 in breadth; or $31\frac{1}{2}$ by $21\frac{1}{2}$ English; the episcopal residence being not 20 miles from any part of the diocese.

Episcopal residences were possessed by all the bishops in their dioceses, with the exception of two only. Eight or nine of these were older buildings: eleven were of modern date, having been built by their actual or late possessors. But in the diocese of Kildare there was no residence; and it was less necessary by reason of the bishop's station as dean of Christ Church, which rendered his residence in the city of Dublin desirable, and by reason of the

Episcopal residences.

proximity of his diocese to Dublin, and of its small extent. The only other exception was that of the united diocese of Down and Connor, which, from time immemorial, had no fixed habitation for its bishops, who appear to have chosen temporary abodes here or there, as suited their taste or convenience. Thus the bishops were generally settled amongst their clergy and people, although in some instances the extent of the diocese caused an interval of 50, 60, or even more, miles between the episcopal residence and the extremity of the diocese. The bishop's palace in Limerick was 80 miles from some parts of Ardfert: 80 Irish miles; the Irish mile being to the English in the ratio of 7 to $5\frac{1}{2}$, or 14 to 11.

Episcopal revenues.

In an early part of this chapter, Section II., there has been given, on the authority of Mr. Young, an estimate of the incomes of the Irish bishops and deans, made between the years 1776 and 1779. In default of more recent statements, it may serve in some degree as a criterion of episcopal and decanal incomes at the era of the Union.

Supply of vacancies.

A few words may be added on the mode of supplying episcopal vacancies at this period.

Primate always an Englishman.

A practice had prevailed, since the Revolution, of placing an Englishman in the station of primate of all Ireland; for the only native of Ireland who had occupied the station since that epoch, was Archbishop Boyle, who had been advanced to it by King Charles II. His successor was an Englishman, and the practice, thus introduced, continued to be maintained in the present, as in the preceding reigns. The primates, indeed, had ceased to bear that political character, and to take that part in affairs of state, which had distinguished Archbishops Boulter

and Stone; but still it was the policy of the government to follow the precedents previously set, in the appointment, first, of Bishop Robinson, and then of Bishop Newcome, to the primacy; and now, on the eve of the Union, a member of the English episcopate was translated to preside over the Irish branch of the future United Church.

As to other appointments, there were about forty persons raised, in Ireland, to the episcopate in the same number of years which elapsed between the accession of King George III. and the Union. These preferments were divided, but not in an equal rate, between natives of the two kingdoms. Of the twenty-two Englishmen thus promoted, seventeen were chaplains of lords lieutenants: reckoning Bishop Fowler, who was promoted in exchange of preferment with a chaplain of Lord Townshend. These appointments, together with men of inferior note, included the Bishops Newcome, Mann, Bennett, Cleaver, and Woodward; with respect to the last named of whom, to the information already stated, recent intelligence, kindly communicated by his descendants, enables me to add that, having been born at Grimsbury, where his father was a country gentleman, between Bristol and Wick, in Gloucestershire, and having been educated by the celebrated Dr. Josiah Tucker, dean of Gloucester, who, after his father's death, had married his mother, he went abroad and remained there for many years. During his travels he formed a friendship with Mr. Conolly, whom he accompanied to Ireland on a visit, and by whom he was encouraged to settle in that country. To him he owed all his preferments. He was appointed, first, Dean of Clogher, about the year 1765; afterwards minister of St. Werburgh's, in Dublin, which

Bishops from
England,

he resigned, after a few years, for the large benefice of Louth, still holding his deanery. On the appointment of Lord Buckinghamshire, who married Mr. Conolly's sister, to the lord lieutenancy in 1777, Dean Woodward became his excellency's first chaplain; and immediately before Lord Buckinghamshire's removal in 1780, he was nominated to the bishoprick of Cloyne, and consecrated in Lord Carlisle's administration in February, 1781. In this see he remained until his death in 1794. About the year 1770 he published his well-known pamphlets in support of a national provision for the poor; and he drew up the acts of 11 and 12 George III., under which the House of Industry, in Dublin, and other houses were established; and for his exertions in which he received the thanks of both houses of parliament. His services to the Church have been already noticed in the course of these pages.

The other Englishmen consecrated in this reign were the Bishops Cumberland, Percy, Law, and Brodrick, and the Honourable William Stuart, advanced, as already mentioned, towards the end of 1800, from the bishoprick of St. David's to the primacy of Ireland. Bishop Brodrick was of an Irish family, being a son of Viscount Midleton, but born and educated in England. After he had reached man's estate, he visited Ireland for the purpose of inspecting the patrimonial property in the county of Cork, when he formed an acquaintance, which led to his marriage, with a daughter of Bishop Woodward, and to his preferment to the treasurership of Cloyne and the rectory of Midleton, which were in the patronage of the bishop. In 1795 he was consecrated Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmaedugh, and translated the following year to Kilmore, which he occupied till after the Union.

And from Ireland.

Of the eighteen Irishmen, raised to the episcopate in this reign, a majority were connected with families at the time, or soon afterwards, ennobled, or with persons of high political or official station. Among these special notice has been cited from their contemporaries, of the Bishops Agar, Barnard, and Marlay. Among the remainder occur the respectable names of O'Beirne, Stock, and Young, of whom it is to be presumed, that their elevation was due to their personal merit. Bishop Stock, it may be incidentally noticed, was a brother-in-law of Primate Newcome.

The number of deaneries was thirty-three, and of archdeaconries thirty-four, nearly corresponding with that of the bishopricks, reckoned independently of the unions. But the archdeacons had no visitatorial jurisdiction; for the government of the Church of Ireland, in respect of visitations, differed from that of the Church of England, notwithstanding their general conformity; so that the Irish bishops held annual visitations of their dioceses, and the archbishops visited the dioceses of their suffragans every third year, a peculiarity to which there has been occasion to advert already in the course of this narrative.

Deaneries and
archdeaconries.

The chapters varied from each other in their constitutions. The most complete consisted of a dean, precentor, chancellor, treasurer, and archdeacon, and a limited number of prebendaries. This was the case in the metropolitan chapters of Armagh, Dublin, and Cashel, as likewise in some of the other chapters, as in Kildare, in each of those of Down and Connor, in each of those of Ferns and Leighlin, in Ossory, Lismore, Cloyne, in each of those of Cork and Ross, in Limerick, and in Killaloe. But in

Constitution of
chapters.

some of the chapters, one or other of the members was deficient; as the treasurer in Clogher and in Emly, and the archdeacon in Waterford, that dignity being stated by Dr. Beaufort to have no vote in the chapter. In others, the deficiency was more extensive: thus, in Elphin, there was neither chancellor nor treasurer; in Derry and Raphoe, there was neither precentor, chancellor, nor treasurer; in Ardfert and Kilfenora, there were no prebendaries; in each of the dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh, there was a dean and an archdeacon, but no chapter in either; in Meath, where there was no cathedral, there was also no chapter, nor even a dean of Meath, the only dignities being the deanery of Clonmacnoise, a bishoprick incorporated with that of Meath by act of parliament, in 1568, and the archdeaconry of Meath. "The want of a chapter," remarks Dr. Beaufort, "is supplied by a synod, of which every incumbent is a member, and the archdeacon president; their proceedings are authenticated by a common seal."

Cathedrals.

With few exceptions, each of the Irish dioceses at this time maintained possession of a cathedral, venerable, in some cases, only for its antiquity; in others, with the reverence due to it as a relique of ancient art, combining some claim to respect for its architectural character. As examples of the latter kind, may be mentioned the metropolitan churches of Armagh and Dublin, and the churches, not metropolitan, of Derry, of Ossory, of Lismore, Cloyne, Limerick, and Killaloe. Many of the cathedrals to their cathedral-character added that also of a parish-church. In several instances, the ancient structure had been superseded by one of modern date. The cathedral of Dromore had been

Ancient.

And modern.

re-edified by Bishop Jeremy Taylor, soon after the restoration. In recent times, large and handsome edifices, sufficient, at least, for the decent celebration of divine worship, had supplied the place of the old cathedrals of Waterford, and Cashel, of Clogher, and of Cork. Of the cathedrals of Aghadoe and Kilmacduagh, the ruined walls only remained, as memorials of the former edifices; and such was the case also with the cathedral of Connor, as a substitute for which, however, as well as for that of Down, the church of Lisburn, or Lisnegarvie, had been constituted by the patent of King Charles II., in 1693, the cathedral of the united dioceses; notwithstanding which, an act of parliament was passed in 1790 for restoring the cathedral of Down; and, when Dr. Beaufort wrote, it was actually repairing in a style of English pointed architecture, conformable to the venerable remains of the ancient building, though the undertaking had not been completed when the present writer became bishop of the see, in 1823. Of the church of Ardagh, Dr. Beaufort says, that "it cannot be called a cathedral;" yet the building, for which it was the substitute, was termed by Bishop Bedell, "the cathedral church of Ardagh, one of the most ancient in Ireland, and said to be built by St. Patrick." Dr. Beaufort also says, speaking of Kilmore, "There is no cathedral, and the parish-church of Kilmore is very small and ancient. It joins the bishop's palace." From the situation of the church, in contiguity with the episcopal residence, one might perhaps have been inclined to infer, that it was the cathedral of the diocese, in the absence of all other edifices having claim to that distinction. And Bishop Bedell, though he does not mention the cathedral church of

Cathedral of
Down.

Church of
Kilmore.

Kilmore, as he does “the cathedral church of Ardagh,” yet, writing from Kilmore, expressly distinguishes “the church here” from “the parish-churches” of his diocese. However this be, the church bears self-evident marks of great antiquity; appearing in part, at least, to be of a date earlier than the introduction of the pointed-arch in ecclesiastical architecture.

No chapter
revenues.

The deans and chapters possessed, for the most part, in their corporate capacity, no revenues for their personal emolument; but, in some cases, they had an œconomy fund for publick purposes, to which contributions were made by parochial assessment also, when the cathedral was a parish-church.

Corpses of digni-
ties.

To each dignity was annexed, under the denomination of its corpse, a parish, or an union of parishes, with the cure of which the dignitary was charged in some instances; in others, the parishes were sinecures to the dignitaries, a vicar being charged with the cure of souls. Thus, to exemplify from the chapters of one united diocese the different parochial relations in which a dignitary might be placed, the corpse of the precentorship of Down was a single entire rectory, with the cure of which, and of which only, the dignitary was intrusted, whilst other members of that chapter, as well as of the chapter of Connor, in common with each dean, were possessed each of two, three, or more, entire rectories, for the cure of which he was responsible: but the Chancellor and the Archdeacon of Connor had, not the entire rectories, but the rectorial tythes only, the former of six, and the latter of five parishes, with which they had no spiritual concern, the cure of souls in those parishes being delegated to vicars.

Impropriations.

Besides the parishes, which by this distribution

were appropriated to dignities, there were many wherein the property of the Church had fallen into the hands of laymen, and the inhabitants were left with very small or no provision for spiritual cure, and the celebration of the offices of the Church. Of 562 parishes the rectorial tythes were impropriate to laymen, the vicarages only being left for the supply of clerical duty. In 118 parishes the tythes were wholly impropriate. In the whole kingdom this property in the hands of laymen was about two-sevenths of the entire: a prolifick source of injury to the Church, and the cause of many a parochial union.

It has already fallen within the scope of our narrative to give some account of the occasion and circumstances of parochial unions: the general result was, that, at the epoch now under consideration, the two thousand four hundred and thirty-six parishes, which were contained in the whole kingdom, were so distributed as to constitute only one thousand one hundred and twenty benefices, with cure of souls; exclusive of one hundred and eleven sinecures in the several dioceses. Of these benefices the largest proportion was in the province of Armagh, where 663 parishes were only reduced to 419 benefices. In the province of Dublin 658 parishes constituted only 252 benefices. In Cashel 839 parishes were converted into 362 benefices: in Tuam 276 into 87.

The patronage of the benefices was divided among the crown, the bishops, the university, the deans and chapters, and certain lay patrons: exclusive of the parishes wholly impropriate. The crown was the patron of about 295 parishes; the bishops of about 1560; the university of about 21, and the deans and chapters of about 62. The presentations

Number of
benefices and
parishes.

Patronage of
benefices.

of about 380 belonged to laymen, who were also possessed in their own persons of the entire rectories of about 118 more.

Number of
churches.

The churches were far from equal in number to the benefices, much less to the parishes: the total of benefices being 1120, and of parishes 2436, and that of churches only 1001: of which two or more were in some instances found in the same benefice. In the province of Armagh, indeed, there was an excess of churches over benefices, namely, of 446 to 419: and in that of Tuam they approached nearly to an equality, the churches being 84 and the benefices 87. But in Dublin 252 benefices supplied only 217 churches: and in Cashel the numbers were respectively 362 and 254. How inadequate, indeed, to the wants of the country must have been this provision, is apparent from the fact, that the average amount of acres to each church throughout the kingdom was little short of 12,000. In the province of Tuam it was above 29,000; and in the diocese of Tuam above 47,000. In the diocese of Dromore, where the average was lowest, it was 5770. Now the Irish acre bears to the English the rate of 49 to 30 $\frac{1}{4}$: being not quite that of 5 to 3.

Want of
churches,

The want of churches was an evil at all times felt. It had existed, indeed, to a much greater extent at the commencement of the present reign: but although the defect had been in some degree supplied, pecuniary means were needed for carrying into effect the provisions enacted by certain recent statutes. A parliamentary grant of money a few years later was the occasion of a large addition being promptly made to the number of churches.

And parsonage-
houses.

The same observation applies to the residences of the clergy. In 1792 Ireland contained only 354

parsonage-houses, of which 212 were in the province of Armagh, 64 in that of Dublin, 61 in Cashel, and 17 in Tuam. In some cases there was a want of ground whereupon to build; for there were 366 benefices destitute of glebes: in others there was a want of funds for building; for there were 517 parishes with glebes only. The first fruits were inadequate for these purposes: but when a parliamentary supply was made not long afterwards, glebes were purchased and houses built. In the mean time, at the epoch now under review, it is hardly possible but that many incumbents must have been absent from their residence. Voluntary non-residence was probably not frequent: but that it prevailed in some degree may be inferred from the arguments for residence pressed on their clergy in the charges of Primate Newcome and Bishop O'Beirne; who condemned, as we have seen, with pointed reprobation, the incumbent's absence from a non-cure, as attended by many aggravating circumstances. Of pluralities non-residence must have been at least an occasional consequence.

Non-residence.

The revenues of the clergy at this time were by no means such as to be reasonably deemed excessive. It was the desire of Bishop Woodward, in the tract lately mentioned, as published in 1787, to give a collective view of the value of the parochial benefices. It was not, however, in his power to procure in time for his publication accounts from all the dioceses. But he exhibited a list, which comprehended a number of the best-endowed dioceses: and he stated his belief, that the average income of the clergy throughout the kingdom could not be greater than that which he deduced from the accounts in the several dioceses, from which he had been able to procure returns. In these he divided the aggre-

Moderate
revenues of the
clergy.

Estimate of
Bishop
Woodward.

gate income of all the parishes, including deaneries and other dignities, by the number of clergymen; and produced the average of parochial income in the several dioceses as follows:

Raphoe	£250
Clogher	187
Cloyne	180
Cork and Ross	150
Waterford and Lismore	125
Killaloe and Kilfenora	120
Dublin	115
Clonfert and Kilmacduagh	116
Killala and Achonry	90
	<hr/> 1333

Average of
income.

The average in the diocese of Raphoe is remarked to be raised so high, principally by six rich benefices in the patronage of the university: and it is also remarked, that, in the dioceses of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, the number of clergy would have been returned much greater, and the average income less by 25*l.*, if the dignitaries in those churches had been reckoned; as the income of some of those dignities was so exceedingly low, as not to be worth mentioning. However, taking the sum of 1333*l.* as the sum of the average incomes in the nine dioceses, and dividing it by nine, the number of dioceses, two united dioceses being reckoned only as one, we find a general average of 148*l.* 2*s.* 2½*d.* for each of the parochial incumbents in the above-named parts of the kingdom, provided they received their incomes without defalcation. But for employing persons to view and collect their tythes, an expence of 5 per cent. was judged necessary; and the loss of another 5 per cent. for insolvencies, on an income composed of very many small parcels: making together a deduction of 14*l.* 16*s.* 2½*l.*, and thus leaving the net sum of 133*l.* 6*s.* for each clergyman, if the na-

tional income of parochial incumbents were distributed in equal portions.

Of the incomes produced from the five hundred and sixty-two impropriate rectories, and the one hundred and eighteen parishes wholly impropriate, in the possession of laymen, I can give no authentick report. Undoubtedly, however, they were large; in return for which, sometimes a very small compensation, in others none at all, was made to the Church for the enjoyment of her property. In fact, they were at the period under review, as they always had been, among the chief obstacles to the spiritual improvement and welfare of the country.

Emoluments and
evil of impro-
priations.

On the general character of the hierarchy and other clergy of Ireland at that period, I shall venture to say but little. Of some the good fame has reached our ears. Others we have personally known and valued. And the names of O'Beirne and Brodrick, of Trench, and Elrington, and Magee and Jebb, of Hales and of Graves, are our assurance, that there were not wanting men, whether in the episcopate or in the presbytery of the Church, to be diligent in doing God and his Church service. Men, such as these, who, being dead, yet speak, reflect honour on the country which produced them, and on the Church by which they were nurtured, and of which they assisted at the ministrations. Ireland and the Church of Ireland will long bear them in grateful remembrance. Episcopal vigilance, at the period with which we are now conversant, and an earnestness in prompting his clergy to professional exertions, seem to have especially characterized Bishop O'Beirne: and his clergy seem to have received his admonitions and encouragements to religious zeal with corresponding feelings. But the latter part of the eighteenth century was perhaps, on the whole, a season of supineness

Character of
hierarchy and
clergy.

and inaction as to religion in these kingdoms: and the Irish clergy in general may be judged to have partaken of this character, though the revival of the office of rural deans may be regarded as a symptom of increasing care for the discipline of the Church in her governours; and the institution of the Association for discountenancing vice and promoting the knowledge and practice of the Christian religion indicates both in them, and in the clergy at large, and in the lay members of the Church, a disposition to encourage spiritual improvement. For such improvement no doubt there was ample room in the interior of the Church herself. And much need there was for all her energy, under the gracious providence of her divine founder, for counteracting the assaults of her enemies from without; whether of open infidelity and vice on the one hand, or, on the other, of false doctrine, heresy, and schism, countenanced as these had of late been by the government and parliament, under the forms of Popish corruption, and of Protestant dissent and separation from the one Catholick and Apostolick Church of Christ. Her numbers at this period may be thought to have been nearly stationary: and, if she retained within her pale those who belonged to it by natural inheritance, it is probably as much as she did. Her own power of extending her ministrations was, as we have seen, greatly straitened. There appears also to have prevailed a general acquiescence in the state of things as they were. And her ministers probably used little diligence in endeavouring to enlarge her borders, and dispense to recusants and sectaries the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and the rites and worship of primitive Christianity, as enjoyed in the Church's communion.

Room for improvement in the Church.

APPENDIX.

1. CATALOGUE of the ARCHBISHOPS and BISHOPS who occupied the SEES of the CHURCH of IRELAND, during the period comprised within the foregoing narrative, commencing in the year of our Lord 1690, the year of the Abdication of King James the Second, and ending January the 1st, 1801, the date of the Union of the Churches of England and Ireland; with the Birth-place or Country of each Prelate, his previous Station in the Church, the Dates of his Succeeding to, and Vacating, his Bishoprick, and his Translation, if any.
2. Continuation of the Catalogue, from the Union, January the 1st, 1801, to the date of the present publication, November, 1840.
3. Notices of the Alterations which have been made, and are to be made, in the several Provinces and Dioceses of Ireland, by the Act of Parliament of 3 and 4 William IV., chap. 37; commonly called the Church Temporalities Act.

I. PROVINCE OF ARMAGH.

ARCHBISHOPS OF ARMAGH.

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
Michael Boyle.....	Ireland.....	Archbishop of Dublin....	1678 ..	1702	
Narcissus Marsh.....	{ Hamington, Wiltshire .. }	Archbishop of Dublin....	1703 ..	1713	
Thomas Lindsay.....	{ Blandford, Dor- setshire }	Bishop of Raphoe	1714 ..	1724	
Hugh Boulter.....	London	Bishop of Bristol	1724 ..	1742	
John Hoadly	{ Tottenham High Cross, Middlesex .. }	Archbishop of Dublin ...	1742 ..	1747	
George Stone	Winchester	Bishop of Derry	1747 ..	1765	
Richard Robinson,) Baron Rokeby }	Yorkshire	Bishop of Kildare	1765 ..	1794	
William Newcome	Abingdon, Berks	Bishop of Waterford	1795 ..	1800	
Hon. William Stuart ..	England	Bishop of St. David's	1800 ..	1822	
LORD J. G. BERESFORD.	Dublin	Archbishop of Dublin....	1822		

BISHOPS OF MEATH AND CLONMACNOIS.

Anthony Dopping	Dublin.....	Bishop of Kildare	1682 ..	1697	
Richard Tennison	Carrickfergus ..	Bishop of Clogher	1697 ..	1705	
William Moreton	Chester.....	Bishop of Kildare	1705 ..	1715	
John Evans.....	{ Diocese of Ban- gor, N.W.... }	Bishop of Bangor	1716 ..	1724	

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
Henry Downes	England	Bishop of Elphin	1724 ..	1727 to Derry.	
Ralph Lambert	England	Bishop of Dromore	1727 ..	1732	
Welbore Ellis	England	Bishop of Kildare	1732 ..	1734	
Arthur Price	Dublin	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin	1734 ..	1744 to Cashel.	
Henry Maule	Arklow	Bishop of Dromore	1744 ..	1758	
Hon. Wm. Carmichael	Scotland	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin	1758 ..	1765 to Dublin.	
Richard Pococke	Southampton ..	Bishop of Ossory	1765 ..	1765	
Arthur Smyth	Limerick	Bp. of Down and Connor	1765 ..	1766 to Dublin.	
Hon. Henry Maxwell ..	Ireland	Bishop of Dromore	1766 ..	1798	
Thomas Lewis O'Beirne	Ireland	Bishop of Ossory	1798 ..	1823	
Nathaniel Alexander ..	Derry	Bp. of Down and Connor	1823 ..	1840	

Vacancy made Oct. 22, successor not known Nov. 16, 1840.

BISHOPS OF CLOGHER.

Richard Tennison	Carrickfergus ..	Bp. of Killala and Achonry	1691 ..	1697 to Meath.
St. George Ashe	Roscommon	Bishop of Cloyne	1697 ..	1717 to Derry.
John Stearne	Dublin	Bishop of Dromore	1717 ..	1745
Robert Clayton	England	Bishop of Cork and Ross .	1745 ..	1768
John Garnet	England	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin	1758 ..	1782
John Hotham	Yorkshire	Bishop of Ossory	1782 ..	1796
William Foster	Dublin	Bishop of Kilmore	1796 ..	1798
John Porter	England	Bp. of Killala and Achonry	1798 ..	1819
Lord J. G. Beresford ..	Dublin	Bishop of Raphoe	1819 ..	1820 to Dublin.
Hon. Percy Jocelyn ..	Dublin	Bp. of Leighlin and Ferns	1820 ..	1822 deprived.
LORD ROB. PONSONBY } TOTTENHAM	Ireland	Bp. of Leighlin and Ferns	1822	

On the next avoidance of the bishoprick of Clogher, it will become united to the archbishoprick of Armagh, by the Act 3 and 4 Wm. IV., chap. 37.

BISHOPS OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

Thomas Hacket	England	Dean of Cork	1672 ..	1694 deprived.
Samuel Foley	Clonmel	Fell. of Trin. Coll. Dublin	1694 ..	1695
Edward Walkington ..	Limerick	Archdeacon of Ossory ...	1695 ..	1699
Edward Smith	{ Lisnegarvie, or Lisburn }	Dean of St. Patrick's	1699 ..	1720
Francis Hutchinson ...	Carston, Derbysh.	{ Incumb. of St. James's, Edmundsbury }	1721 ..	1739
Carew Reynell	England	{ Chap. to Duke of De- vonshire, L. Lt., and Chancellor of Bristol }	1739 ..	1743 to Derry.
John Ryder	Ireland	Bishop of Killaloe	1743 ..	1752 to Tuam.
John Whitcombe	Cork	Bishop of Clonfert	1752 ..	1752 to Cashel.
Robert Downes	England	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin	1752 ..	1753 to Raphoe.
Arthur Smyth	Limerick	Bishop of Clonfert	1753 ..	1765 to Meath.
James Trail	Scotland	{ Rec. St. John's, Hors- leydown, and Ch. to E. of Hertford, L. Lt. }	1765 ..	1783
William Dickson	County of Down.	{ Chaplain to Earl of Northington, L. Lt. }	1783 ..	1804
Nathaniel Alexander ..	Derry	Bishop of Killaloe	1804 ..	1823
RICHARD MANT	Southampton ..	Bishop of Killaloe	1823	

On the next avoidance of the bishoprick of Down and Connor, or of that of Dromore, Dromore will become united to Down and Connor, by 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 37.

BISHOP OF KILMORE AND ARDAGH.

William Sheridan	Cavan	Dean of Down	1681 ..	1691 deprived.
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BISHOP OF ARDAGH.

Ulysses Burgh	Dublin	Dean of Emly	1692 ..	1692
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BISHOPS OF KILMORE AND ARDAGH.

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
William Smith	Lisnegarvie....	Bishop of Raphoe	1693 ..	1699	
Edward Wetenhall....	Litchfield.....	Bishop of Cork and Ross.	1699 ..	1713	
Timothy Godwin	Norwich.....	{ Archd. of Oxford, and Chap. to Duke of Shrewsbury..... }	1714 ..	1727 to Cashel.	
Josiah Hort.....	{ Marshfield, Gloucestersh. }	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin	1727 ..	1742 to Tuam.	
On his translation, Ardagh was disunited from Kilmore, and holden in commendam with Tuam.					

BISHOPS OF KILMORE.

Joseph Story	Co. of Tyrone..	Bishop of Killaloe	1742 ..	1757	
John Cradock	Wolverhampton.	{ Rect. of St. Paul's, Co- vent Garden, & Ch. to Duke of Bedford }	1757 ..	1772 to Dublin.	
Denison Cumberland..	England	Bishop of Clonfert	1772 ..	1774	
George Lewis Jones ..	England	{ Fell. of King's Coll., Camb., Chap. to Earl Harcourt.... }	1774 ..	1790 to Kildare.	
William Foster	Dublin.....	Bishop of Cork and Ross.	1790 ..	1796 to Clogher.	
Hon. Charles Brodrick	{ St. George's, Hanover-sq., London.... }	Bishop of Clonfert	1796 ..	1802 to Cashel.	
G. de la Poer Beresford	Dublin.....	Bishop of Clonfert	1802		
On the death of Power Trench, archbishop of Tuam and bishop of Ardagh, &c., in 1839, the bishoprick of Ardagh was united to Kilmore, by 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 37.					

BISHOP OF KILMORE AND ARDAGH.

G. DE LA POER BERESFORD ..	..	..	..	1839	
On the next avoidance of Kilmore or Elphin, the bishoprick of Elphin will become united to those of Kilmore and Ardagh, by the above Act.					

BISHOPS OF DROMORE.

Capell Wiseman	Essex	Dean of Raphoe	1683 ..	1695	
Tobias Pullen.....	{ Middleham, Yorkshire... }	Bishop of Cloyne	1695 ..	1713	
John Stearne	Dublin.....	Dean of St. Patrick's....	1713 ..	1717 to Clogher.	
Ralph Lambert	England	{ Ch. to Earl of Wharton and Dean of Down... }	1717 ..	1727 to Meath.	
Charles Cobbe	Winchester ...	Bp. of Killala and Achonry	1727 ..	1732 to Kildare.	
Henry Maule	{ Arklow, in Wicklow... }	Bishop of Cloyne	1732 ..	1744 to Meath.	
Thomas Fletcher	England	{ Chap. to Duke of De- vonshire, and Dean of Down	1744 ..	1745 to Kildare.	
Jemmet Brown	Ireland.....	Bishop of Killaloe	1745 ..	1745 to Cork and Ross.	
George Marlay	England .....	..	1745 ..	1763	
John Oswald	England	Bishop of Clonfert	1763 ..	1763 to Raphoe.	
Edward Young	England	{ Chap. to Earl of Halifax, and Dean of Clogher }	1763 ..	1765 { to Ferns and Leighlin.	
Hon. Henry Maxwell..	Ireland.....	Dean of Kilmore.....	1765 ..	1766 to Meath.	
William Newcome....	Abingdon, Berks	{ Vice-Prin. of Hertford Coll. Oxford, & Ch. to Earl of Hertford }	1766 ..	1775 to Ossory.	
James Hawkins	Dublin.....	Dean of Emly.....	1775 ..	1780 to Raphoe.	
Hon. Wm. Beresford ..	Ireland.....	Rector of Urney	1780 ..	1782 to Ossory.	
Thomas Percy	{ Bridgnorth, Shropshire.. }	Dean of Carlisle	1782 ..	1811	
George Hall	Northumberland	Provost of Trinity Coll. ..	1811 ..	1811 consecrated Nov. 17, died Nov. 23.	
John Leslie	Monaghan....	Dean of Cork	1812 ..	1819 to Elphin.	

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
JAMES SAURIN	Belfast	{ Archdeacon of Dublin. Dean of Derry	1819		

On the next avoidance of Down and Connor, or of Dromore, the bishoprick of Dromore will be united to that of Down and Connor, by 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 37.

BISHOPS OF RAPHOE.

William Smith	{ Lisnegarvie, or Lisburn	Bishop of Killala	1682 ..	1693	{ to Kilmore & Ardagh.
Alexander Cairncross ..	Scotland	Archbishop of Glasgow ..	1693 ..	1701	
Robert Huntington	{ Deerhurst, Gloucestersh. }	Rct. of Hollingbury, Herts	1701 ..	1701	
John Pooley	Ipswich, Suffolk	Bishop of Cloyne	1702 ..	1712	
Thomas Lindsay	Blandford, Dorset	Bishop of Killaloe	1713 ..	1714	to Armagh.
Edward Syngé	Ireland	Chanc. of St. Patrick's ..	1714 ..	1716	to Tuam.
Nicholas Forster	Dublin	Bishop of Killaloe	1716 ..	1744	
William Barnard	England	Dean of Rochester	1744 ..	1747	to Derry.
Philip Twisden	Kent	Ch. to E. of Chesterfield ..	1747 ..	1753	
Robert Downes	England	Bp. of Down and Connor ..	1753 ..	1763	
John Oswald	England	Bishop of Dromore	1763 ..	1780	
James Hawkins	Dublin	Bishop of Dromore	1780 ..	1807	
Lord J. G. Beresford ..	Dublin	Bishop of Cork and Ross ..	1807 ..	1819	to Clogher.
William Magee	Fermanagh	Dean of Cork	1819 ..	1822	to Dublin.
William Bissett	Armagh	{ Chanc. of Armagh, Archd. of Ross, and Chap. to Marquis Wellesley	1822 ..	1834	

On whose death, in 1834, the bishoprick was united to that of Derry.

BISHOPS OF DERRY.

William King	Antrim	Dean of St. Patrick's	1691 ..	1703	to Dublin.
Charles Hickman	Northamptonsh.	Chap. to Queen Anne	1703 ..	1713	
John Hartstong	Catten, nr. Norw.	Bishop of Ossory	1714 ..	1717	
St. George Ashe	Roscommon	Bishop of Clogher	1717 ..	1718	
William Nicholson	Orton, Cumbld.	Bishop of Carlisle	1718 ..	1727	to Cashel.
Henry Downes	England	Bishop of Meath	1727 ..	1735	
Thomas Rundle	Tavistock, Dev.	{ M. of Sherborne Hos. Pb. of Dur. and Ch. to Ld. Chncr. Talbot }	1735 ..	1743	
Carew Reynell	England	Bp. of Down and Connor ..	1743 ..	1745	
George Stone	Winchester	Bishop of Kildare	1745 ..	1747	to Armagh.
William Barnard	England	Bishop of Raphoe	1747 ..	1768	
Hon. F. Aug. Hervey ..	England	Bishop of Cloyne	1768 ..	1803	
Hon. William Knox ..	Dublin	Bishop of Killaloe	1803 ..	1831	
Hon. Rich. Ponsonby ..	Kildare county..	Bishop of Killaloe	1831		

On the death of William Bissett, Bishop of Raphoe, in 1834, that bishoprick became united to Derry by 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 37.

BISHOP OF DERRY AND RAPHOE.

HON. RICH. PONSONBY.	1834
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II. PROVINCE OF DUBLIN.

ARCHBISHOPS OF DUBLIN AND BISHOPS OF GLENDALOECH.

Francis Marsh	Gloucestershire	B. of Kilmore and Ardagh	1682 ..	1693	
Narcissus Marsh	Hanning. Wilts.	Abp. of Cashel	1694 ..	1703	to Armagh.
William King	Antrim	Bishop of Derry	1703 ..	1729	
John Hoadly	{ Tottenham H. Cross, Midx. }	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin	1729 ..	1742	to Armagh.
Charles Cobbe	Winchr. Hants.	Bishop of Kildare	1742 ..	1765	

Names.†	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
Hon. W. Carmichael..	Scotland	Bishop of Meath	1765 ..	1765	
Arthur Smyth	Limerick	Bishop of Meath	1766 ..	1772	
John Cradock	Wolverhampton.	Bishop of Kilmore	1772 ..	1778	
Robert Fowler	Louth, Lincolns.	B. of Killaloe & Kilfenora	1778 ..	1801	
C. Agar, e. of Normanton	Gowran C. Kilk.	Abp. of Cashel	1801 ..	1809	
Euseby Cleaver	Twyford, Bucks	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin	1809 ..	1820	
Ld. J. G. Beresford..	Dublin	Bishop of Clogher	1820 ..	1822	to Armagh.
William Magee	Fermanagh	Bishop of Raphoe	1822 ..	1831	
RICHARD WHATELY...	England	P. of St. Alban's Hall, Ox.	1831		

BISHOPS OF KILDARE.

William Moreton	Chester	D. of Christ Church, Dub.	1682 ..	1705	
Welbore Ellis	England	D. D. of Oxford	1705 ..	1732	to Meath.
Charles Cobbe	Winchester	Bishop of Dromore	1732 ..	1743	to Dublin.
George Stone	Winchester	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin	1743 ..	1745	to Derry.
Thomas Fletcher	England	Bishop of Dromore	1745 ..	1761	
Richard Robinson	Yorkshire	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin	1761 ..	1765	to Armagh.
Charles Jackson	England	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin	1765 ..	1790	
George Lewis Jones...	England	Bishop of Kilmore	1790 ..	1804	
HON. CH. LINDSAY...	Scotland	Bp. of Killaloe & Kilfenora	1804		

On the next avoidance of the bishoprick of Kildare, it will become united to the
Archbishoprick of Dublin, by 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 37.

BISHOPS OF OSSORY.

Thomas Otway	Wiltshire	Bp. of Killaloe and Achonry	1680 ..	1693	
John Hartstong	Catten, nr. Norw	Archdeacon of Limerick..	1693 ..	1714	to Derry.
Sir T. Vesey, Bart....	Cork	Bishop of Killaloe	1714 ..	1730	
Edward Tennyson	Norwich	Archd. of Caermarthen ..	1731 ..	1735	
Charles Este	Whitehall, Lond.	Archd. of Armagh	1735 ..	1740	to Waterford and Lismore.
Anthony Dopping	Dublin	Dean of Clonmacnois....	1740 ..	1743	
Michael Cox	Dublin	Chap. to D. of Ormonde..	1743 ..	1754	to Cashel.
Edward Maurice	Ireland	D.D. of Trin. Coll. Dublin	1754 ..	1756	
Richard Pococke	Southampton ..	{ C. to E. of Chesterfield, and D. of Devonsh. } and Archd. of Dub. }	1756 ..	1765	to Meath.
Charles Dodgson	England	Chap. to E. of Northumb.	1765 ..	1775	to Elphin.
William Newcome	Abingdon, Berks	Bishop of Dromore	1775 ..	1779	to Waterford and Lismore.
John Hotham	Yorkshire	{ Archd. of Middlesex and Chap. to E. of Buckinghamshire. }	1779 ..	1782	to Clogher.
Hon. W. Beresford....	Ireland	Bishop of Dromore	1782 ..	1795	to Tuam.
Thos. Lewis O'Beirne	Ireland	{ Priv. Sec. to E. Fitzwil- liam & R. of Longford }	1795 ..	1798	to Meath.
Hugh Hamilton	Dublin	Bishop of Clonfert	1798 ..	1806	
John Kearney	Dublin county..	Provost of Trinity Coll. ..	1806 ..	1813	
Robert Fowler	England	Archd. of Dublin	1813		

On the death of Thomas Elrington, bishop of Ferns and Leighlin, in 1835, Ossory
became united to that bishoprick, by 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 37.

BISHOPS OF FERNS AND LEIGHLIN.

Narcissus Marsh	{ Hannington, Wilts	Prov. of Trin. Coll. Dub.	1683 ..	1691	to Cashel.
Bartholomew Vigors ..	Ireland	Dean of Armagh	1691 ..	1722	

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
Josiah Hort.....	Marshfield, Glos.	Dean of Ardagh	1722 ..	1727	to Kilmore and Ardagh.
John Hoadly	{ Tottenham High Cross }	Archd. of Salisbury	1727 ..	1729	to Dublin.
Arthur Price	Dublin.....	{ Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh }	1729 ..	1734	to Meath.
Edward Synge	Ireland	Bishop of Cloyne	1734 ..	1740	to Elphin.
George Stone	Winchester	Dean of Derry	1740 ..	1743	to Kildare.
William Cotterell	England	Dean of Raphoe	1743 ..	1744	
Robert Downes	England	Dean of Derry.....	1744 ..	1752	to Down and Connor.
John Garnet	England	Chap. to D. of Dorset....	1752 ..	1758	to Clogher.
Hon. Wm. Carmichael	Scotland	{ Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh }	1758 ..	1758	to Meath.
Thomas Salmon.....	Devonshire	{ Vic. of Tavistock, De- and Ch. to D. of Bedf. }	1758 ..	1759	
Richard Robinson	Yorkshire	Bp. of Killala and Achonry	1759 ..	1761	to Kildare.
Charles Jackson	England	Chap. to D. of Bedford ..	1761 ..	1765	to Kildare.
Edward Young	England	Bishop of Dromore.....	1765 ..	1772	
Hon. J. Deane Bourke	Ireland.....	Dean of Dromore.....	1772 ..	1782	to Tuam.
Walter Cope	Armagh county.	{ Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh }	1782 ..	1787	
William Preston	England.....	Bp. of Killala and Achonry	1787 ..	1789	
Euseby Cleaver	Twyford, Bucks.	Bp. of Cork and Ross....	1789 ..	1809	to Dublin.
Hon. P. Jocelyn.....	Ireland .....	.. ..	1809 ..	1820	to Clogher.
Ld. R. P. Tottenham ..	Ireland	Bp. of Killaloe & Kilfenora	1820 ..	1822	to Clogher.
Thomas Elrington....	Dublin.....	{ Bp. of Limerick, Ard- fert, and Aghadée. }	1822 ..	1835	

On whose death, in 1835, the bishoprick of Ossory was united to the bishoprick of Ferns and Leighlin, by 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 37.

BISHOP OF FERNS, LEIGHLIN, AND OSSORY.

ROBERT FOWLER.... .. 1835

III. PROVINCE OF CASHEL.

ARCHBISHOPS OF CASHEL AND BISHOPS OF EMLY.

Narcissus Marsh.....	{ Hannington, Wilts	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin	1691 ..	1694	to Dublin.
William Palliser.....	{ Kirkby-Wilk, Yorkshire .. }	Bishop of Cloyne.....	1694 ..	1721	
William Nicholson....	Orton, Cumbld.	Bishop of Derry.....	1721 ..	1727	
Timothy Godwin.....	Norwich	Bp. of Kilmore and Ardagh	1727 ..	1729	
Theophilus Bolton....	{ Borisool, Mayo county	Bishop of Elphin	1730 ..	1744	
Arthur Price	Ireland	Bishop of Meath.....	1744 ..	1752	
John Whitcombe	Cork	Bishop of Down & Connor	1752 ..	1754	
Michael Cox	Dublin.....	Bishop of Ossory	1754 ..	1779	
Charles Agar	{ Gowran Castle, Kilken. county }	Bishop of Cloyne	1779 ..	1801	to Dublin.
Hon. C. Brodrick	London	Bishop of Kilmore	1801 ..	1822	
Richard Laurence	Bath	Regius Prof. of Heb. Oxf.	1822		

On the death of Richard Bourke, bishop of Waterford and Lismore, in 1832, that bishoprick remained vacant, until the passing of the Act 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 37, whereby in the following year it was united to Cashel.

ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL, AND BISHOP OF EMLY, WATERFORD,
AND LISMORE.

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
Richard Laurence	1832 ..	1838	

On the death of Richard Laurence, in 1838, Cashel ceased to be an archbishoprick, by the above-named act, and the province became subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Dublin.

BISHOP OF CASHEL, EMLY, WATERFORD, AND LISMORE.

STEPHEN C. SANDES.. Kerry Bishop of Killaloe, &c... 1839

BISHOPS OF LIMERICK, ARDFERT, AND AGHADOE.

Simon Digby	Queen's county	Dean of Kildare	1679 ..	1692 to Elphin.
Nathaniel Wilson	{ Martley, Wor- cestershire ..	{ Chap. to James D. of Ormonde, & Dean of Raphoe	1692 ..	1695
Thomas Smyth	{ Dundrum, Down county	Chantor of Clogher.....	1695 ..	1725
William Burscough ..	England	{ Chap. to Lord Cateret, and D. of Kilmore..	1725 ..	1755
James Leslie	Kerry	{ D. D. of Trin. Coll. Dublin, and Pre- bendary of Durham	1755 ..	1770
John Averell	Coleraine.....	Dean of Limerick	1771 ..	1771
William Gore	Mayo	Bishop of Elphin.....	1772 ..	1784
William Cecil Pery ..	Limerick	Bp. of Killala and Achonry	1784 ..	1794
Thomas Barnard	Surrey	Bp. of Killaloe & Kilfenora	1794 ..	1806
C. Mongan Warburton	Ireland	Dean of Ardagh	1806 ..	1820 to Cloyne.
Thomas Elrington....	Dublin.....	Provost of Trin. Coll....	1820 ..	1822 to Ferns and Leighlin.
John Jebb	Drogheda.....	{ Archd. of Emlý and Rector of Abington, Limerick county ..	1822 ..	1833
HON. EDMUND KNOX..	Dublin.....	Bp. of Killaloe & Kilfenora	1834	

BISHOPS OF WATERFORD AND LISMORE.

Hugh Gore	Dorsetshire	Dean of Lismore.....	1666 ..	1691
Nathaniel Foy.....	York	Sen. Fellow of T. C. D..	1691 ..	1708
Thomas Milles	Hertfordshire ..	{ Vice Prin. of Edmund Hall, Oxfl. Chap. to E. of Pembroke }	1708 ..	1740
Charles Este	Whitehall	Bishop of Ossory.....	1740 ..	1745
Richard Chenevix	England	Bishop of Killaloe	1745 ..	1779
William Newcome	Abington, Berks	Bishop of Ossory	1779 ..	1795 to Armagh.
Richard Marlay	Dublin.....	Bishop of Clonfert	1795 ..	1802
Hon. Power Trench ..	Galway.....	Vicar of Ballinasloe	1802 ..	1810 to Elphin.
Joseph Stock	Dublin county..	Bp. of Killala and Achonry	1810 ..	1813
Hon. Richard Bourke..	Ireland.....	Dean of Ardagh	1813 ..	1832

Soon after the death of Richard Bourke, was passed the act of 3 and 4 William IV. c. 37, whereby this bishoprick was united to Cashel, in 1833.

BISHOPS OF CORK AND ROSS.

Edward Wetenhall....	Litchfield	Chantor of Chr'ist Church	1679 ..	1699 to Kilmore and Ardagh.
Dive Downs	{ Thornby, Nor- thamptonsh. }	Archd. of Dublin	1699 ..	1709
Peter Brown	Dublin.....	Prov. of Trin. Coll. Dub.	1710 ..	1735

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
Robert Clayton	England.....	Bp of Killala and Achonry	1735 ..	1745 to Clogher.	
Jemmet Brown	Cork	Bishop of Dromore.....	1745 ..	1772 to Elphin.	
Isaac Mann	Norwich	{ Chap. to Vis. Townshend, and Archd. of Dublin..... }	1772 ..	1789	
Euseby Cleaver	Twyford, Bucks.				
		Ch. to M. of Buckingham	1789 ..	1789 to Ferns and Leighlin.	
William Foster	Dublin.....	Chap. to H. of Commons	1789 ..	1790 to Kilmore.	
William Bennett	London	Chap. to E. of Westmorl.	1790 ..	1794 to Cloyne.	
Hon. T. Stopford	England.....	Dean of Ferns.....	1794 ..	1805	
Lord J. G. Beresford ..	Dublin.....	Dean of Clogher.....	1806 ..	1807 to Raphoe.	
Hon. T. St. Lawrence..	Dublin.....	Dean of Cork	1807 ..	1831	
Samuel Kyle	Derry	Provost of Trin. Coll....	1831		

On the death of John Brinkley, bishop of Cloyne, the bishoprick of Cork and Ross became united in 1835 to that of Cloyne, by 3 and 4 Wm. IV. c. 37.

BISHOPS OF CLOYNE.

Edward Jones.....	England.....	Dean of Lismore	1683 ..	1692 to St. Asaph.
William Palliser.....	{ Kirkby-Wilke, Yorkshire .. }	Senior Fel. of T. C., Dub.	1693 ..	1694 to Cashel.
Tobias Pullen.....	{ Middleham, Yorkshire... }	Dean of Ferns	1694 ..	1695 to Dromore.
St. George Ashe	Roscommon Co.	Provost of T. Coll., Dub.	1695 ..	1697 to Clogher..
John Pooley	Ipswich, Suffolk.	{ Chap. to E. of Essex, and Prebend. of St. Michan's, Dublin. }	1697 ..	1702 to Raphoe.
Charles Crow	{ Hawkstead, Lancashire..... }	{ Chap. to E. of Rochester, and Provost of Tuam..... }	1702 ..	1726
Henry Maule	Arklow, in Wickl.	Dean of Cloyne	1726 ..	1732 to Dromore
Edward Synge.....	Ireland.....	Bishop of Clonfert.....	1732 ..	1734 to Ferns and Leighlin.
George Berkeley.....	{ Kilcristin, Kilkenny Coun. }	Dean of Derry	1734 ..	1753
James Stopford.....	Dublin.....	Dean of Kilmacduagh ...	1753 ..	1759
Robert Johnson.....	Down.....	{ Dean of Tuam, and Chap. to Earl of Shannon, L. J.... }	1759 ..	1767
Hon. Fred. Hervey... ..	England.....	{ Master of Magdalen Coll. Camb., and Chap. to Viscount Townshend..... }	1767 ..	1768 to Derry.
Charles Agar	{ Gowran Castle, Kilkenny C. }	Dean of Kilmore	1768 ..	1780 to Cashel.
George Chinnery.... .	Ireland	{ Bp. of Killaloe, and Kilfenora	1780 ..	1781
Richard Woodward... .	{ Grimsbury, nr. Bristol	{ Dean of Clogher, and Chaplain to Earl of Buckinghamshire. }	1781 ..	1794
William Bennett	London	Bishop of Cork and Ross.	1794 ..	1820
C. Mongan Warburton.	Ireland	Bishop of Limerick	1820 ..	1826
John Brinkley	Suffolk.....	{ Archdn. of Clogher, and Royal Astronomer of Ireland.... }	1826 ..	1835

On whose death the bishoprick of Cork and Ross was united to Cloyne, by 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 37.

BISHOP OF CLOYNE, CORK, AND ROSS.

SAMUEL KYLE	1835
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BISHOPS OF KILLALOE.

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
John Roan	Wales	Dean of Clogher.....	1675 ..	1692	
Henry Rider	Paris	Archdeacon of Ossory ..	1693 ..	1696	
Thomas Lindsay	Blandford, Dorst.	Dean of St. Patrick's	1696 ..	1713 to Raphoe.	
Sir Ths. Vesey, Bart..	Cork	Ch. to Duke of Ormonde.	1713 ..	1714 to Ossory.	
Nicholas Forster.....	Ireland	Sen. Fell. of T. C., Dublin.	1714 ..	1716 to Raphoe.	
Charles Carr.....	Ireland	Chap. to H. of Commons.	1716 ..	1740	
Joseph Story	Tyrone	{ Chap. to H. of Com- mons, & D. of Ferns. }	1740 ..	1742 to Kilmore.	
John Ryder.....	Ireland .....	.. ..	1742 ..	1743 to Down and Connor.	
Jemmet Brown	Cork	Dean of Ross	1743 ..	1745 to Dromore.	
Richard Chenevix	England	Ch. to E. of Chesterfield.	1745 ..	1746 to Water- ford and Lismore	
Nicholas Synge.....	Cork	Archdeacon of Dublin ...	1746		

During whose incumbency Kilfenoragh was united to Killaloe.

BISHOPS OF KILLALOE AND KILFENORAGH.

Nicholas Synge.....	.. ..	.. ..	1752 ..	1771	
Robert Fowler.....	Louth, Lincolns.	Preb. of Westminster....	1771 ..	1778 to Dublin.	
George Chinnery.....	Ireland.....	Dean of Cork	1779 ..	1780 to Cloyne.	
Thomas Barnard	Surrey	Dean of Derry.....	1780 ..	1794 to Limerick.	
Hon. Wm. Knox.....	Dublin	Chap. to H. of Commons.	1794 ..	1803 to Derry.	
Hon. Charles Lindsay .	Scotland.....	.. ..	1803 ..	1804 to Kildare.	
Nathaniel Alexander ..	Derry	Bishop of Clonfert	1804 ..	1804 to Down and Connor.	
Lord R. Pon. Tottenham.	.. ..	.. ..	1804 ..	1820 to Ferns and Leighlin.	
Richard Mant.....	Southampton ..	{ Chap. to Abp. of Can- terbury, and R. of Bishopsgate, Lond. }	1820 ..	1823 { to Down & Connor.	
Alex. Arbuthnot.....	Ireland	Dean of Cloyne	1823 ..	1827	
Hon. Rich. Ponsonby .	Kildare county .	Dean of St. Patrick's....	1827 ..	1831 to Derry.	
Hon. Edm. Knox.....	Dublin.....	Dean of Down.....	1831 ..	1834 to Limerick.	

On whose translation, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh became united to Killaloe and Kilfenora,
by 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 37.

BISHOPS OF KILLALOE, KILFENORAGH, CLONFERT, AND KILMACDUAGH.

Christopher Butson....	(See Clonfert.)	.. ..	1834 ..	1836	
Stephen C. Sandes....	Kerry.....	Sen. Fell. of T. C., Dub..	1836 ..	1839 to Cashel.	
HON. LUDLOW TONSON	.. ..	Rec. of Ahern, Cork coun.	1839		

IV. PROVINCE OF TUAM.

ARCHBISHOPS OF TUAM, AND BISHOPS OF KILFENORAGH.

John Vesey	Coleraine.....	Bishop of Limerick.....	1679 ..	1716	
Edward Synge	Ireland.....	Bishop of Raphoe	1716 ..	1742	

On whose death, Josiah Hort, being translated to Tuam from Kilmore, was allowed to hold Ardagh in commendam; and Kilfenoragh was disunited from Tuam, and annexed for the time to Clonfert.

ARCHBISHOPS OF TUAM, AND BISHOPS OF ARDAGH.

Josiah Hort.....	{ Marshfield, Gloucesters. }	Bp. of Kilmore & Ardagh.	1742 ..	1752	
John Ryder.....	Ireland.....	Bp. of Down and Connor.	1752 ..	1775	

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
Jemmet Brown.....	Ireland	Bishop of Elphin	1775 ..	1782	
Hon. Jos. Deane Bourke	Kildare county..	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin.	1782 ..	1795	
Hon. Wm. Beresford ..	Ireland	Bishop of Ossory.....	1795 ..	1819	
Hon. Power Trench ..	Galway	Bishop of Elphin	1819		

On the death of James Verschoyle, bishop of Killala and Achonry, in 1834, that bishoprick was united to Tuam, by 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 37.

ARCHBISHOP OF TUAM, AND BISHOP OF ARDAGH, KILLALA, AND ACHONRY.

Hon. Power Trench 1834 .. 1839

On the death of Power Trench, in 1839, Tuam ceased to be an archbishoprick by the above-named act, and the province became subject to the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Armagh: and Ardagh was separated from Tuam, and united to Kilmore.

BISHOP OF TUAM, KILLALA, AND ACHONRY.

HON. THOS. PLUNKET. Dublin..... Dean of Down..... 1839

BISHOPS OF ELPHIN.

Simon Digby	Queen's county..	Bishop of Limerick	1692 ..	1720	
Henry Downes	England	Bp. of Killala and Achonry	1720 ..	1724 to Meath.	
Theophilus Bolton....	Mayo county ..	{ Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh }	1724 ..	1730 to Cashel.	
Robert Howard	Dublin	Bp. of Killala and Achonry	1730 ..	1740	
Edward Synge	Ireland	Bp. of Ferns and Leighlin.	1740 ..	1762	
William Gore	Mayo	{ Bishop of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh }	1762 ..	1772 to Limerick.	
Jemmet Brown	Cork	Bp. of Cork and Ross ..	1772 ..	1775 to Tuam.	
Charles Dodgson	England	Bishop of Ossory	1775 ..	1795	
John Law	Cumberland ..	Bp. of Killala and Achonry	1795 ..	1810	
Hon. Power Trench ..	Galway	Bp. of Waterford & Lismore	1810 ..	1819 to Tuam.	
JOHN LESLIE.....	Monaghan.....	Bishop of Dromore.....	1819		

On the next avoidance of Elphin or of Kilmore, the bishoprick of Elphin will become united to that of Kilmore, by 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 37.

BISHOPS OF CLONFERT AND KILMACDUAGH.

William Fitzgerald....	Cork	Dean of Cloyne	1691 ..	1722	
Theophilus Bolton	Borisool, Mayo .	{ Chancellor of St. Patrick's, and Vicar General of Dublin. }	1722 ..	1724 to Cashel.	
Arthur Price.	Dublin	Dean of Ferns	1724 ..	1730 to Ferns and Leighlin.	
Edward Synge	Ireland	Chanc. of St. Patrick's ..	1730 ..	1732 to Cloyne.	
Mordecai Cary	England	{ Rec. of St. Catherine Coleman, London, and Chap. to Duke of Dorset	1732 ..	1735 { to Killala and Achonry.	
John Whitcombe.....	Cork	Rector of Louth.....	1735		

In 1742, the bishoprick of Killfenoragh was disunited from Tuam, and given in commendam to John Whitcomb.

BISHOP OF CLONFERT, KILMACDUAGH, AND KILFENORAGH.

John Whitcomb

On whose translation it was again disunited and given to Killaloe.

BISHOPS OF CLONFERT AND KILMACDUAGH.

Names.	Birth-places.	Previous Stations.	Succession.	Vacancy.	Translation.
Arthur Smyth	Limerick	Dean of Derry	1752 ..	1753	to Down & Connor.
Hon. Wm. Carnichael	Scotland	{ Archd. of Bucks, and Chaplain to Earl of Harrington	1753 ..	1758	{ to Ferns & Leighlin.
William Gore	Mayo .....	.. ..	1758 ..	1762	to Elphin.
John Oswald	England	{ Preb. of Westminster, and Chap. to Earl of Halifax	1762 ..	1763	to Dromore.
Denison Cumberland ..	England	Vicar of Fulham	1763 ..	1772	to Kilmore.
Walter Cope	{ Drumilly, cou. of Armagh ..	Dean of Dromore	1772 ..	1782	{ to Ferns & Leighlin.
John Law ..	{ Grey Stoke, Cumberl. ..	Archdeacon of Carlisle ..	1782 ..	1787	{ to Killala and Achonry.
Richard Marlay	Dublin	Dean of Ferns	1787 ..	1795	to Waterfd. and Lismore.
Hon. Charles Brodrick.	{ St. Geor., Han. Sq., London.	Treasurer of Cloyne	1795 ..	1796	to Kilmore.
Hugh Hamilton	Dublin	Dean of Armagh	1796 ..	1798	to Ossory.
Matthew Young	Roscommon	Sen. Fell. of T. C., Dub.	1798 ..	1800	
G. de la Poer Beresford.	Dublin	Dean of Kilmore	1801 ..	1802	to Kilmore.
Nathaniel Alexander ..	Derry .....	.. ..	1802 ..	1804	to Killaloe and Kilfenora.
Christopher Butson ..	England	Dean of Waterford	1804 ..		

On the translation of Edmond Knox from Killaloe, in 1804, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh became united to Killaloe and Kilfenoragh, by 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 37.

BISHOPS OF KILLALA AND ACHONRY.

Richard Tennison	Carrickfergus ..	Dean of Clogher	1682 ..	1691	to Clogher.
William Lloyd	{ Penhullis, An- glesea	Dean of Achonry	1691 ..	1716	
Henry Downes	England	{ Minister of Brington, Northamptonshire. }	1717 ..	1720	to Elphin.
Charles Cobbe	Winchester	Dean of Ardagh	1720 ..	1727	to Dromore.
Robert Howard	Dublin	Dean of Ardagh	1727 ..	1730	to Elphin.
Robert Clayton	England	Fel. of Trin. Coll., Dubl.	1730 ..	1735	to Cork and Ross.
Mordecai Cary	England	Bishop of Clonfert	1735 ..	1752	
Richard Robinson	Yorkshire	{ Preb. of York, and Ch. to Duke of Dorset. }	1752 ..	1759	{ to Ferns & Leighlin.
Samuel Hutchinson ...	Ireland	Dean of Dromore	1759 ..	1780	
Wm. Cecil Pery	Limerick	{ Dean of Derry, & Ch. to H. of Commons. }	1781 ..	1784	to Limerick.
William Preston	England	Ch. to Duke of Rutland.	1784 ..	1787	to Ferns & Leighlin.
John Law	Cumberland	Bishop of Clonfert	1787 ..	1795	to Elphin.
John Porter	England	{ Ch. to Apb. of Canter- bury, and to Earl Camden	1795 ..	1798	to Clogher.
Joseph Stock	Dublin county ..	Fell. of Trin. Coll., Dubl.	1798 ..	1809	to Waterfd. and Lismore.
James Verschoyle	Ireland	Dean of St. Patrick's	1810 ..	1834	

On whose death, in 1834, the bishoprick was united to Tuam, by 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 37.

The alterations made, and to be made, by the Act of Parliament of 3 and 4 William IV., ch. 37, in the Irish archbishopricks and bishopricks, have been noticed individually, as occasion has occurred in the foregoing catalogue. The following is a collective view of the Hierarchy, when those alterations shall have been completed

Archbishop of Armagh, and Bishop of Clogher, having jurisdiction over the provinces of Armagh and Tuam.

Archbishop of Dublin, and Bishop of Glendaloch and Kildare, having jurisdiction over the provinces of Dublin and Cashel.

Bishop of Meath and Clonmacnois.

Bishop of Cashel, Emly, Waterford, and Lismore.

Bishop of Tuam, Killala, and Achonry.

Bishop of Derry and Raphoe.

Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe.

Bishop of Down, Connor, and Dromore.

Bishop of Ferns, Leighlin, and Ossory.

Bishop of Cloyne, Cork, and Ross.

Bishop of Killaloe, Kilfenoragh, Clonfert, and Kilmacduagh.

Bishop of Kilmore, Ardagh, and Elphin.

As to the parliamentary representation, the two archbishops will sit in Parliament by alternate sessions. The bishops will succeed each other, as enacted by the Act of Union, by a rotation of three in every session, but regulated anew according to the foregoing cycle, which will be completed every ten years.

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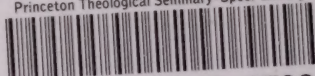
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